# The
# GUJJARS

**Book Series on History and Culture of Gujjar Tribe**

## Gojri Language Number

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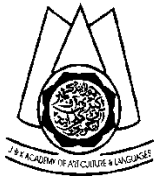
**Compilation**

**Dr. Javaid Rahi**
**Chief Editor**

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Address:

**Dr. Javaid Rahi**
**Chief Editor, Gojri**
**J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages**
**Lalmandi, Srinagar**
**E-mail: javaidrahi@gmail.com**
**javaidrahi@yahoo.co.in**

| | |
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# LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON A STANDARDIZED ORTHOGRAPHY FOR THE GUJJARS OF SOUTH ASIA

Wayne E. Losey
Bachelor of Arts, Wheaton College, 1989
Master of Divinity, Denver Seminary, 1996

## ABSTRACT

Gojri belongs to the central group of the Indo-Aryan subfamily of Indo-European languages. Gojri (or Gojri) is spoken by the Gurjars (or Gujjars), traditionally nomadic pastoralists, who are scattered widely throughout the northern Subcontinent. While remaining an "oral society" in the classic sense, Gujjars in recent decades have begun attending school, organizing politically, and writing poetry and prose in their own language. Today, in part because of government sponsorship, the level of Gojri broadcasting and literary activity is higher than that for other minority languages in the region. To date, however, Gojri lacks an agreed-upon set of writing conventions. Writers and editors tend to write phonetically, and with wildly varying degrees of reference to the conventions of Urdu, the primary language of wider communication and the language of education in most communities.

This study presents descriptions of the phonology and morphology of the two major dialects of Gojri spoken

in Pakistan, and compares the analysis of these dialects with the analysis of the Gojri spoken in Punch District of Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir (Sharma 1979, 1982). Next, in light of this comparative data and the implications for Gojri-to-Urdu literacy, it evaluates various orthographic conventions currently used by leading writers and institutions. This study explores Urdu-based spellings which are linguistically sound and otherwise conducive to transitional literacy, and which lend themselves to orthographic standardization across the east-west dialect continuum. It also includes an extended treatment of the challenge of representing Gojri tone.

This study will provide a foundation for orthographic decisions that take cross-dialectical considerations and the reality of a broader Urdu print Environment fully into account, potentially enabling Gujjars to read the Pronunciations of their own dialects from a single text type while maximizing the ease of transfer to and from Urdu. The research presented here will also make the dialects of Gojri spoken in Pakistan accessible to linguists and other scholars, and call attention to the significance of the Western dialect within the greater language community.

# INTRODUCTION

Gujjars and the Gojri Language Gojri, or Gojri,[1] is the language of some 1.4 million or more Gujjars (or *Gujjars*, in Indian transliteration) living in the mountainous areas of northern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, the disputed region of Kashmir, and northern India (Grimes 2000:439). The Gojri speakers, along with many more ethnic Gujjars of the plains who no longer speak Gojri, are the descendants of the ancient Gurjaras whose origins are widely debated. Gojri-speaking Gujjars include nomadic pastoralists who herd sheep and goats or dairy buffalo, settled agriculturalists, and semi-settled agriculturalists who practice seasonal transhumance. The overwhelming majority are Sunni Muslims.

## Language Classification

Masica (1991:48), following Grierson (LSI IX:925), states that Gojri's closest relation is the Northeastern Rajasthani language, Mewati. The Rajasthani languages have been classified as belonging to the central group of Indo-Aryan, along with Hindi-Urdu and other languages (Masica 1992:453-456). J.C. Sharma also notes the close relationship between Gojri phonology and that of Punjabi (1982:8-9), the latter's inclusion in the central group being the subject of some dispute (see Shackle 1979). The inner classification of the Indo-Aryan languages including Gojri is by no means settled, and it should be noted that Gojri's stated connections with Rajasthani and Punjabi are made on the basis of phonological and morphological

observations which do not hold in the same way for both of the two main Gojri dialect types.

## Language Environment

Gojri, being spoken across such a wide swath of the northern part of the South-Asian subcontinent, is in contact with numerous other languages. The focus of this study is the Gojri of the Hazara region of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), where Gojri is in contact primarily with Pashto and Hindko. Throughout the NWFP, Gujjars typically live at higher elevations than other more socially dominant ethnic groups who speak these languages. Hazara Gujjars therefore use Pashto or Hindko for most types of day-to-day out-group communication, with men showing higher degrees of bilingual proficiency than women (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992:145ff). Many Gujjars I have met initially insisted that their mother tongue was Pashto or Hindko, acknowledging Gojri as their language only after I switched from Urdu to Gojri in the conversation.

Pashto is an Iranian language and therefore more distantly related to Gojri. It is thedominant language of wider communication in western Mansehra District and BatagramDistrict of Hazara (see Map 2), and in the area west and southwest of the Indus river thatincludes Swat, Dir, and much of Afghanistan - an area corresponding roughly longitudewiseto the extent of the Western Gojri dialect type. The highest concentrations ofWestern dialect

Gojri speakers in Hazara reside in the Allai and Batagram tehsils of Batagram District and in northern Mansehra District including Black Mountain but reliable population figures are not available since the recent Pakistani censusdid not track ethnicity or minority language affiliation (respondents were asked only toindicate whether they speak Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, or 'other' in their homes). In the mid 1990's, a large population of cow-herding Dir Gujjars, who speak aform of Western Gojri along with Pashto, migrated from Dir to Haripur District.

Hindko is closely related to Punjabi, and is the language of wider communication in most other areas of Mansehra District, Abbottabad District, and Haripur District of Hazara (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992), blending gradually into Pahari as one moves eastward into Kashmir and beyond - an area roughly corresponding to that in which Eastern Gojri is spoken. I am told that the highest concentration of Eastern dialect-speaking Gujjars in Hazara lives north of Shinkiari in eastern Mansehra District within the area bounded on the west by the Siran river and on the East by the Kunhar river which runs through the Kaghan Valley. Gujjars living above the valley floors in this area typically have very few non-Gujjar neighbors, whereas Gujjars living on the eastern side of the Kaghan Valley and in eastern Abbottabad District live in an ethnically and linguistically mixed Environment dominated by Hindko. While a type of Eastern Gojri is still spoken in

the Gujjar villages of (Upper) Kakul, Nagakki, and Sarban near Abbottabad, language use among younger persons may be giving way to Hindko as it has in other isolated Gujjar villages further east and south of Abbottabad.

Urdu, the national language of Pakistan and a language of wider communication (or first language) for many Muslims in northern India, is used extensively in education, the news media, and political and religious discourse. In Pakistan, 'functional literacy' means the ability to read and write in Urdu. The children of some educated Hazara residents are learning Urdu as their first language. Gujjars learn Urdu in school or in cities outside Hazara where they are employed, and use Urdu when speaking to all other Pakistanis not speaking Gojri or the Gujjar's second language (normally Pashto or Hindko), including tourists. Proficiency varies greatly, with educated men at one end of the continuum and uneducated women at the other (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992). Gujjars often tell me that their language is closely related to Urdu, if not its very source. English is the official language of Pakistan, and has already left its mark on the Gojri lexicon (via Urdu) like the other languages mentioned to this point. Gujjars attach economic value to Urdu and English proficiency, although only the educated elite have any real skill in the latter. Gujjars residing in tourist areas may learn to communicate with foreigners using a limited set of English words and phrases.

Gujjar men belonging to the nomadic community are often the most multi-lingual, especially the sheep and goat-herding *Bakarwal* Gujjars (from /bakarī/ 'goat') who rangefarther than other Gujjar pastoralists. *Muhajar* ('refugee') *Bakarwal* Gujjars, who came from what is now Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir and migrate seasonally through Hazara, may acquire some Shina for summer use in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, andPotwari or Punjabi proper for winter use in the Punjab. The *Allaiwal Bakarwal*, whoidentify themselves as emanating from the Allai area of Batagram District, havetraditionally summered in Pashto-dominated areas and wintered in Hindko-dominatedareas of Haripur District and in Punjabi-speaking areas further south. The *KaghaniBakarwal* spend the summers in Kaghan and winters as far south as Haripur inAbbottabad District, both of which are Hindko-speaking.

## Language Development

The movement to develop Gojri literature in Pakistan began after 1965. Three now well-known Gujjar poets, Sabir Afaqi, and brothers Israil Mahjoor and Mohammad Ismail Zabeeh, founded a literary circle in Nawanshahr near Abbottabad in 1966. They began writing Gojri materials using a slightly modified Urdu script. The Pakistani government started broadcasting some of these materials when it launched the 'Radio Trarkel' program in 1967, after which the Indian government began broadcasting Gojri programming from Srinagar. Today there are several other daily Gojri programs broadcast by

each government in addition to these original two. Almost all of the Gujjars I meet report listening to such programs on shortwave. Gojri television news is now broadcast daily from Islamabad (Hallberg and O'Leary noted Gojri television broadcasting from Srinagar (1992:101)).

The Gojri Adabi Board (=literary board), chaired by Sabir Afaqi, was founded in 1970 in Pakistan-Occopied Kashmir. It has published seven Gojri and Gojri-related titlessince 1976, primarily works of poetry, but struggles for lack of sponsorship. The Urdumagazine, *Gujjar Goonj* occasionally publishes Gujjar poetry, but its publishers and thoseof the *Gujjar Gazette* feel that there is no demand for or interest in Gojri writing. Thesemagazines cater primarily to educated ethnic Gujjars of the Pakistani Punjab who do notspeak Gojri. I am aware of no Gojri literary activities in Hazara or in any other area ofPakistan.

Since its establishment in 1978, the locus of the prolific Gojri literature production inIndian- Side of Jammu and Kashmir has been the Gojri department of the Jammu and KashmirAcademy of Art, Culture and Languages, which is located in Srinagar and Jammu (Hugoniot & Polster 1997:8). The Academy's 1998 Publications Catalogue lists some fifty-five separate titles containing Gojri poetry, prose, and essays on Gujjars and Gojri (many of the latter are in Urdu). In addition, suchmaterials are published periodically in their journal, *Gojri Sheeraza*. The Gojri ResearchInstitute of the Gurjar Desh Charitable Trust

(GDCT) in Jammu also publishes Gojri titles, along with the monthly magazine *Awaz-e-Gurjar* featuring articles in English, Hindi, Urdu, and Gojri.

The August, 2000 issue of this magazine reported that a 12-day 'Workshop on Standardization of the Gojri Script' had been held at the Trust's research library beginning on July 10, 2000 . The workshop was convened jointly by the Trust and the Indian government's Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), which was represented by J.C. Sharma, the leading authority on Gojri, along with Dr. I.S. Borkar. Unfortunately, the proceedings of this workshop had not been made available by the time of my last enquiry. Such noteworthy efforts reflect the desire of Gujjars, and such non-Gujjar stake holders, to standardize the Gojri orthography. In the minds of some, however, the intended beneficiaries of standardization are non-Gujjars:

Speaking at the inaugural session of the Workshop Dr. Borkar said that standardization of Gojri Script will facilitate those people who are not conversant of Gojri to read, write and understand Gojri at ease. He recalled that the CIIL, Mysore and GDCT Jammu has already worked out hand-in-glove in organizing two Workshops held at the GDCT, Jammu and CIIL, Mysore to prepare an Intensive Course to teach Gojri as second language to non-Gojri speaking people which bound to go a long way in serving the cause of promotion of Gojri language and literature. (ibid, p. 30; quotation reproduced exactly)

Such comments reinforce my impression that Gojri literary activities to-date are largely by the educated, for the educated.

## Socioeconomic Conditions and the Literacy Situation

According to Ahmed, Gujjars rank lowest among the four major ethnic groups ofHazara in terms of education level, percentage of dwellings using some cementconstruction, and land ownership (1986:110-111). There are no reliable estimates of theliteracy rate among Gojri-speaking Gujjars in Hazara or other parts of Pakistan. In the two Gujjar communities profiled in-depth by Hallberg and O'Leary (both villages areunusual in that they have a school), less than half of Gujjar men and boys, and scarcelyany women and girls, were found to have received *any* formal education (1992:133-142).Although many government schools were opened in larger villages in Gujjar areas of Pakistan during the administration of Benazir Bhutto, the quality of education remainslow due to lack of facilities and qualified teachers. Most Gujjar children are involved withtheir parents in subsistence agriculture and/or animal husbandry on marginal tracts ofmountainous terrain. Therefore their homes are often a great distance from lowerelevation village schools, making regular attendance difficult, particularly for girls whomust comply with cultural notions of modesty. Most boys withdraw before they have acquired basic skills in reading and writing Urdu.

Another factor making functional literacy less accessible to Gujjars is that Gujjar children, like most other Pakistani children, do not speak Urdu at the time of their enrɔllment in primary school. From what I am told, the foreign language burden entailed by the Urdu and English curriculum, and a Pashto or Hindko medium of instruction, creates adjustment and motivational problems for many new Gujjar students. For this reason and others, Hazara Gujjars are very responsive to the suggestion that reading and writing skills could be acquired in their mother tongue and later transferred to Urdu. The idea is new to them because so few Gujjars outside of Kashmir have ever seen their language in print, despite the laudable literary activities of an educated elite. Many Hazara Gujjars with whom I speak, along with non-Gujjar stake holders, value the idea of Gojri literacy and literature to the extent that it is tied to Urdu literacy. Educated Gujjars in Pakistan-Occopied Kashmir, on the other hand, seem to value Gojri literacy and literature primarily for reasons other than utility, perhaps because Urdu literacy is more accessible in their area (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992:99).

Given the Gujjars' poverty and educational access problems in Pakistan proper, and the fact that they are scattered widely and thinly over such a vast area, the success both of Gojri-to-Urdu transitional literacy programming and Gojri literature in general (and ultimately, language vitality) will probably depend to a great extent upon the use of Urdubased Gojri writing

conventions. This perspective accords with what many recognize as true about the necessary impact of dominant regional languages on the orthographies of incipient literary languages.4 Walker writes (1987:207):

Whatever can be done to make the V[ERNACULAR] L[ANGUAGE] orthography look likethe national language orthography will aid VL literacy acceptance. This is especiallyimportant in cases where potential VL readers have already learned to read the N[ATIONAL] L[ANGUAGE]. Ideals of producing a purely scientific alphabet must besacrificed, if need be, for the highest priority of developing orthography that isaccepted by the people and *used*. Since the NL has higher status and more socioeconomicpower, the prestige of the VL will be enhanced the more that it resemblesthe NL orthographically.

Referring specifically to the implications for literacy, D'Emilio (1986:22) says that orthography design is

> ... a task which might seem to be the exclusive rɔle of linguistics - like that of developing an alphabet - should leave the margins of that discipline and consider sociolinguistic and pedagogical factors, like the actual possibilities available to the indigenous populations for becoming literate.

Rather than scientific purism, we should be led by good sense and the practical needs of cultures of oral tradition to deal with a written code.

Urdu-based conventions for Gojri would enhance the 'actual possibilities' for becoming literate, because they lend themselves to a more efficient use of the meager resources at hand; the limited time of working children available for education could be maximized, as they would not need to learn both Urdu and Gojri spellings for many common cognate pairs; the instructional capacity of those functionally literate in Urdu could also be maximized, as they could use Gojri primers in non-formal settings with minimal prior orientation to written Gojri. Support from non-Gujjar stake holders in Pakistan might also be maximized, including that of some in the education establishment who are otherwise prejudiced against Gojri (see Hallberg & O'Leary 1992:99), as it could be more readily demonstrated that children were learning Urdu while learning Gojri.

These considerations take on added significance in the case of the *Allaiwal, Swati* and*Muhajar* Bakarwal nomads, for whom literacy is perhaps least accessible. Their seasonalmigration schedules do not allow for school enrɔllment in either the summer or winterareas. Unlike *Kaghani* Bakarwals who own land and often leave their children in lowerKaghan to attend school, these groups travel as whole family units and cannot normallyleave

children behind. Their livelihood is being threatened in the traditional winter grazingareas due to increased development and cultivation by sedentary peoples, and the closureof government forest areas to grazing. They know that their children need literacy tosurvive economically, but feel their only option for acquiring literacy is to sell theiranimals and settle in urban areas. This community therefore represents an urgent need fornon-formal literacy programming, which, as I mentioned, has a greater chance of success ifUrdu-based Gojri conventions are taught from the beginning. As we shall see in chapters2 and 3, the Western-type phonology of these Bakarwals corresponds closely to Urduphonology at the points most relevant to the orthography issue.

## History of Research into Gojri

The earliest investigation into Gojri was made in the greater Murree area of extremenorthern Punjab by Bailey, who initially published nine pages of Gojri description (1903:3-11) and later contributed specimens from two Hazara locations to the 'Gojri'section of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1973 (c1903): IX:925-981). The latterwork, being comparative in nature, included skeletal grammars and text data from Gojrivarieties spoken in Hazara, Swat, and Kashmir. The only substantial linguisticdescription available to-date, however, is Sharma's account of the sound system (1979) and grammar (1982) of the Gojri spoken in the Punch district of Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir. The former

work provides the database for MacEachern's (1997) investigationof laryngeal cooccurrence restrictions in Gojri. Fragments of the Gojri lexicon, phonology, and grammar are occasionally described in Urdu at a popular level by Gujjarscholars such as Sabir Afaqi and the editors of the *Sheeraza*.

Recent scholarship has focused on the broader sociolinguistic situation. Hallberg and O'Leary (1992) published an extensive survey of the Gojri varieties spoken by settledand semi-settled Gujjars in Pakistan and Pakistan-Occpoied Kashmir, positing'Eastern' and 'Western' dialect clusters on the basis of lexical similarity percentages andintelligibility testing. Hugoniot and Polster (1997) completed a similar survey of the'Eastern Gojri' spoken by the *Dodhi* (from /dúd/ 'milk') or dairy buffalo-herding Gujjarsin Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir and the Indian states of Himachal Pradesh and UttarPradesh.

One question that has remained unanswered in the literature is the precise relationship between Gojri and *Bakarwali*, the speech of the Bakarwals, which is thought to be a formof Gojri (Sharma 1982:2). Hallberg and O'Leary write:

> There are known to be landless Gujjars continuing to pursue a nomadic herding lifestyle, particularly the Bakarwals in Pak Occopied Kashmir. The general opinion of settled Gujjars in Pak Occopied Kashmir was that the Bakarwal Gojri was only slightly different

> from their own, the life style being the main difference between the peoples. However no linguistic evidence has been collected to substantiate these opinions (1992:108).

Their survey included data from only one semi-nomadic community, in Swat, which theyidentified by the respondents' self-designation, *Ajars* (/ājaRĪ/ 'shepherd'), rather thanBakarwal. Interestingly, Grierson, who to my knowledge never used the term Bakarwal,had reported that *Ajri,* the speech of the sheep-herding *Ajars*, was a distinct sub-dialectbut still nearly identical to the *Gojri* spoken by cow-herding Gujjars in Swat (1973(c1903): IX: 941, 948). Hugoniot and Polster, mindful of Hallberg and O'Leary'sstatement, elicited lexical data from a single Bakarwal group. They note only that therelative dissimilarity of the Bakarwal data to the *Dodhi* data may correspond to smalldifferences in lifestyle and ethnicity (1997:15).

## Current Study

## Purpose

The present work describes the phonology and morphology of two varieties of theBakarwal speech of Hazara, and compares these varieties with each other and with thePunch Gojri described by Sharma (1979, 1982). It also explores Urdu-based orthographicconventions which are linguistically sound and otherwise conducive to transitionalliteracy, and which lend themselves to

orthographic standardization across the east-westdialect continuum. The value of an analysis of Hazara Gojri to the latter concern lies inthe fact that no description of any Gojri variety spoken in Pakistan has been publishedsince Grierson and, as it turns out, the term Bakarwal is primarily an occupationaldistinction such that the two varieties under study correspond to and attest the 'Eastern'and 'Western' dialect types posited by Hallberg and O'Leary (see Losey, forthcoming).5 The two varieties presented here are the speech of the *Allaiwal Bakarwal*,approximating 'Western' Gojri, and the speech of the *Kaghani Bakarwal*, approximating'Eastern' Gojri. The present study therefore contributes phonological and grammaticaldata and analysis to Gojri dialectology, a domain which until now has been basedexclusively on word lists and intelligibility testing (aside from a few paradigms andcomparative notes in Grierson). It also identifies phonological and grammaticalphenomena in the Western dialect type which might have bearing on standardizationefforts that until now have concerned themselves only with Eastern speech.

This study evaluates various orthographic conventions currently used by leading writers and institutions, in light of the comparative data and the implications for Gojri-to-Urdu literacy. My hope is that this study will provide a foundation for future orthographic decisions that take cross-dialectal considerations and the reality of a broader Urdu print Environment fully into

account, potentially enabling Gujjars to read the Pronunciations of their own dialects from a single text type while maximizing the ease of transfer to and from Urdu.

## Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected during the course of my ongoing field work in Hazara whichbegan in May, 1999, following one year of intensive Urdu study in Murree and laterAbbottabad, where I also conducted my research in the winters of 1999-2000 and 2000-2001. My initial work in Gojri was in the village of Budgran /budgrā~/ above Kawai inthe Kaghan Valley. My family and I have been hosted periodically there and in thesummer pastures near Besal by the family of my research assistant, Mohammad AslamArmani Thikri (/ThĪkrĪ/), whose speech is virtually identical to the *Kaghan* Gojri attested by data from Mittikot in Hallberg and O'Leary's survey (1992:106). Thisfamily was *Kaghani Bakarwal*, until they sold their goats in the early 90's after myassistant became partially paralyzed in a construction accident and an older brother waskilled in a logging accident. My material on Eastern grammar is based on recorded textsgiven by Mohammad Aslam's mother, oldest brother, and several men living in the areaabove Kawai.

I began studying the speech of the *Allaiwal Bakarwal* at Lake Saif-ul-Muluk near Naran in the Kaghan Valley in July of 1999, with help from a family we had met

earlier intheir winter grazing area near Mang, located between Haripur and Khanpur. That Fall Ihired a son of our *Allaiwal* hosts, Mumtaz Ahmad Bania /bāNĪā/, as a second researchassistant. My material on Western grammar is based primarily on recorded texts of thisman's speech, which patterns closely with the Western samples reported in Hallberg andO'Leary (1992), particularly with the two from Swat.6 In a footnote, Hallberg andO'Leary (1992:131) mention Barth's observation (1956:77) that Swat Gujjars claimedtheir ancestors had immigrated to the area from Allai. As some of Hallberg and O'Leary's(1992:106) Gilgit and Chitral area respondents claim immigration (presumablysubsequent) from Swat, it is most unfortunate their survey did not include a sample from Allai.

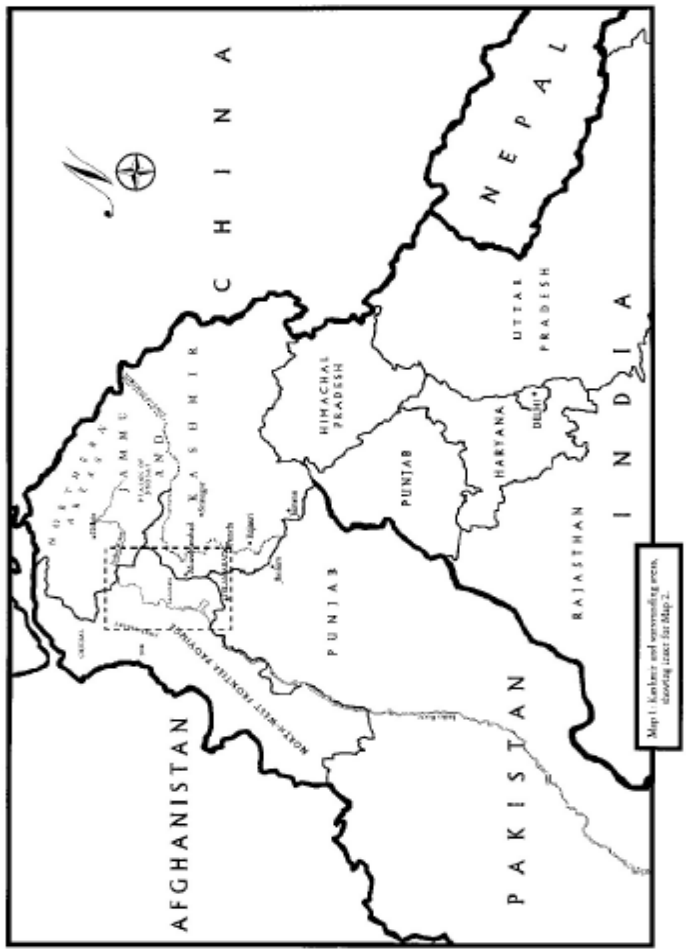
My material on phonology is based on separate Kaghan and Allaiwal word lists whichI began compiling in 1999. In Appendix B I have presented some of these words usingthe standard 210-item list used by Hallberg and O'Leary (1992), so as to facilitatecomparison. In addition I have included word lists taken from members of the *AllaiwalBakarwal Muhajar* and *Kunhari Bakarwal Muhajar* communities. I collected the two *Muhajar* lists in March, 2002, during a one-month trip to Pakistan (my family and I hadbeen evacuated in September, 2001), but due to the security situation I was not able toelicit a word list from any Gujjars settled in the Allai area. While I did manage to checkmy material on phonology and tone at that time, I

was forced to check my grammaticalmaterial primarily by telephone during the evacuation period.

I have attempted to present my analysis, for the most part, according to the organization and linguistic category labels used in Masica's excellent handbook on the Indo-Aryan languages (1991). At other points I follow Payne's guide to morphosyntactic description (1997).

## Overview of Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 presents the phonemes and common phonological processes of Gojri, with attention to salient variation between Eastern and Western varieties, and then explores the representation of these phonemes in the Gojri script. Chapter 3 describes Gojri tonal phenomena and evaluates various solutions to their orthographic representation. Chapter 4 is a comparative study of Gojri morphosyntax that includes extensive illustrative data from both dialects, which is supplemented by additional verb paradigms in Appendix C. Chapter 5 considers the standardization of Gojri and evaluates Gojri spelling conventions in light of the linguistic analysis presented in preceding chapters and current research in related disciplines. Appendix A lists abbreviations and outlines the method of data presentation used throughout this work.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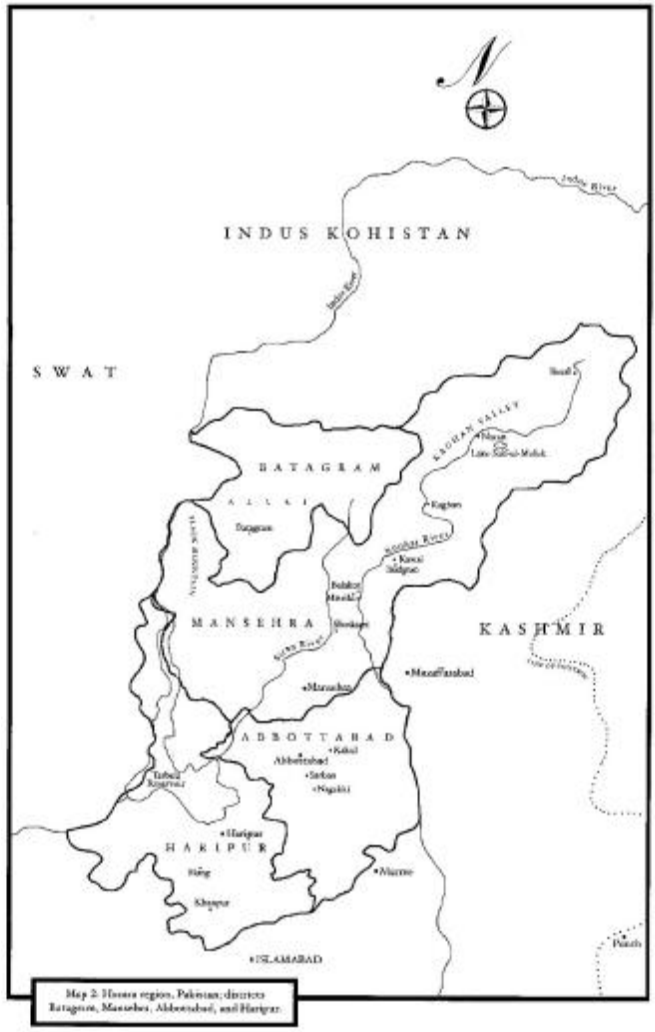



Map 2: Hazara region, Pakistan; districts Battagram, Mansehra, Abbottabad, and Haripur.

# COMPARATIVE GOJRI PHONOLOGY AND THE GOJRI SCRIPT

What follows is a preliminary analysis of the basic phonemics of Gojri, with reference to salient variations between the Allaiwal and Kaghani dialects, representing the broader Western and Eastern speech types, respectively. I reference Sharma's more extensive analysis of Punch Gojri (1982) wherever comparison is warranted. For comparison of lexical data within Pakistan I have shown unique Western lexical forms in parentheses where not otherwise introduced. Wherever a Western form is shown in parentheses, the cognate shown immediately to the left or immediately above is uniquely Eastern. Unmarked forms are pronounced the same for both dialects.

## Gojri Consonant Phonemes

The consonant phonemes of Gojri are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. Gojri Consonant Phonemes**

| | Labial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | | | | | | |
| aspirated | ph | th | ṭh | | kh | |
| voiceless | p | t | ṭ | | k | |
| voiced | b | d | ḍ | | g | |
| Affricate | | | | | | |
| aspirated | | | | čh | | |
| voiceless | | | | č | | |
| voiced | | | | ǰ | | |

Table 1 cont.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fricative | | | | | | |
| voiceless | f | s | | š | x | h |
| voiced | | z | | | ɣ | |
| Nasal | m | n | ṇ | | | |
| Glide | w | | | y | | |
| Flap | | r | ṛ | | | |
| Lateral (approximant) | | l | ḷ | | | |

## Nasals

In Gojri there are three phonemic nasals, the bilabial /m/, the dental /n/, and the retroflex /N/.

## Contrast

(1) Phonemic nasal contrasts (unique Western forms shown in parentheses)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /m/ vs. /n/ | /masīt/ | 'mosque' | /nasīt/ | 'warning' |
| | /damɔ/ | 'rest' | /danɔ/ | 'high place' |
| | /kam/ | 'work' | /čan/ | 'moon' |
| /n/ vs. /ṇ/ | /kanī/ | 'separate' | /kaṇī/ | 'rain drop' |
| | /danɔ/ | 'high place' | /ǰaṇɔ/ | 'man' |
| | /bán/ E. only | 'tie!' | /báṇ/ | 'be made!' |
| | /zeān/ (/zīān/) | 'damage' | /seāṇ/ (/sīāṇ/) | 'know!' |
| | /man/ | 'obey!' | /ǰaṇ/ | 'give birth!' |
| | /šān/ | 'way, method' | /kāṇ/ | 'knot in wood' |
| | /takrīban/ | 'approximately' | /baṇ/ | 'forest' |

## Distribution

Only /m/ and /n/ may occur in word-initial position. The retroflex nasal /N/, like the retroflex liquids /R/ and /L/, does not occur initially. All three nasal phonemes occur medially and finally.

**Distribution of nasal phonemes in words**

| | initial | | intervocalic | | final | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /m/ | /mačhī/ | 'fish' | /māmɔ/ | 'maternal uncle' | /thūm/ | 'garlic' |
| /n/ | /nak/ | 'nose' | /nānɔ/ | 'paternal grandfather' | /jān/ | 'life' |
| /ɳ/ | ---------- | | /dāɳɔ/ | 'seed, grain' | /lūɳ/ | 'salt' |

## Variation

The nasal phoneme /n/ assimilates in clusters of type /n/ + voiced plosive to theplosive's point of articulation. Representative examples of this process are shown in (3).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /n/ is [n] before a voiced dental plosive | [kʌnd] | /kand/ | 'wall' |
| /n/ is [ñ] before a voiced post-alveolar plosive | [jʌñj] | /jañj/ | 'wedding party' |
| /n/ is [ɳ] before a voiced retroflex plosive | [kʌɳḍ] | /kaɳḍ/ | 'back' |
| /n/ is [ŋ] before a voiced velar plosive | [khʌŋg] | /khang/ | 'cough' |

This process does not extend to the labial area, as the cluster [mb] is disallowed in Gojri.Gojri /lamar/ 'number', /tamū/ 'tent', /dumĪ/ 'tail' and /lamĪ/ 'long' correspond toUrdu /nambar/, /tambū/, /dumbĪ/ and /lambĪ/ respectively. The cluster [mp] is heardonly in English loans such as 'pump' and 'jump.' Voiceless examples for other points ofarticulation are too few at present to establish their identity over and against a more probable analysis of nasalized vowel + consonant. I have taken /n/ as basic because itoccurs finally and in a wide range of clusters with other consonants, while [N] does not otherwise occur in clusters and [n] and [K] never occur independently of /j/ and /g/, respectively.

The retroflex nasal /N/ has the allophone [R3], a flapped retroflex nasal, medially in normal speech, e.g. [pari] /pani/ 'water.'

## Laterals and Flaps

Both dialects of Gojri spoken in Pakistan feature the alveolar and retroflex laterals, /l/ and /ɭ/, respectively; and the alveolar and retroflex flaps, /r/ and /ɽ/, respectively.

A geminate retroflex /ɭɭ/ occurs in the Eastern subdialect spoken near Muzaffarabad, but not in the Kaghani or Allaiwal varieties I have studied. It corresponds to the cluster/rɽ/ in Kaghani and Allaiwal Gojri, as shown in (4):

(4) Correspondence of Muzaffarabad /ɭɭ/ with Kaghani and Allaiwal /ɽɽ/

| Muzaffarabad | Kaghani and Allaiwal | |
|---|---|---|
| /naɭɭī/ | /narɽī/ | 'throat' |
| /khaɭɭī/ | /kharɽī/ | 'goat skin milk bag' |
| /čùɭɭī/ | /čùrɽī/ /jùrɽī/ | 'skin wrinkles' |
| /kholɭɔ/ | /khorɽɔ/ | 'mature' (of trees, people) |
| /čhiɭɭī/ | /čhirɽī/ | 'skin of fruit, vegetables, and nuts' |
| /goɭɭɔ/ | /gorɽɔ/ | 'name of a caste' |
| /šiɭɭī/ | /širɽī/ | 'mushroom' |
| /paɭɭī/ | /parɽī/ | 'kind of demonic creature' |

## Contrast

Phonemic lateral and flap contrasts

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /r/ vs. /ɽ/ | /čorī/ | 'robbery' | /čɔɽī/ | 'thigh' |
| | /bīr/ | 'friend' | /bīɽ/ | 'lower pastures' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /r/ vs. /l/ | /rat/ | 'blood' | /lat/ | 'lower leg' |
| | /borī/ | 'gunnysack' | /bolī/ | 'speech' |
| | /sir/ | 'head' | /sil/ | 'rock slab' |
| /l/ vs. /ļ/ | /pīlɔ/ | 'yellow color' | /pī́ļɔ/ | 'ant' |
| | /gɛlī/ | 'log' | /gɛļī/ fem. | 'wide' |
| | /palɔ/ | 'shawl' | /paļī/ | 'dry animal' |
| | /nāl/ | 'horseshoe' | /nāļ/ | 'with' |
| | /hə̀l/ | 'condition' | /hə̀ļ/ | 'plow' |
| | /kɔl/ | 'promise' | /koļ/ (/koļɛ/) | possessive postposition |
| /ṛ/ vs. /ļ/ | /sāṛɔ/ | 'absence' | /sāļɔ/ | 'wife's brother' |
| | /bāṛ/ | 'bring inside!' | /bāļ/ | 'ignite!' |

The phonemic status of /ṛ/ warrants discussion given that in many related languages it isan allophone of /ḍ/, and the fact that Masica says it is not reported for 'Gojri' (1991:97).The latter is surely a mistake since Sharma (1982) is his only cited source for Gojri andSharma reports both /ṛ/ and /ḍ/ as phonemic (1982:11,19). While contrasts like those in2.1.4.1 below prove that /ṛ/ is in fact a Gojri phoneme, other comparative data highlightits close relationship with /ḍ/ cross-linguistically:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /ṭhoḍī/ | 'chin' | vs. Urdu /ṭhoṛī/ 'chin' |
| /búḍɔ/ | 'old man' | vs. Urdu /buṛhā/ 'old man' |
| /ḍéḍ/ | 'one and a half' | vs. Urdu /ḍeṛh/ 'one and a half' |
| /čhoḍ/ | 'leave alone!' W.only | vs. Eastern and Urdu /čhoṛ/ 'leave alone!' |

## Distribution

The retroflex liquids /ṛ/ and /ļ/, like retroflex /ṇ/, do not occur in initial position. All Gojri liquids occur medially and finally.

## Distribution of laterals and flaps in words

| | initial | | intervocalic | | | final | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /r/ | /rang/ | 'color' | /morɔ/ | | 'hole' | /čor/ | 'thief' |
| /ṛ/ | ---------- | | /baṛī/ | fem. | 'large' | /bāṛ/ | 'fence' |
| /l/ | /lelɔ/ | 'ram' | /polɔ/ | fem. | 'soft' | /mul/ | 'price' |
| /ḷ/ | ---------- | | /pāḷɔ/ | | 'coldness' | /puḷ/ | 'bridge' |

## Variation

An intervocalic trill, [r], in the phonetic data may represent an underlying geminate/rr/. However, since all of the examples in (8) feature [r] between the short vowel /u/ anda gender-number agreement suffix (/-ɔ/ or /-i/), it is premature to analyze the germination as having phonemic status.

## Possible contrasts of medial /r/ and /rr/

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [khʊr̃ɔ] | /khurɔ/ | 'foot print' | vs. /korɔ/ 'frost, ice' and /khɔrɔ/ masc. 'rough' |
| [čhʊr̃ɔ] | /čhurɔ/ | 'big knife' | vs. /pūrɔ/ masc. 'entire' and /sur/ 'happiness' |
| [tʊr̃i] | /turī/ | 'clove (of garlic)' | vs. /pūrī/ fem. 'entire' and /sur/ 'happiness' |

## Labial Area Consonants

Gojri features a three-way labial stop opposition: /ph/, /p/, /b/; the labial glide /w/, and the labio-dental fricative /f/. Most of the nouns containing /f/ are of foreign origin (see Masica 1991:92).

## Contrast

(9) Phonemic labial area contrasts

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ph/ vs. /p/ | /phul/ | 'flower' | /puḷ/ | 'bridge' |
| | /guphī/ | 'hip' | /ṭopī/ | 'hat' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /p/ vs. /b/ | /pūt/ | 'son' | /būṭ/ | 'shoe' |
| | /kāpī/ | 'copy book' | /kābū/ | 'control' |
| | /bāp/ | 'father' | /xāb/ | 'dream' |
| /b/ vs. /m/ | /bačhī/ fem. | 'calf' | /mačhī/ | 'fish' |
| | /dabɔ/ | 'box' | /damɔ/ | 'rest' |
| | /nasīb/ | 'luck, fate' | /taksīm/ | 'division' |
| /b/ vs. /w/[v] | /bas/ | 'enough!' / 'reside!' | /was/ [vʌs] | 'resources' |
| | /čhabī/ | 'twenty-six' | /čawī/ [čʌvi] | 'twenty-four' |
| | /bābɔ/ | 'old man' | /nāwɔ/ [na:vɔ] | 'water spout' |
| /f/ vs. /w/[v] | /fāydɔ/ | 'benefit' | /wāydɔ/ [va:ydɔ] | 'promise' |
| | /safɔ/ | 'page' | /sāwɔ/ [sa:vɔ] | 'blue-grey color' |
| /f/ vs. /ph/ | /fazal/ | 'grace' | /phagaṇ/ | '3rd lunar month' |
| | /māfī/ | 'forgiveness | /guphī/ | 'hip' |

## Distribution

The labial phonemes occur in all positions with the exception that /ph/ does not occur word-finally in my data. MacEachern's (1997) laryngeal cooccurrence restriction for Gojri predicts that /ph/ will never cooccur in a word with any aspirated stop but itself (see 2.1.5.1).

The word given for /w/ in final position could alternately be analyzed as /báū/. Thecase for medial /w/ is also tentative in that it is attested here and above only by aweakened numeric compound and by words in which it appears to be epenthetic (seediscussion below).

## Distribution of labial phonemes in words

| | initial | | intervocalic | | final | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ph/ | /phal/ | 'fruit' | /tràphuṛ/ (/dràphuṛ/) 'skin bumps' | | ---------- | |
| /p/ | /pūt/ | 'son' | /ṭopī/ | 'cap, hat' | /tāp/ | 'fever' |
| /b/ | /būṭɔ/ | 'tree' | /bābɔ/ | 'old man' | /jwāb/ | 'answer' |
| /w/ | /wə́m/ | 'worry' | /də́wɔ/(/dāwɔ/) 'claim' | | /báw/ | 'daughter-in-law' |
| /f/ | /foṭū/ | 'picture' | /dafɔ/ | 'ordinance, restriction' | /sāf/ | 'clean' |

## Variation

/w/ is realized phonetically in some contexts as a labial-velar approximant [w], in other contexts as a labiodental fricative [v], and in yet other contexts as a bilabial fricative [β]. The latter is observed in the speech of many Gujjars before the back rounded vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, most notably in the third masculine singular distal nominative pronoun /wó/ [βó] 'he' (all other distal nominatives begin with [v]), and epenthetically between verb stems ending in a vowel and the eastern second plural personal concord suffix /ɔ/, e.g. [hoβɔ ka] 'you will be.' In the speech of some eastern Gujjars, including that of Dr. Sabir Afaqi, /w/ is altogether absent in these same contexts: /ó/ 'he'; /hoɔkā/ 'you will be.' I have also recorded forms such as /hòwɛ kɔ/ 'it will be' from the eastern variety spoken between the Siran and Kunhar rivers in Mansehra District. The lightly fricated [v] occurs initially and medially before all other vowels, while [w] occurs as labialization of an initial consonant or in Eastern as a glide component of the nucleus as shown in (11):

## (11) [w] as a semi-vowel in some Eastern Gojri nouns

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | [sa:wn̩] | '8th lunar month' |
| vs. | [sa:βʊn̩] / [swa:n̩] | (Western variant) |
| | [ča:wl̩] | 'rice' |
| vs. | [ča:βʊl̩] / [čwa:l̩]) | (Western variant) |
| | [ta:wl̩] | 'hurry' |
| vs. | [ta:βʊl̩ɔ] | masc. 'quickly' |

Words beginning with a [C_+ V] sequence are presented in (12).

## (12) Labialized initial consonants in Gojri

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /kwārɔ/ | 'unmarried man' | |
| /šwāl̩ɔ/ | 'groom' | |
| /dwā šwā/ | 'prayer and such' | |
| /ǰwāb/ | 'answer' | cf. Urdu /javāb/ |
| /gwā́/ | 'witness' | cf. Urdu /gavāh/ |
| /dwāy/ | 'medicine' | cf. Urdu /davāy/ |
| /swāl̩/ | 'put to sleep' | |

Sharma does not report a phonetic [v] for Punch-Rajauri Gojri, nor is it possible to tell which instances of initial and medial [w] in his data might actually be [B] (1979:109). This is also the case with the Gojri word lists reported in Hallberg's survey (1992:259-283), where perhaps a decision was made to simply represent the phoneme as /w/ in an otherwise phonetic transcription.

While /b/ and /w/ both have phonemic status in both dialects, there are many examples of cross-dialectal variation in initial position such as those in (13):

(13)

| Eastern | | Western | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /wārī/ | [vaːri] | /bārī/ | | 'turn, time' |
| /woṭ/ | [βoːṭ] | /boṭ/ | | 'vote' |
| /wiḷɛ/ | [vɪḷɛ] | /biḷɛ/ | loc. | 'time, occasion' |
| /wī/ | [viː] | /bi̱/ | | 'also' (the Western variant /mi̱/ is also very common) |

In addition, while /ph/ and /f/ are both phonemic in both dialects, there are many examples of cross-dialectal variation such as those in (14):

(14)

| Eastern | Western | |
|---|---|---|
| /fir/ | /phir/ | 'wander!' |
| /fulāṇɔ/ | /phulāṇɔ/ masc. | 'such and such' |
| /xafā/ | /xapā/ | 'upset' |

Various forms in the examples above represent attempts by the Western dialect both topreserve the indigenous segments /b/ and /ph/ while resisting the foreign /f/, whereasEastern items reveal both the incorporation of /f/ and the weakening of /ph/ and /b/. Thedifference between the Western and Eastern responses to /f/ and to a lesser extent, /z/, may have something to do with relative degrees of historic Islamicization (Masica1991:92).

## General Dental Area Consonants

Gojri features a three-way opposition between voiceless aspirated, voiceless, andvoiced stops in the labial, general dental, and velar areas. Phonemic contrasts in thegeneral dental area further subdivide into those comprised by the dental stops /th/, /t/ and/d/; the post-

alveolar affricates /ch/, /c/ and /j/; and the retroflex stops /Th/, /T/ and /D/.

The dental area fricatives are dental /s/ and /z/ and the post-alveolar /X/. The dental areanasals and liquids contrast alveolar and retroflex articulation: /n/ and /N/, /l/ and /L/, and /r/and /R/.

Word-initially and word-finally, the palatal glide /y/ - phonetic [j] in the IPA transcription - is roughly equivalent in quality to the close (high) vowel /ī/ (final /y/ in words like /pāy/ (/bāy/) 'brother' might also, therefore, be analyzed as diphthongal, e.g. /pāī/ (/bāī/)). Medial /y/, however, is equivalent in quality to the vowel /ɛ/ (but shorter in length) and contrasts with geminated /yy/, the latter achieving a higher articulatory target (i.e. that of the IPA [j]) due to its greater length. This transcriptional decision is driven by the need to represent the two glides in question in a manner compatible with Rɔmanized transcriptions of Hindi-Urdu (it is not an issue in the script, see 2.6.1.3), which to my knowledge have not had to accommodate this contrast (even though it may occur phonetically, e.g. [a:$^{y}$a:/ '[he] came' vs. /a:y:e:/ 'please come'). For example, medial /y/ always indicates the lower, shorter glide in the standard transcription of Hindi-Urdu words like /pāyah/ [pa:$^{y}$a:] 'furniture legs' (cf. Gojri /Pāyā/ [pa:$^{y}$a:] 'furniture legs') and /āyā/ [a:$^{y}$a:] 'he came' (cf. Gojri /āeā/ [a:$^{y}$a:] '[they] came'). Gojri, however, features the higher glide in some lexical stems, e.g.

/pāyyɔ/ [paːyːɔ] ‘grazing fee’, necessitating the use of geminated /yy/ to ensure correct interpretation as IPA [j].

## Contrast

(15) Dental area stop, affricate, and fricative phonemic contrasts

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /d/ vs. /n/ | /das/ | ‘tell!’ | /nas/ | ‘run away!’ |
| | /kadū/ | ‘squash’ | /ǰanū/ | ‘knee’ |
| | /sad/ | ‘call!’ | /man/ | ‘obey!’ |
| /d/ vs. /r/ | /dī~/ | ‘sun’ | /rī~/ | ‘oak tree’ |
| | /sādī/ fem. | ‘simple’ | /sārī/ fem. | ‘entire’ |
| | /yād/ | ‘memory’ | /yār/ | ‘friend’ |
| /d/ vs. /l/ | /de/ | ‘give!’ | /le/ | ‘take!’ |
| | /udīk/ | ‘waiting’ | /ulī/ | ‘mold’ |
| | /sād/ | ‘taste’ | /sāl/ | ‘year’ |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ṇ/ vs. /ḍ/ | /kaṇī/ | 'drop' | /gaḍī/ | 'bundle' also 'vehicle' |
| | /khāṇ/ | 'a mine' | /lāḍ/ | 'affection' |
| /ṇ/ vs. /ṛ/ | /kaṇī/ | 'rain drop' | /kaṛī/ | 'ceiling beam' |
| | /kūṇ/ | 'a tilt or lean' | /kūṛ/ | 'a lie' |
| /th/ vs. /t/ | /tham/ | 'post, pillar' | /tam/ pl. | 'you' |
| | /guthɔ/ | 'big bag' | /gutɔ/ | 'braid' |
| | /gith/ | 'handspan' | /it/ | 'here' |
| /t/ vs. /d/ | /tam/ pl. | 'you' | /dam/ | 'moment' |
| | /dātī/ | 'sickle' | /dādī/ | 'paternal grandmother' |
| | /rāt/ | 'night' | /sād/ | 'taste' |
| /ṭ/ vs. /ḍ/ | /ṭak/ | 'stain' | /ḍak/ trans. | 'stop!' |
| | /hàṭī/ | 'shop, store' | /hàḍī/ | 'bone' |
| | /ḍaṭ/ | 'filled' | /ḍaḍ/ | 'toad' |
| /d/ vs. /ḍ/ | /dand/ | 'tooth' | /ḍanḍ/ | 'voice' |
| | /nadī/ | 'river' | /gaḍī/ | 'bundle' also 'vehicle' |
| | /kand/ | 'wall' | /kanḍ/ | 'back' |
| /ḍ/ vs. /ṛ/ | /roḍɔ/ | 'bald man' | /roṛɔ/ | 'drought' |
| | /kɔḍī/ | 'shell' | /kɔṛī/ fem. | 'sour' |
| | /ṭhoḍī/ | 'chin' | /thoṛī/ fem. | 'a little' |
| | /gaḍī/ | 'car; bundle' | /kàṛī/ (/gàṛī/) | 'wrist watch' |
| | /lāḍ/ | 'affection' | /bāṛ/ | 'fence' |
| /ḍ/ vs. /ḷ/ | /gaḍī/ | 'car; bundle' | /gaḷī/ | 'street' |
| | /lāḍ/ | 'affection' | /hàḷ/ | 'plow' |
| /ṛ/ vs. /ḷ/ | /sāṛɔ/ | 'absence' | /sāḷɔ/ | 'wife's brother' |
| | /bāṛ/ | 'bring inside!' | /bāḷ/ | 'ignite!' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ṭ/ vs. /ṭh/ | /ṭok/ | 'interrupt!' | /ṭhok/ | 'pound!' |
| | /miṭī/ | 'soil' | /miṭhī/ fem. | 'sweet' |
| | /kuṭ/ | 'hit!' | /uṭh/ | 'get up!' |
| /t/ vs. /ṭ/ | /tāp/ | 'fever' | /ṭāp/ | 'slipper' |
| | /netɔ/ | 'churning rope' | /neṭɔ/ | 'a set date or time' |
| | /it/ | 'here' | /iṭ/ | 'brick' |
| /th/ vs. /ṭh/ | /tham/ | 'post, pillar' | /ṭhamṭhokɔ/ | 'woodpecker' |
| | /čɔthī/ fem. | 'fourth' | /koṭhī/ | 'dwelling' |
| | /hàth/ | 'hand' | /gaṭh/ | 'knot' |
| /s/ vs. /z/ | /seāṇ/(/sīāṇ/) | 'know!' | /zeān/(/zīān/) | 'loss, damage' |
| | /bastī/ | 'a settlement' | /beztī/ | 'a dishonor' |
| | /das/ | '10' | /daz daz/ | 'bang! bang!' |
| /z/ vs. /d/ | /zātī/ fem. | 'very own' | /dātī/ | 'sickle' |
| | /mazɔ/ | 'enjoyment' | /mudɔ/ | 'period of time' |
| | /wāz/ | 'voice' | /sād/ | 'taste' |
| /čh/ vs. /č/ | /čhaṭī/ | 'a wind' | /čaṭī/ | 'loss, damage' |
| | /bačhɔ/ | 'calf' | /bačɔ/ masc. | 'child' |
| | /mučh/ | 'moustache' | /muč/ | 'much, many' |
| /č/ vs. /j̈/ | /čam/ | 'hide (of cattle)' | /j̈am/ | 'be born!' |
| | /bačā/ | 'save!' | /baj̈ā/ | 'play instrument!' |
| | /baṇ bič/ | 'in the forest' | /baṇ bij̈/ | 'lightning bolt' |
| /č/ vs. /š/ | /čak/ | 'taste' | /šak/ | 'guess, doubt' |
| | /bačɔ/ masc. | 'child' | /našɔ/ | 'drug' |
| | /lačkɔ/ | 'womens' cap' | /laškɛ/ | 'lightning flashes' |
| | /kaḷāč/ | 'cubit' | /lāš/ | 'corpse' |
| /s/ vs. /š/ | /sar/ | 'lake' | /šar/ | 'public matter' |
| | /nasāṇɔ/ | 'chasing, to chase' | /našāṇɔ/ | 'aim' |
| | /mās/ | 'meat' | /bidmāš/ | 'criminal' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /j̆/ vs. /z/ | /gujar/ | 'Gujar' | /guzar/ | 'pass!' |
| | /bājī/ | title for men | /rāzī/ | 'happy' |
| | /dāj̆/ | 'dowry' | /bāz/ | 'butterfly' also 'eagle' |
| /j̆/ vs. /d/ | /j̆ān/ | 'life, soul' | /dānd/ | 'ox' |
| | /aj̆ā~/ | 'right now' | /addā/ | 'Father!' |
| | /dāj̆/ | 'dowry' | /imdād/ | 'help' |
| /j̆/ vs. /y/ | /j̆āl/ | 'net' | /yār/ | 'friend' |
| | /dāj̆/ | 'dowry' | /nāy/ | 'barber' |
| /y/ vs. /yy/ | /pāyɔ/ [pa:$^{y}$ɔ] 'furniture leg' | | /pāyyɔ/ [pa:yɔ] 'grazing fee' | |
| | /sāyɔ/ [sa:$^{y}$ɔ] 'shadow' | | /māyyɔ/ [ma:yːɔ] 'kind of song' | |

## Distribution

There are no general restrictions on the distribution of the dental area stops, affricates, and fricatives (but note MacEachern's (1997) restriction for aspirated stops in 2.1.5.1).

Initial sequences of consonant + /y/ (represented as Cy) are realized as phoneticpalatalization; e.g. /kyū~/ 'why.' Sequences of this type are extremely rare in Gojri (seealso 2.3.3).

(16) Distribution of dental area stops, affricates, and fricatives

| | initial | | intervocalic | final |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /th/ | /thūm/ | 'garlic' | /mathɔ/ 'forehead' | /hàth/ 'hand' |
| /t/ | /tis/ | 'thirst' | /bātī/ 'paper charm' | /rāt/ 'night' |
| /d/ | /dúd/ | 'milk' | /dādī/ 'paternal grandmother' | /trand/'flock' |
| /ṭh/ | /ṭhamṭhokɔ/ | 'woodpecker' | /puṭhɔ/ masc. 'opposite' | /aṭh/ 'eight' |
| /ṭ/ | /ṭang/ | 'leg' | /būṭɔ/ 'tree' | /čhaṭ/ 'saddle bag' |
| /ḍ/ | /ḍanḍ/ | 'voice, call' | /ḍā́ḍī/ fem. 'strong' | /ḍaḍ/ 'toad' |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /čh/ | /čhurrī/ | 'knife' | /bačhɔ/ | | 'calf' | /pučh/ | 'ask!' |
| /č/ | /čīṛā/ | 'clothes' | /bačɔ/ | masc. | 'child' | /beč/ | 'sell!' |
| /ǰ/ | /ǰandarɔ/ | 'lock' | /bāǰɔ/ | | 'guitar' | /aǰ/ | 'today' |
| /s/ | /sap/ | 'snake' | /sasū/ | | 'mother-in-law' | /pīs/ | 'grind!' |
| /š/ | /šak/ | 'doubt' | /tamāšɔ/ | | 'a show' | /xuš/ | 'happy' |
| /z/ | /zarī/ | 'a little' | /mazɔ/ | | 'enjoyment' | /bāz/ | 'butterfly' |

/y/ /yād/ 'memory' /bakāyɔ/ [bʌkaːʸɔ] 'remainder' /pa̰y/ (/ba̰y/) 'brother'

## Variation

Often the Western cognates of Eastern words featuring medial or final /z/ are instead pronounced with /j/:

(17) Correspondence of Western /j/ to Eastern /z/

| Eastern | Western | |
|---|---|---|
| /peāz/ | /pīāǰ/ | 'onion' |
| /rozɔ/ | /roǰɔ/ | 'ritual fast' |
| /gaz/ | /gaǰ/ | 'one meter' |

One interesting counterexample to this pattern is the Western Pronunciation of the Kashmiri city of Rajauri, /razɔrī/, which Eastern speakers pronounce as /raĵɔrī/.

## Velar Area Stops and Fricatives

The characteristic three-way opposition noted earlier is attested in the velar area by /kh/, /k/, and /g/. The velar fricatives /x/ and /Y/ are of foreign origin but by no means rare. The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is always associated with low tone on the following vowel. It contrasts in initial position with words beginning with glottal stop [ʔ] followed by a vowel.

## Contrast

(18) Velar area phonemic contrasts

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /kh/ vs. /k/ | /kham/ | 'feather' | /kam/ | 'work' |
| | /likh/ | 'write!' | /lik/ | 'lap up (water or milk)!' |
| /k/ vs. /g/ | /korɔ/ | 'frost' | /gorɔ/ | 'white man' |
| | /čɔk/ | 'intersection' | /čɔg/ | 'bird food (regurgitated)' |
| /g/ vs. /ɣ/ | /gam/ | 'deep crevasse' | /ɣam/ | 'worry, care' |
| | /nāg/ | 'cobra' | /bāɣ/ | 'garden' |
| /ɣ/ vs. /x/ | /ɣer/ | 'other, strange' | /xer/ | 'it's OK' |
| | /šuɣal/ | 'fun' | /buxārī/ | 'chimney' |
| /x/ vs. /kh/ | /xān/ | 'Khan' (a title) | /khāṇ/ | 'a mine' |
| | /mex/ | 'nail' | /dekh/ | 'look!' |
| /h/ vs. Ø | /hàḍī/ | 'bone' | /aḍī/ [ʔʌɖi] | 'heel' |
| | /hànḍī/ | 'clay pot' | /anḍī/ [ʔʌɳɖi] | 'physique' |
| | /hā̀ḷ/ | 'plow' | /āḷɔ/ [ʔa:ɭɔ] | 'one who ...' |

## Distribution

The fricative /h/ occurs only in initial position. The other velar area phonemes haveno general distributional restrictions, although MacEachern (1997:58) finds that, whileinitial /h/ may cooccur with aspirated stops in words, 'there is only one aspirated stopper word, unless the aspirated stops are identical.' Thus /kh/ may occur with /h/ oranother /kh/, but not with /ph/, /th/, /ch/, or /Th/. I have not found any counterexamples

## Variation

In the normal speech of most Gujjars, the /g/ in any final /ng/ cluster is unpronounced. For example, /rang/

'color' is articulated as [raŋ]; /mang/ 'beg!' is articulated as [maŋ].

The sub-phonemic glottal stop [?] is most readily observed in the negative response to a yes-no question, /na/ [nA? 'no'. It also precedes any word-initial vowel that is not also low tone, i.e. it occurs wherever /h/ does not. The fricativation of /h/ is very faint, and is reduced to inaudible in all words like /hávā/ [əvà:] 'wind' in which the first syllable is unstressed (see 3.1.2.5.3).

## Gemination

Gemination, the doubling of consonants, has phonemic status in Gojri. Geminated segments are difficult for the non-native speaker to distinguish from their non-geminated counterparts without contrastive data.

(20) Contrasts between geminated and non-geminated consonants

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | /ammā (kɔ)/ | '(of) Mother' |
| | | (the final vowel in 'Mother' is phonetically nasalized) |
| vs. | /amā~ (kɔ)/ | '(of) mangoes' |
| | /dabbɔ/ masc. | 'spotted' |
| vs. | /dabɔ/ | 'box' |
| | /addɔ/ | 'Father' |
| vs. | /ádɔ/ masc. | 'half' |
| | /allā/ | 'Allah' |
| vs. | /hàlā/ | 'Oh! Wow!' |

Other words featuring geminated constants include /annɔ/ ‘blind man’, /ćhakkor/ ‘bread basket’, and /ćhitter/ ‘kind of shoe’.

## Gojri Vowel Phonemes

Both the Kaghani and Allaiwal dialects of Gojri have ten vowel phonemes, which are equivalent to those of Urdu and Punjabi. Gojri /ɛ/ is lower than the [eː] of wellenunciated Urdu. An eleventh vowel, the marginal [æ], occurs rarely in English loans such as [kæmp] ‘camp’ and [bæg] ‘duffel bag’.

## Oral Vowels

The oral vowel phonemes of Gojri are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Gojri Oral Vowel Phonemes

| | front | central | back |
|---|---|---|---|
| close | ī | | ū |
| | i | | u |
| close-mid | e | | o |
| | | a | |
| open-mid | ɛ | | ɔ |
| open | | ā | |

Six vowel phonemes comprise three ‘short/long’ vowel pairs: /a/ [ʌ] and /ā/ [aː], /i/ [ĭ] and /ī/ [iː], /u/ [ŭ] and /ū/ [uː]. The close back vowels /u/ and /ū/ differ only in length, while the members of the other pairs are distinguished primarily by differences in length but also by

quality differences. The remaining vowel phonemes are all phonologically long: /ɛ/ [eː], /ɛ/ [ɛː], /o/ [oː], and /ɔ/ [ɔː].

The vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ correspond to the monophthongized diphthongs transcribed for Hindi-Urdu as /ai/ and /au/, respectively (Masica 1991:110-111). The latter representations are problematic for Gojri, however. The distribution of /ɛ/ is not limited to lexical roots as in Urdu, but rather extends to key grammatical morphemes such as the locative case marker and third person singular agreement marker (where Urdu has /ɛ/). Using /ai/ would falsely imply that these markers had a historical diphthongal connection when in fact they are cognate with /ɛ/. Likewise, while Gojri /ɔ/ occurs in many of the same roots where it occurs in Urdu, it also figures prominently as the nominative masculine singular agreement marker within the noun phrase and as a verbal suffix for certain stems ending in a vowel. Using /au/ to represent /ɔ/ in such cases would be both misleading and awkward. These decisions have no bearing on the Gojri representations of these vowels, which are identical to their representations in Urdu.

The ten phonemic Gojri vowels contrast in monosyllables beginning with /m/ and closing with the liquids /l/, /L/ or /R/ as shown in (21):

**Phonemic vowel contrasts**

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ | /mal/ | 'rub!' | /ā/ | /māḷ/ | | 'wealth' |
| /i/ | /mil/ | 'meet!' | /a/ | /mīl/ | | 'mile' |
| /ɛ/ | /mɛl/ | 'filth' | /e/ | /meḷ/ | | 'milk!' |
| /u/ | /mul/ | 'price' | /ū/ | /mūl/ | | 'value' |
| /ɔ/ | /mɔl/ | 'be healed!' | /o/ | /moṛ/ | trans. | 'return!' |

The contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/ is particularly difficult to hear, especially in the Western dialect where /ɔ/ is less open than in Eastern. Some helpful contrasts are shown in (22).

## Differentiation of /o/ and /ɔ/

| | |
|---|---|
| /do sɔ do/ | 'two hundred two' |
| /do so réā/ (/do so rī́ā/) | 'two [men] went to sleep' |
| /sɔdɔ/ | 'groceries' |
| /us kɔ do sɔ rupáyyɔ/ | 'his two hundred rupees' |
| /kó/ | 'slaughter!' |
| /kɔ́/ | 'say!' |

In addition, each of the seven Gojri long vowels has a phonemic nasalized long vowel counterpart. Where nasalized short vowels are noted in the phonetic data, their nasality is always due to Environmental conditioning. This accords with Ohala's (1983) analysis for Hindi, endorsed by Masica (1991:117). The nasalized long vowels often occur in grammatical morphemes, as we shall see in Chapter 4.

### Nasalized Vowels

The nasalized vowel phonemes of Gojri are shown in Table 3.

**Table 3. Gojri Nasalized Vowel Phonemes**

| | front | central | back |
|---|---|---|---|
| close | ĩ~ | | ũ~ |
| close-mid | e~ | | o~ |
| open-mid | ɛ~ | | ɔ~ |
| open | | ã~ | |

The contrast between /e~/ and /E~/ in my data is very tentative. It seems that /ɛ/ might belowered to /ɛ/ due to the effects of nasalization. For this reason it is difficult to tell evenif the ergative postposition should be transcribed as /nE/ (Sharma 1982) or as /ne/ per thestandard Urdu transcription.

## Contrast

(23) Short versus long vowels

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ vs. /ā/ | /rat/ | 'blood' | /rāt/ | 'night' |
| | /kaṛ/ | 'wood pile' | /kāṛ/ | 'rocky place' |
| /i/ vs. /ī/ | /giṭh/ | 'handspan' | /gīt/ (/gīd/) | 'song' |
| | /biǰ/ | 'lightning bolt' | /bīǰ/ | 'seed' |
| /u/ vs. /ū/ | /čup/ | 'hush!' | /čūp/ | 'suck!' |
| | /puč/ | 'ask!' | /pūč/ | 'clean!' |

(24) Contrasts between qualitively adjacent vowels

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ vs. /i/ | /nač/ | 'dance!' | /ničh/ | 'sneeze!' |
| | /lasī/ | 'buttermilk' | /lisī/ fem. | 'weak' |
| /a/ vs. /ɛ/ | /bas/ | 'enough!' 'dwell!' | /bɛs/ | 'sit!' |
| | /hàl/ intrans. | 'shake!' | /hɛ̀l/ | 'get used to!' |
| /ɔ/ vs. /u/ | /mɔl/ | 'be healed' | /mul/ | 'price' |
| | /pɔ́č/ | 'arrive!' | /puch/ | 'ask [question]!' |
| /a/ vs. /u/ | /mandrī/ fem. | 'low' | /mundrī/ | 'earring' |
| /e/ vs. /ī/ | /ǰéb/ (/ǰeb/) | 'pocket' | /ǰī́b/ | 'tongue' |
| /o/ vs. /u/ | /ṭor/ | 'drive [cattle]!' | /ṭur/ | 'walk!' |
| | /moṛ/ trans. | 'return!' | /muṛ/ intrans. | 'return!' |
| /o/ vs. /ū/ | /čorī/ | 'stealing' | /čūrī/ | 'dipping bread in oil' |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ɛ/ vs. /e/ | /kɛ/ locative postposition/ conjunctive participle | | /ke/ 'what?' / complementizer 'that' | | |
| | /tɛ/ | 'and' | /te/ | ablative postposition | |
| | /mɛrɔ/ | 'big field' | /merɔ/ masc. | 'my' | |
| /ɔ/ vs. /o/ | /kɔ́/ | 'say!' | /kó/ | 'slaughter!' | |
| | /sɔ/ | 'one hundred' | /so/ | 'sleep!' | |
| | /bɔ́tɔ/ | 'security' | /bóṭī/ | 'bride' | |

(25) Oral versus nasalized vowels

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ā/ vs. /ã~/ | /dā/ | 'method' | /dã~/ | 'please' | E. only |
| | /terā/ masc.sg. | 'your' | /terã~/ | 'thirteen' | |
| /ī/ vs. /ĩ~/ | /lasī/ | 'buttermilk' | /sĩ~/ | 'lion' | |
| /e/ vs. /e~/ | /ise/ | 'this very one' | /ise~/ | 'this one did' | W.only |
| | | | /nasãpe~/ | 'suddenly' | |
| | /peš/ | a vowel diacritic | /e~š/ | 'enjoyment' | |
| /ɛ/ vs. /ɛ~/ | /čalɛ/ | 'he goes' | /čalɛ~/ | 'they go' | E.only |
| | /tɛ/ | 'and' | /tɛ~/ sg. | 'you did' | |
| /ū/ vs. /ũ~/ | /ǰū/ | 'fodder' | /ǰũ~/ | 'lice' | |
| /o/ vs. /o~/ | /nĩ hòsɛ/ | 'won't be' | /hò~s/ | 'interest' | |
| /ɔ/ vs. /ɔ~/ | /xɔf/ | 'fear' | /sɔ~f/ | 'anise' | |

## Distribution

The only restriction on vowel occurrence is that there is generally no phonemiccontrast between short/long pairs in final position, i.e. /i/ and /u/ do not occur wordfinallyand /a/ occurs word-finally only in the third person feminine singular pronouns.

## Distribution of vowels in words

| | Initial | | Medial | | Final | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ | /ammā/ | 'Mother' | /sad/ | 'call' | /wá/ | 'she, that' |
| /ā/ | /ādmī/ | 'person' | /bāp/ | 'father' | /wā́/ | 'bravo!' |
| /i/ | /it/ | 'here' | /jit/ | 'wherever' | ---------- | |
| /ī/ | /īd/ | 'Eid' | /bīr/ | 'friend' | /jī/ | 'Sir' |
| /ɛ/ | /ɛr/ | 'scare crow' | /čɛt/ | '4th lunar month' | /tɛ/ | 'and' |
| /e/ | /ek/ | 'one' | /merī/ | fem. 'my' | /le/ | 'take!' |
| /u/ | /ut/ | 'there' | /ṭur/ | 'walk!' | ---------- | |
| /ū/ | /ūr/ | 'a thorny bush' | /dūjī/ | fem. 'second' | /utū/ | 'from there' |
| /o/ | /oṛī/ | 'log' | /morɔ/ | 'hole' | /so/ | 'sleep!' |
| /ɔ/ | /ɔṛ/ | 'idiot' | /mɔt/ | 'death' | /sɔ/ | 'one hundred' |

## Variation

In unstressed syllables of disyllabic words lacking suffixation, the short vowels /a/ [ə] and /u/ [ʊ] are in free variation. Most often this involves words ending in the liquids /r/, /r/, and /l/. Vowel harmony may play a rɔle in determining which variant will occur most often for a given word. In phonemic representation, /a/ is tentatively preferred. This is another decision that has no impact on Gojri spellings, since unstressed stem vowels are not normally written.

## Variation of /u/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /kukaṛ/ | 'chicken' | [ˈkʊkʊṛ] | or | [ˈkʊkəṛ] |
| /šukar/ | 'thanks' | [ˈsʊkʊr] | or | [ˈšʊkər] |
| /čɔkar/ | 'cattle' | [ˈčɔːkʊr] | or | [ˈčɔːkər] |
| /apar/ | 'above' | [ˈʌpʊr] | or | [ˈʌpər] |
| /brābar/ | 'equal' | [ˈbraːbʊr] | or | [ˈbraːbər] |
| /gidaṛ/ | 'jackal' | [ˈgɪdʊṛ] | or | [ˈgɪdəṛ] |
| /mačhar/ | 'mosquito' | [ˈmʌčhʊr] | or | [ˈmʌčhər] |
| /ǰusam/ | 'body' | [ˈǰʊsʊm] | or | [ˈǰʊsəm] |

/badal/ 'rain' [ˈbadʊl] or [ˈbadəl]
/čittar/ 'kind of shoe' [ˈčɪtːʊr] or [ˈčɪtːər]

For certain words like the Perso-Arabic loan /háfāzat/ 'protection', an /u/ Pronunciation in the final syllable is incorrect. Utterance-final vowels, along with any consonants immediately preceding them, are frequently devoiced. Most often these are vowel suffixes on nouns and verbs. For example, in perfective constructions involving transitive verbs the auxiliary verb /ćhur/ 'drop', along with any inflectional endings, is often completely devoiced. In feminine nouns, the effect of this devoicing can be the production of a voiceless palatal fricative, [ç] in the IPA transcription, at the point where the feminine suffix /ī/ devoices. Any vowel immediately following a nasal consonant will also become nasalized. This generalization does not extend to vowels following the so-called 'nasal clusters.'

## Phonotactics

## Syllable Types

The most basic Gojri syllable type consists of a consonantal onset (C) and a shortvowel nucleus (V), and is represented abstractly as CV. This type of syllable rarely occurs as a word by itself, i.e. as a monosyllabic word. One example is the Proximate third singular feminine pronoun /yá/ 'she, this.' A syllable consisting only of a shortvowel nucleus (V) may also occur, but only in polysyllabic words like /ugárī/ fem.

‘naked’ shown in (29) below. Monosyllabic words featuring a consonantal onset (C) and a long-vowel nucleus (VV), represented as CVV, are quite common. Some examples of such CVV monosyllables are the number /do/ [do:] ‘two’, and the verb /pī/ ‘drink!’ In a very few cases, a long-vowel nucleus monosyllable occurs without an onset. The only two examples of such VV monosyllables in my database are the vocative interjection /ɔ/ [ɔ:] ‘Oh’, and the distal third masculine singular variant /ó/ [ó:] ‘he, that.’

Two other syllable types, CVC and CVVC, feature both an onset and consonantal coda (C) after the vowel nucleus. Syllables having a coda are called ‘closed’, while those lacking a coda are called ‘open’ (a term relevant to the following discussion of verb stems). Some examples of CVC monosyllables are /bić/ ‘in’ and /kam/ ‘work.’ Some examples of CVVC monosyllables are /lūn/ ‘salt’ and /mɛ́s/ [mɛ́:s] ‘buffalo.’ Examples of closed monosyllables include the VC /it/ ‘here’ and /ut/ ‘there’, and the VVC /ek/ [e:k] ‘one’ and /ɔr/ [ɔ:r] ‘idiot.’

Sequences of two consonants may also occur in the onset and coda of syllables, without any intervening vowel. Such onsets and codas, represented as CC, expand the inventory of syllable types to include those shown in (28).

**(28) Syllable Types Featuring CC Sequences**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| CCVCC | /trand/ 'flock' | /kranḍ/ 'silo' |
| CCVC | /sraḍ/ 'hay' | /prat/ 'turn over!' |
| CCVV | /grā~/ 'village' | /kyū~/ 'why' |
| CCVVC | /khwāḷ/ 'feed!' | /troṛ/ 'break off!' |
| CVCC | /bast/ 'jewelry' | /dand/ 'tooth' |
| CVVCC | /dānd/ 'ox' | /šārk/ 'mina bird' |

The types CCV and CCVVCC are not attested in my data.

All polysyllabic Gojri words may be analyzed as combinations of the syllable types described above. A partial list of possible syllable patterns is shown in (29).

**(29) Syllable patterns in polysyllabic words**

| | |
|---|---|
| V.CVV | /itār/ 'Sunday' |
| V.CVV.CVV | /ugə̀ṛī/ fem. 'naked' |
| VC.CVV | /ačbī/ 'exhaustion, discomfort' |
| VC.CVVC | /absos/ 'sadness' |
| CV.CV.CVV | /kìgarɔ/ (/gìgarɔ/ ) 'a kind of frock' |
| CV.CVV | /tùnī/ (/dùnī/)'navel' |
| CV.CVV.VV | /babṹɔ/ 'spider' |
| CV.CVV.VC | /maleàp/ 'worm' |
| CV.CVV.VVC | /pìgeāṛ/ (/bìgīāṛ/) 'wolf' |
| CV.CVV.CVV | /kasì̀ṭī/ 'crawling' |
| CV.CVC | /mazab/ 'religion' |
| CV.CVVC | /paṛə̀s/ (/baṛə̀s/) 'steam' |
| CVV.VV | /pīɛ/ '(s)he drinks' |
| CVV.CVC | /kə̀bar/ (/gə̀bar/) 'be fearful!' |
| CVV.CVV | /mī̀nɔ/ 'month' |
| CVV.CVV.VVC | /dādeə̀l̩/ 'paternal relatives' |
| CVV.CVVC | /dɔpə́ir/ (/dɔpə́r/) 'noon' |
| CVV.CCVV | /kə̀brā/ (/gə̀brā/) 'cause to worry!' |
| CCVV.CVV | /swə̀gā/ 'ashes' |
| CVC.CVV | /baṛkə̀/ trans. 'boil!' |
| CVC.CVC | /čhittar/ 'kind of shoe' |
| CVC.CVVC | /budwə̀r/ 'Wednesday' |
| CVC.CVV.CVV | /hàmzol̩ɔ/ masc. 'age mate' |

The syllable structure of a word can be altered through inflection. In words structured 'CV.CVC (or similarly), the unstressed vowel of the CVC syllable elides upon the addition of an inflectional affix (cf. Masica 1991:227) and the result is a word of type CVC.CVV. For example, when affixed with the plural oblique before a postposition, /āfas/ 'office' becomes /āfsā~ (mā)/ '(in) offices' and /jatak/ 'child' becomes /jatkā~ (nā)/ '(to) children.' The same elision is observed for the addition of

the causative suffix /-ā/. Compare /(bāl) katar/ ‘cut (hair)!’ to /(bāl) katrā/ ‘get someone to cut (hair)!’

## Consonant Clusters

In Gojri words, two consonants may occur together in sequence or ‘cluster’ without any intervening vowel. Initial clusters are relatively uncommon. Only the consonants /r/, /w/, /y/ and /l/ (e.g. /blādrī/ ‘clan’) can occur as the second member of an initial cluster, although due to loans like /skūl/ ‘school’ this set may be slightly expanded (but note the variant [s^ku:l] ). Consonants which cannot occur as the first member of an initial cluster are /r/, /w/, /y/, /h/ and the non-initial retroflexes /n/, /r/, and /l/ My database contains words in which the following occur as the first member of initial clusters: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /d/, /k/, /kh/, /g/, /j/, /s/, /X/, /x/, /n/ (possibly disallowed in Western) and /l/ (e.g. /lwā/ ‘dress (someone else)!’). In addition, Gujjars have no trouble pronouncing the name of the Perso-Arabic letter /zwād/. Presumably other stops, fricatives, and affricates may also occur as the first member, although it seems unlikely that many examples could be found for /f/ and the nasal /m/.

Final consonant clusters are only slightly more common, the difference being due to the frequency of nasal clusters (which do not occur initially). Generally speaking, the first member of a final cluster must be a nasal (other than /m/) or a continuant, and the second member must be a stop, fricative, or affricate (provided it

otherwise occurs wordfinally). The fricatives /f/, /s/, and /š/ may therefore occur in either position. Except for those clusters which also occur word-initially, medial clusters, including nasal clusters, occur across syllable boundaries.

## Vowel Sequences (Hiatus)

Vowel sequences involving two syllables within Gojri lexical roots are the exception. Two such sequences, /oā/ and /eɔ/, are attested by one word each in my database: /rɔāĵ/ 'custom' and /reɔr/ 'spruce.' A third sequence, /eā/ (/īā/), is much more frequent. Some examples are /dèārɔ/ (/dīārɔ/)'day', /seāL/ (/seāL/) 'winter', and /bideā/ (/bidīā/) 'a farewell.' The /eā/ (/īā/) sequence sounds like a Cy sequence in rapid speech (especially in Western), but in deliberate speech sounds quite different from a true Cy sequence such as that in the word /kyū~/ 'why', i.e. it is syllabified, and there is a clear /ɛ/ vs. /ī/ quality contrast between the Eastern and Western varieties. In longer words like /pìgèār/ (/bìgīār/) 'wolf', /ɛ/ (/ī/) and /ā/ are more clearly pronounced in separate syllables.

A large number of vowel sequences may occur across morpheme boundaries. Normally these involve two syllables; however, the suffixes /ī/, /ū~/, or /ɛ/ may result in monosyllabic sequences. What is claimed in (30) and below for any level-tone oral vowel is also true for any nasalized or high-tone counterpart.

(30) Vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries (the second vowel is suffixal)

| Sequence | Example | | Number of syllable |
|---|---|---|---|
| /aī/ | /gaī/ | | 'she went' one |
| /āū~/ | /āū~/ | | 'I come' one |
| /āī/ | /āī/ | | 'she came' one |
| /āe/ | /kāe/ | | indef.fem.sg. pronoun one |
| /āɛ/ W. only | /āɛ/ | | '(s)he comes' two |
| /āɔ~/ W. only | /āɔ~/ | | 'you (pl.) come!' two |
| /ūī/ | /sūī/ | | 'needle' two |
| /ūɔ/ | /mūɔ/ | masc.sg. | 'dead' two |
| /ūā/ | /mūā/ | masc.pl. | 'dead' two |
| /īɔ/ | /līɔ/ | masc.sg. | 'took' two |
| /īā~/ | /pīā/ | masc.pl. | 'drank' two |
| /īū/ | /pīū~/ | | 'I drink' two |
| /īɛ/ | /pīɛ/ | | '(s)he drinks' two |
| /īe/ | /āīe/ (/āī~e)/ fut. | | 'come!' two |
| /oā~/ | /soā~/ | | 'we sleep' two |
| /oe/ | /doe/ | | 'both' two |
| /oī/ | /koī/ | fem.sg. | 'slaughtered' one |
| /oɛ/ | /soɛ/ | | '(s)he sleeps' two |
| /oɔ/ | /noɔ/ | masc.sg. | 'new' two |
| /oū~/ | /soū~/ | | 'I sleep' two |
| /eā~/ E. only | /leā~/ | | 'we take' two |
| /eɛ/ E. only | /leɛ/ | | '(s)he takes' two |
| /eɔ/ E. only | /deɔ/ | | 'you pl. give!' two |
| /ɛe/ | /trɛe/ | | 'all three' one |

Certain cases of hiatus are resolved by epenthesis. The examples in (31) show an epenthetic /w/ [v] coming between a root-final vowel /ā/ and the masculine singular and plural agreement suffixes, /-ɔ/ and /-ā/ (feminine forms of these examples do not exist).

(31) /w/ epenthesis for vowel sequence /ā/ + /ɔ/, /ā/

| root | masculine singular ( + /-ɔ/) | | masculine plural (+ /-ā/) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /nā-/ | /nāwɔ/ | 'spout' | /nāwā/ | 'spouts' |
| /dɛ̀-/ | /dɛ̀wɔ/ | 'claim' | /dɛ̀wā/ | 'claims' |
| /kalā-/ | /kalāwɔ/ | 'arm clutch' | /kalāwā/ | 'arm clutches' |

The Western form /dīwɔ/ 'lamp' (Eastern /dīɔ/) suggests that /w/ epenthesis may occur in Western between /ī/ and these agreement suffixes. Unfortunately I have no other examples or counterexamples. All remaining cases of hiatus involve suffixation, and are resolved by either epenthesis or stem vowel modification as explained in 2.4.

## Morphophonemic Vowel Changes

## Vowel Changes with Verbal Suffixation

Significant morphophonemic processes operate when verb stems that end in a vowel are inflected by vowel suffixes, as is evident from the verb paradigms presented in Appendix C. All such processes issue from phonotactic constraints, including the need to resolve hiatus of a disallowed vowel sequence.

## Vowel Changes with the Causative Suffix /-ā/

The addition of the causative suffix /-ā/ can result in reduction of the root vowel in roots which end in a consonant. An example is /ʃ̀āg/ 'wake up!', /ʃ̀āgā/ 'wake [someone] up!' This particular reduction process rarely

applies, because there are few long-vowel roots that take the causative suffix.

In roots ending in a vowel, addition of the causative suffix /-ā/ (or /-āl/) can result in the resolution of hiatus via labialization, and deletion of the original stem vowel. Some common examples are shown in (32).

**(32) Labialization in causative verbs ending in a vowel**

| Verb Root | Synthesized Causative Stem |
|---|---|
| /lā/ 'put on [article of clothing]!' | /lwā/ 'dress [someone]!' |
| /lā́/ 'remove [article of clothing]!' | /lwā́/ 'get [someone]to remove [article of clothing]!' |
| /khā/ 'eat!' | /khwāḷ/ 'feed!' |
| /so/ 'sleep' | /swāḷ/ 'put to sleep' |

The derivation of /lwā/ 'dress [someone]!' from /lā/ 'put on!' shown in (33) - (35)illustrates this process. First, the inherently stressed causative suffix is added to theunderlying verb root:

(33) /lā-/ + /-ā/

Next, as the sequence /ā/ + /ā/ is generally disallowed in Gojri, an epenthetic /w/ isinserted between the suffix and the root vowel:

(34) lā + w + ā > lā'wā

Finally, the original stem vowel - now unstressed due to the shift of stress to the syllable containing the causative suffix - is deleted, resulting in the synthesized form:

(35) lā'wā >lwā

Vowel Changes with Vocalic Tense, Aspect, and Agreement Suffixes

The perfective suffix /-e/ (/-ī/) and a following feminine agrseement marker (/-ī/ or/-ī~/, the latter is Eastern only) always coalesce to /-ī/.

Verb stems may end in the long vowels /o/, /ā/, /ɛ/, /ī/, and /ɛ/. Stems ending in /ī/show no variation other than the absorption of any immediately following suffixed /ī/.The feminine singular perfective /pī/ '[he] drank [it [fem.]]' is thus the product of /pī-/'drink', the perfective suffix /-ē/(/-ī/), and the feminine singular suffix /-ī/.

Stems ending in /ɛ/ like 'give' and 'take' raise to /ī/ before the first singular suffix /ū~/.Thus, /dīū~/ 'I give' is the product of /de-/ 'give' and /-ū~/. In the Western dialect, stemsending in /ɛ/ will also raise to /ī/ before any suffixed /ā/, /ɔ/, or /ɛ/. In the Eastern dialect,stems ending in /ɛ/ will absorb the /ɛ/ while acquiring the nasality of the suffix /-ɛ~/. Suchstems also reduce from/ɛ/ to /a/ before any suffixed /ī/.

Stems ending in /o/ absorb any suffixed /ɔ/ in the Western dialect. The Eastern dialect inserts an epenthetic /w/ between the verb /hó-/ 'to be' and any suffixed /ā/, /ɛ/ or /ɔ/, but does not do this for other stems ending in /o/.

For stems ending in /ā/ such as /ā-/ ‘come’, the Eastern dialect inserts an epenthetic /w/ between the stem vowel /ā/ and any suffixed /ā/, /ɛ/, or /ɔ/. This epenthetic /w/ is in free variation with the absence of epenthetic /w/ in the speech of some Western speakers. When the ‘vector’ verb and passive formative /ĵā-/ ‘go’ is immediately followed by the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/), the two roots will contract without any epenthetic /w/ such that any suffixed /ɛ/ raises to /ī/. In the Western dialect, this contraction applies to any verb ending in /ā/, although it alternates with the epenthesis process in the speech of some persons. For example, the Western contraction /āĪgɔ/ ‘he will come’ may alternate with the uncontracted and epenthesized /āwɛ gɔ/.

For stems ending in /ɛ/ like the defective modal verb /pɛ-/ ‘fall’, the stem vowel changes to /o/ before any suffixed /ɛ/ in the Eastern dialect, but coalesces with the suffixed /ɛ/ in the Western dialect. For masculine perfective forms, the stem vowel /ɛ/ is absorbed by the perfective suffix /-e/ (/-ī/), whereas for feminine forms it is reduced to /a/ before the perfective suffix.

Stems ending in the high-tone /ɛ́/ are particularly subject to morphophonemic change. For verbs such as /kɛ́/ ‘say’ and /rɛ́/ ‘stay’, the stem vowel remains unchanged before a vowel suffix only when coalescing with another suffixed /ɛ/, and before the future imperative suffix /-ī~/ in the Western dialect. In both

dialects it reduces to /á/ before /ū/ and before all remaining cases of suffixed /ī/. Before a suffixed /ɔ/ it raises to /ɛ/ in Eastern and to /ī/ in Western. In all cases the resulting suffix carries the high tone from the original stem vowel. The inflections of /rɛ́/ 'stay' given in Table 4 below attest these changes.

For verb stems ending in vowels, irregular suppletive forms abound - especially in the irregular perfectives, as is evident in Appendix C (see also 4.2.1.1.3 on the old –ita participle in Gojri).

Table 4. Morphophonemic Changes for Stems Ending in /ɛ́/: /rɛ́/ 'stay'

(unique Western forms are in parentheses)

| | | Stem | (Tense) | Agreement | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified | 1sg. | rɛ́- | | -ū~ | ráū~ |
| | 1pl. | rɛ́- | | -ā~ | rā́~ |
| | 2/3sg. | rɛ́- | | -ɛ | rɛ́ |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | rɔ́ (rɛ́) |
| | 3pl. | rɛ́- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | rɛ́~ (rɛ́) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | rɔ́- | | Ø | rɔ́ |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | rɔ́ (rɔ́~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | rɛ́- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | ráīe (rɛ́ī~e) |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | ráīɔ (rɛ́ī~ɔ~) |

| | | Stem | Aspect | Agreement | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perfective | m.sg. | rɛ́- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | rɛ́ɔ (rī́ɔ) |
| | m.pl. | rɛ́- | -e (-ī) | -ā | rɛ́ā (rī́ā) |
| | f.sg. | rɛ́- | -e (-ī) | -ī | ráī |
| | f.pl. | rɛ́- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | ráī~ (ráī) |

## Vowel Changes with Nominal Suffixation

Nominal and adjectival roots ending in /o/ [o:] reduce to /u/ [ʊ] in the speech of someGujjars when suffixed by the masculine agreement markers /-ɔ/ and /-ā/. The phenomeno seems to be a matter of idiolect rather than dialect, as persons from the same householdoften differ with respect to it. Some examples are given in (36).

(36) Reduction of nominal root vowel /o/ [o:] to /u/ [ʊ]

| root | | reduced masc. variant | unreduced variant | feminine singular (or diminuitive) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /to-/ | 'roti pan' | [tʊɔ:] | [to:ɔ:] | [to:i:] E. only |
| /go-/ | 'manure' | [gʊɔ:] | [go:ɔ:] | [go:i:] |
| /ló-/ | 'metal' | [lʊ́ɔ:] | [ló:ɔ:] | ----- |
| /no-/ | 'new' | [nʊ~ɔ:] | [no:~ɔ:] | [no:~i:] |

Another idiolectic feature occurring with nominal suffixation is the use of an epenthetic glide between the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ and monosyllabic noun stems ending in the vowels /ā~/ and /ā/. This epenthesis is in free variation with the absence of epenthesis, in which case the oblique plural marker simply coalesces with these nominal stem vowels (the resulting words are phonetically longer than their uninflected forms). Some examples from Eastern speech are provided in (37). Such forms are typical of my Eastern associate, but not of his mother and older brother.

(37) Epenthesis with inflected nouns ending in a vowel (only Eastern forms shown)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /is grā~ mā/ | 'in this village' | /ínā~ grā~yā~ mā/ | 'in these villages' |
| /is jā mā/ | 'in this place' | /ínā~ jāyā~ mā/ | 'in these places' |
| /is rā́ mā/ | 'in this path' | /ínā~ rā́yā~ mā/ | 'in these paths' |

The same kind of epenthesis occurs in Western speech, although with the geminated /yy/ glide, as in /gā~yyā~ (kɔ dúd)/ 'cows' (milk).' This form is typical of the speech of my Western associate's mother, whereas my Western associate simply says /gā~ (kɔ dúd)/ 'cow(s) (milk)' which is formally ambiguous in number. Such epenthesis is not noted for polysyllabic stems, e.g. Eastern /(únā~) pɛ́Nā~ (nā)/ '(to those) women' vs. /(us) pɛ́nā (nā)/ '(to that) woman.' At least one instance of (presumably) obligatory epenthesis occurs in an idiom common to both dialects: /mā~yā~ bāpā~ kɔ ke hāl hɛ́/ 'How are [your] parents?' (Eastern). Here epenthesis occurs between the first word, /mā~/ 'mother', and the oblique plural marker /-ā~/, creating /mā~yā~/ in Eastern speech and /mā~yyā~/ in Western.

## Other Processes

Assimilation of /l/ and /l/

The retroflex /ḷ/ becomes dental /l/ in clusters before any dental area consonant. Forexample, phonemic /baLtɔ rɛ́/ 'keeps burning' becomes phonetic [baltɔ rɛ́] after the /ḷ/ of the root assimiliates to the point of articulation for the imperfective suffix /-t/.

Similarly, dental /l/ becomes retroflexed before a retroflex consonant as in /bālTĪ/ [baLTĪ] 'bucket.' This process is not noted for consonants other than /ḷ/ and /l/.

## Assimiliation of the Dative Postposition /nā/ to the Infinitive

When the dative postposition /nā/ inflects an infinitive in a purpose clause in normal speech, the postposition and infinitive contract such that the initial /n/ assimilates to the retroflex point of articulation of the infinitive suffix /N/. For example, phonemic /mārun nā/ 'for hitting' becomes phonetic [mārunnā] in Pronunciation.

## Avoidance of Cluster /mn/ by Replacement of /n/

Eastern Gojri disallows the cluster /mn/, such that the co-location of /m/ and /n/ atmorpheme boundaries is resolved via replacement of /n/ with /n/. This process is mostreadily observable in the first and second plural dative and agentive pronominal forms.

The following replacements/contractions are obligatory when first and second plural pronouns are followed by the postpositions /nā/ (dative case) and /ne/ (agentive case)without any intervening words:

### (38) Cluster /mn/ avoidance via replacement of /n/ with /n/ in Eastern pronominal forms

| | |
|---|---|
| /hàm ne/ [hʌ̀mn̪eː~] 'we did' | vs. [hʌ̀m loːkaː~ neː~] 'we people did' |
| /hàm nā/ [hʌ̀mn̪aː~] 'to us' | vs. [hʌ̀m loːkaː~ naː~] 'to us people' |

| | |
|---|---|
| /tam ne/ [tʌmɳeː~] 'you did' | vs. [tʌm loːkaː~ neː~] 'you people did' |
| /tam nā/ [tʌmɳaː~] 'to you' | vs. [tʌm loːkaː~ naː~] 'to you people' |

## Replacement of the Infinitive Suffix /-n/ with /-n/

When the infinitive suffix /-n/ is affixed to verb stems ending in a retroflex sonorant, articulatory difficulty is resolved through the replacement of /n/ with /n/. Some examplesand counterexamples are shown in (39).

(39) Replacement of infinitive suffix /-n/ with /n/ following retroflex sonorants

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /āɳɳɔ/ | [aːɳənɔ] | 'to bring' |
| /bāɽɳɔ/ | [baːɽənɔ] | 'to bring inside' |
| /pāl̩ɳɔ/ | [paːl̩ənɔ] | 'to tend (animals or children)' |
| /káɖɳɔ/ | [kʌ́ɖənɔ/ | 'to remove' |
| /uʈhɳɔ/ | [ʊʈhəɳɔ] | 'to rise' (no replacement following non-sonorant) |
| /miʈɳɔ/ | [mɪʈəɳɔ] | 'to fit' (no replacement following non-sonorant) |

## Voicing Assimilation of the Genitive Postposition /k-/

In the speech of many Western dialect speakers, the genitive postposition /k-/ becomes [g-] following any nasalized vowel or nasal consonant. Compare the examples in (40).

(40) Voicing of genitive postposition /k-/

| | |
|---|---|
| /ún kā (ɖerā)/ [ûn gaː (ɖeːraː)] | 'their (houses)' |
| /ún lokā~ kā (ɖerā)/ [ûn loːkaː~ gaː (ɖeːraː)] | 'those people's (houses)' |
| /us kɔ (ɖerɔ)/ [ʊs kɔː (ɖeːrɔː)] | 'his (house)' |

## Perseveratory Nasalization

All oral vowels become nasalized when immediately following a nasal consonant. Asin other languages, the degree of phonetic nasalization in Gojri is directly related to vowel height and length, with lower long vowels becoming the most nasalized (due to loweringof the velum during production of low vowels). For example, the effect is profound for/ā/ and negligible for /i/. Other than /ā/, the nasality of long vowels so nasalized is lessthan that of corresponding phonemic nasal vowels. Thus, the locative and dativepostpositions, /mā/ and /nā/, respectively, are phonetically identical to /mā~/ 'mother'and /nā~/ 'name', the nasalized vowels of which are both underlying. Such nasality doesnot 'persevere' into a second vowel, nor does that of the so-called 'nasal clusters' extend through the non-nasal consonant to a following vowel. Some other words which attestthis process and its scope are shown in (41).

(41) Nasalization of vowels following nasal consonants

| nasalization realized on a final vowel due to immediately preceding nasal consonant | | nasalization not realized on a final vowel due to segment intervening after the nasal | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /māmɔ/ [maːmɔː~] | 'mother's brother' | /noɔ/ [noːɔː] | masc. | 'new' |
| /nānī/ [naːniː~] | 'maternal grandmother' | /mūɔ (wɔ)/ [muːɔː (vɔː)] | masc. | 'dead' |
| /pakhnū/ [pʌkʰnuː~] | 'large bird' | /kaɳḍɔ/ [kʌɳḍɔː] | | 'thorn' |
| /pāṇī/ [paːṇiː~] | 'water' | /angār/ [ʌŋgaːr] | | 'coal' |

## Representation of Gojri Phonemes in the Gojri Script

## Representation of Consonant Phonemes

With the exception of the unique retroflexes /n/ and /ɭ/, Gojri consonant phonemes may be readily represented as per the representation of the equivalent consonants in Urdu. Geminated consonants should be marked as Urdu geminates are marked; i.e. with the superscript diacritic, *tashdeed* (or *shad*, /šad/). In the case of the phonemes /t/, /h/, /s/, /z/, and /k/, one or more additional graphemes from the Perso-Arabic inventory is required to preserve the original spellings of the loan words in which they occur (this convention applies in Urdu as well). Original Pronunciations are seldom applicable, although educated speakers may read [q] rather than the usual (Gojri-ized) [k] in words bearing the letter ♦ (e.g. many names including [qʊra:n] 'Qur'an').

Masica notes that attempts to remove the redundant loan-word graphemes in the writing of other Indo-Aryan languages have generally failed to catch on, given the religious significance of the Arabic language (1991:151). Their removal from Gojri would constitute a significant obstacle to successful transitional literacy by requiring the reader to learn multiple spellings of the same words: original spellings for Urdu texts and onephoneme-one-grapheme spellings for Gojri texts (per the approach recommended by Sharma 1979:148-149). In practice, Gujjar writers almost always use the original spellings.

2.6.1.1 Representation of the Gojri Retroflexes /ṇ/ and /ḷ/

A variety of techniques has been used for representing the Gojri retroflexes /ṇ/ and /ḷ/. Some writers, whether for lack of an alternative or due to an incorrect belief that these segments are merely allophones of /n/ and /l/, simply write them as /n/ and /l/ (⍓ and ◆, respectively). This approach, by ignoring the phonemic status of these segments, introduces a measure of ambiguity that is potentially detrimental to new readers. It also deprives written Gojri of its best opportunity for a distinctive appearance, something that many Gujjars desire. Recognizing a real need to differentiate retroflex /ṇ/ and /ḷ/ from their dental counterparts (and that the retroflex-marking diacritic □, or *toe*, was ineligible due to certain confusion between the writing of /ṭ/ and /ḷ/ in medial contexts), Sabir Afaqi in 1976 proposed unique graphemes in the introduction to his *Phul Kheli*, a book of Gojripoetry; suggesting 🕮 for /n/ and ◆for /l/.

These representations have since been utilized by Professor Afaqi and several of his associates in Pakistan and Pakistan-Occopied Kashmir. While the former has also become the convention of choice on the eastern side, the latter has been rejected there in favor of ڵ. This is not surprising, given the potential for confusing ڵ with the nasality grapheme ✞(*nun gunno*). Professor Afaqi says that he avoided the possibility of ◆due to concern that it would

be confused with ڻ if the latter's center *nuqtah* ('dot') was inadvertantly omitted (2002: personal communication).

It is questionable, however whether an orthographic convention ought to be decided by considerations of errɔr, especially considering how many pairs of letters in Urdu and English are distinguished by a single graphic feature. There is also the fact that most of the Gojri text that Gujars will read in the future will likely be published with the aid of computers (which generally preclude intra-graphemic errɔrs).

The use of ڻ and ◆ for /n/ and /ɭ/, respectively, has the following advantages: (1) it differentiates these segments from their dental counterparts, but by a single and consistent feature, namely, the inverted wedge, or /puthɔ ath/ as it is called in Gojri; (2) on account of its promotion by the Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture & Languages it enjoys greater current acceptance than any other alternative (albeit mainly in Indian-Kashmir); (3) it enables readers to tell by a simple glance that a page of text is Gojri rather than Urdu (or some other regional language); and (4) the inverted wedge character is supported by the widely available InPage 2000 desktop publishing software for the Perso-Arabic script type (perhaps owing to the use of this convention in some Punjabi writing). I believe, therefore, that these graphemes represent the best opportunity for Gujars to standardize the representation of /n/ and /ɭ/. The

adoption of ◆in Pakistan would not be significantly hindered by the past use of ◆, since relatively few Pakistani Gujars have ever seen their language in print. The adoption of any new representations by Gujars in the eastern area would seem considerably more complicated.

For sake of completeness we should note that the graphemes for /ṇ/ and /ḷ/ designed and forwarded by Sharma (1979:150,163,167) are not to my knowledge in use by Gujar writers in any quarter and for that reason do not warrant consideration at the present time.

## Representation of the Geminated Retroflex Lateral /ḷḷ/

Sabir Afaqi has designed and proposed a special grapheme to represent the geminatedretroflex lateral /ḷḷ/ (1976). Since this character is not supported by any word processingsoftware, the segment might be written more simply by using the retroflex lam markedwith the tashdeed or shad diacritic to show the gemination; i.e. ◆. This would also avoidthe introduction of a new alphabet letter, potentially simplifying the literacy task.Writers from the other Pakistani Gojri dialects can readily represent the cognate cluster /rr/ as ᛉ𝄐. Words like 'thrɔat' could thus be spelled نَلّیَ per the MuzaffarabadPronunciation /naLLĪ/, and alternately as نَرڑی – per the Kaghani and Allaiwal Pronunciation /narrĪ/.

## Representation of the Glides /w/ and /y/

Fortunately, none of the allophonic variation for /w/ noted above (in 2.1.3.3) presents a serious orthographic challenge, since the Perso-Arabic ⌘, *vaw*, does duty for phonetic [v], [w], and [o]. Epenthetic /w/ can be written with *vaw* before the second plural suffix /-o/, also written with *vaw*, even though it only occurs in some Eastern varieties: ہوووکا /hówɔ kā/ 'you pl. will be.' Readers lacking this epenthetic /w/ in their own speech can read the first *vaw* as /o/ right along with the second *vaw,* and at worst the /o/ is read as longer than it is actually pronounced. This solution should be tested against one omitting the epenthetic *vaw* with readers from a variety of Pronunciation types. The contrastive variation of initial /w/ (Eastern) and /b/ (Western) cannot be neutralized by the script, and can only be written according to the author's Pronunciation.

Both the palatal glide /y/ and all occurrences of the vowel /ɛ/ are represented by various allographs of the letter *ye* in the Perso-Arabic script. Medially, /yy/ can be distinguished from /y/ (=/ɛ/) by means of the superscript diacritic, *hamza* (Gojri /hámzɔ/), which indicates the juncture of two vowels, but when written above medial *ye* can also be understood to indicate a higher point of articulation than the absence of *hamza*. In final position, /ɛ/ is written with *bari ye*, ﴾. Final /y/, approximating in quality the vowel /ī/, is written with *hamza* above a *choti ye* (Gojri /nikī ye/), ئی whereas final vocalic /ī/ is written

without any *hamza* owing to the absence of any preceding vowel. Some sample spellings are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Orthographic Differentiation of Medial /y/ and /yy/, Final /y/ and /ɛ/

| | initial and final /y/, medial /yy/ | | | medial /y/ and final /e/ | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| initial | یاد | /yād/ | 'memory' | ---------- | | |
| medial | پائیو | /pāyyɔ/ | 'grazing fee' | پایو | /pāyɔ/ | '[bed] leg' |
| | آئیو | /āīɔ/ (/āī~ɔ/) | fut. 'you pl. come!' | آیو | /āyɔ/ | 'he came' |
| final | بھائی | /pə̀y/ (/bə̀y/) | 'brother' | کاے | /kāe/ | 'someone, something' |

## Representation of Nasalized Vowels and Nasal Clusters

In the writing of nasal clusters, the nasal phoneme is represented by a constant /n/ in a phonemic orientalist transcription, and by a constant *nun gunno* /nun ɣunnɔ/, ◌ or ◌ں, in the script, regardless of actual phonetic shape. Nasalized vowels are written with a *nun gunno* after the oral vowel, and all nasal clusters are thus represented as nasalized vowels followed by a consonant. This linguistically sound convention is followed in Gojri as in Urdu. Representing this segment by /n/ in the script, that is by ◌ or *nun*, is contrary to regional orthographic conventions in which /n/ is rejected even when the following consonant is alveolar, e.g. the word for 'ox' is spelled in script as /dā~d/ 'ox'rather than /dānd/.

Similarly, if the following consonant is retroflex and the nasality isrealized as phonetic [N], a spelling that uses the Gojri character for /N/ is rejected outright. Exceptions include words that have a historic /n/, such as /sūntī/ 'circumcision' from /sunat/ 'apostolic precedent', /dukāndār/ 'shop keeper' from /dukān/ 'shop', and /miṇṭ/ [miṇṭ] from the English 'minute.' For all such words *nun*, rather than *nun gunno*, is mandatory in the spelling.

## Phoneme/Grapheme Associations for Gojri Consonants

The complete inventory of Gojri consonant graphemes is presented in Table 6. Only the independent or un-joined form of each grapheme is shown. Aspirated consonants consist of digraphs, the second grapheme being the aspirate , or *do chasmi he*. For phonemes associated with multiple monographs, the 'redundant' Arabic letters are shown to the right of the indigenous letter in order of decreasing frequency.

**Table 6. Phoneme/Grapheme Associations for Gojri Consonants**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /m/ | م | /n/ | ن | /ṇ/ | ڻ | | | | | |
| /r/ | ر | /ṛ/ | ڑ | | | | | | | |
| /l/ | ل | /ḷ/ | ڵ | | | | | | | |
| /ph/ | پھ | /p/ | پ | /b/ | ب | | | | | |
| /w/ | و | /f/ | ف | | | | | | | |
| /th/ | تھ | /t/ | ت | ط | /d/ | د | | | | |
| /ṭh/ | ٹھ | /ṭ/ | ٹ | | /ḍ/ | ڈ | | | | |
| /čh/ | چھ | /č/ | چ | | /ǰ/ | ج | | | | |
| /s/ | س | ص | ث | /š/ | ش | | /z/ | ز | ظ | ض | ذ |
| /kh/ | کھ | | | /k/ | ک | ق | /g/ | گ | | | |
| /ɣ/ | غ | | | /x/ | خ | | /h/ | ہ | | | |
| non-final /y/ | ی | final /y/ | ئی | | | | /yy/ | ئی | | | |

## Representation of Vowel Phonemes

Since the ten vowel phonemes correspond to those for Urdu, there is every reason to write them as they are written in Urdu. Although the Perso-Arabic script is notoriously ill-suited for the vowel distinctions made in Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991:151), this under-representation may actually work to the advantage of

Gojri standardization since many words that have different vowels cross-dialectically can be written in a uniform fashion if the diacritics are omitted. For example, minus the diacritics, Eastern /sanɛ́ɔ/ 'message' and its Western counterpart /sinɔ̃ʊ/ can both bewritten as a constant سنیہو rather than separately as سَنیہو and سِنیہو respectively.

The independent forms of the vowel graphemes for Urdu and Gojri are summarized in Table 7. The reader is referred to instructional Urdu materials for futher detail about the writing of vowels (e.g. Mathews 1999:ix-xxxii).

**Table 7. Phoneme/Grapheme Associations for Gojri Vowels**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ | اَ | /ā/ | آ |
| /i/ | اِ | /ī/ | اِی |
| /ɛ/ | اَے | /ē/ | اے |
| /u/ | اُ | /ū/ | اُو |
| /ɔ/ | اَو | /ō/ | او |

# GOJRI TONE AND ITS REPRESENTATION

The representation of tonal phenomena constitutes a significant challenge to Gojriorthography standardization. The complications issue naturally from the lack of tonalphenomena in the languages historically accommodated by the Perso-Arabic script, especially Urdu, the language of wider communication for most Gujars. Motivating anUrdu-based solution to this challenge is the fact that literate Gujars are literate in Urdu, afact which has obvious implications for literature development and transitional literacy programming. Making such a solution at least potentially feasible is the regular, albeitincomplete correspondence of Gojri tonal phenomena to Urdu aspiration phenomena.

A complete analysis of Gojri prosody is a study I have not yet undertaken. Mypurpose here is to present a preliminary analysis of Gojri lexical tone, and then explore aconsistent orthographic representation of Gojri tone in an Urdu milieu. At points thedata is organized with reference to Urdu correspondences, as these correspondences areweighted heavily in the evaluation of orthographic solutions.

## 3.1 Gojri Tonal Phenomena

### 3.1.1 Phonetic Pitch Contrasts

Sharma describes a three-way tone or pitch contrast for Punch Gojri (1979:110-113;1982:12). This observation also holds for Kaghani and Allaiwal Gojri.

Phonetically, thecontrasting pitches consist of a level high pitch (level tone or 'mid tone'[1] ) which is notmarked in transcription, a high-falling pitch contour (or 'high tone') marked with ( 5 ) above the vowel in my phonemic transcription, and a low-rising pitch contour (or 'lowtone' ) marked with ( ☞) above the vowel. The high-falling contour commences at anextra-high pitch relative to that of the level high pitch and glides to a mid pitch that islower relative to that of the level high pitch. When another syllable follows the stressedsyllable within the word, the stressed syllable will have the extra-high pitch and the largerpart of the fall to the mid pitch occurs on the following syllable. In phonetictranscriptions, this is indicated by writing [ ☞ ] on the stressed syllable and [ ☞] on thefollowing syllable, whereas a glide fully executed on the stressed syllable is indicated by[ ˆ]. The low-rising contour commences at an extra-low pitch relative to that of thelevel high pitch and glides to a mid pitch that is lower than the level high pitch. Whenanother syllable follows the stressed syllable within the word, the stressed syllable willhave the extra-low pitch and the larger part of the rise to a mid pitch occurs on thefollowing syllable. In phonetic transcriptions, this is indicated by [ ☞] on the stressedsyllable and [ ☞ ] on the following syllable, whereas a glide fully executed on the stressedsyllable is indicated by [ ˇ].

Concomitant with the initial extra-low pitch of the low-rising contour is creaky voice,in which the vocal cords

are more tense than in normal voicing and therefore produce acreaking sound. In many words of the Eastern dialect, the low-rising contour follows avoiceless initial plosive (as is also the case in Punjabi, see Masica 1991:205). Thisvoiceless plosive corresponds to a voiced plosive at the same point of articulation in theWestern dialect, and to a breathy-voiced plosive at the same point of articulation in Urducognates. For example, the word 'horse' is /'kòrɔ/ in Eastern, /'gòrɔ/ in Western, /'kòrā/in Punjabi, and /'ghorā/ in Urdu. For some words of this type, a level low pitch, higher than the 'extra-low' pitch of the low-rising contour but still marked [ ☞ ] phonetically,occurs with creaky voice on any syllables preceding a low-rising contour. Both contourtones are extremely common, and there do not seem to be any general constraints on thekinds of consonants, vowels, or syllable patterns with which either may occur. In wordswith level high pitch, there is no conspicuous pitch rise or pitch fall; however, the pitchof the stressed syllable is somewhat higher than the mid pitch of the other, unstressedsyllables, but lower than the 'extra-high' pitch of the high-falling contour.

Thus, there are at least five phonetic pitches in Gojri: 'extra-low', the initial pitch ofthe low-rising contour; 'low', the pitch occurring with creaky voice prior to the low-risingcontour in some low-tone words; 'high', the pitch of stressed syllables in level-tonewords; 'extra-high', the initial pitch of the high-falling contour; and 'mid', the

pitch onwhich both of the gliding pitches terminate, and the pitch of unstressed syllables in leveltonewords and of unstressed syllables preceding non-initial low-rising contours. Carefulacoustic analysis may ultimately show that there are multiple non-contrastive phoneticpitches within what I am now calling 'mid' pitch.

Contrasts between the three phonetic pitch melodies serve to differentiate lexicalitems such as those in (42), but do not function morphosyntactically.

**(42) Contrasts of high-falling, level, and low-rising pitch melodies**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ˈsā́rɔ/ | [ˈsáːrɔ̀] | (phonetic high-falling pitch) | masc. 'flat' |
| /ˈsārɔ/ | [ˈsaːrɔ] | (phonetic level high pitch) | masc. 'entire' |
| /ˈsā̀rɔ/ | [ˈsàːrɔ́] | (phonetic low-rising pitch) | 'assistance' |
| /lā́/ | [lâː] | (phonetic high-falling pitch) | 'take off [article of clothing]!' |
| /lā/ | [laː] | (phonetic level high pitch) | 'put on [article of clothing]!' |
| /lā̀l/ (/hìˈlāl/) | [lǎːl] | (phonetic low-rising pitch) | 'slay!' |
| /čáṛ/ | [čâṛ] | (phonetic high-falling pitch) | 'climb!' |
| /čaṛ/ | [čaṛ] | (phonetic level high pitch) | 'bed bug' |
| /čàṛ/ (/ǰàṛ/) | [čǎṛ] | (phonetic low-rising pitch) | 'fall!' also 'cloud' |
| /bɛ́s/ | [bɛ̂ːs] | (phonetic high-falling pitch) | 'argument' |
| /bɛs/ | [bɛːs] | (phonetic level high pitch) | 'sit!' |
| /pès/ (/bɛ̀s/) | [pěːs] | (phonetic low-rising pitch) | 'apparel' |

## Analysis of Gojri Tone

### Tone and the Stressed Syllable

Lexical pitch is associated with the stressed syllable in Gojri words (meaning Gojri is more like Swedish than Mandarin or other truly tonal languages where every syllable is tonally marked). The level tone occurs only on the stressed syllable. In monosyllabic words, contour tones are realized within a single syllable, which in the absence of any other syllable receives stress by default. In polysyllabic words, the contour tones typically commence at their pitch targets on the stressed syllable and conclude at a mid pitch in any following syllable, often a gender-number agreement marker.

Foundational to any discussion of the underlying nature of these phonetic pitchcontrasts in Gojri is the topic of lexical stress assignment. The assumption is that, withina morpheme, the location of stress can be predicted by syllable weight. Syllable weight,in turn, is determined by the number of segments, or *moras* (u), in the 'rhyme', where therhyme of a syllable consists of the vowel nucleus plus any trailing consonants, and wherea long vowel counts as two moras. Distinctions can therefore be made between light (where the rhyme consists of V), heavy (where the rhyme consists of VV or VC), and superheavy syllables (where the rhyme consists of VVC or VCC). There have beenseveral studies of stress placement in Hindi-Urdu (e.g. Dyrud 2001, Hussain 1997). If the final segment of a word is considered to be extra-metrical (not counted with respect todetermination of syllable weight), then stress rules for Hindi-Urdu can be summarized asfollows:

the last heavy syllable in a word is stressed; if there is no heavy syllable (i.e. ifthe word consists of light syllables only), the penultimate syllable is stressed.

These same stress assignment rules operate in Gojri. For example, the word /jisam/['ʃĩsəm]'body' is stressed on the first syllable because, once the word-final mora, [m], isexcluded, what remains are two equally weighted CV syllables of which the penultimate isstressed (remember that short vowels consist of one mora, V; long vowels consist of two,represented as VV). In the word /as'mān/ [As'ma:n] 'sky', the second syllable receivesthe stress by the same assignment process. Segmented into syllables and moras, the wordyields |as.maan|. With or without the required exclusion of the final mora [n], thesecond syllable is the last heavy syllable and therefore the one to receive stress. Inmorphologically complex words, morphological rules may supersede the normal stressplacement rules. For example, in verb stems formed with the causative suffix, the suffix isalways stressed, superseding stress placement based on syllable weight.

Throughout this chapter I have included stress marking in the phonemic representations, despite the predictability of stress, so that the reader will not have to determine the location of stress for each example.

## Composition of Contour Tones

It is useful to think of the two contour tones as combinations of two level tones, one 'high' and one 'low.'

In abstract terms, the high-falling contour is thus a combination of a relatively high pitch, H, and a relatively low pitch, L. Phonetically, an underlying HL combination is realized as an extra-high pitch resolving in a mid pitch on a subsequent mora, and an underlying LH combination is realized as an extra-low pitch resolving in a mid pitch on a subsequent mora. I will assume that the presence of any H in a contour melody is by default, i.e. H is assigned to all stressed syllables. The presence of any L in a contour melody is lexical, i.e. it is part of the specification of the phonological form of a word in the lexicon. When a stressed syllable receives an H by default, and no underlying L is present in the word, the phonetic result is a level high pitch.

Diachrɔnically, the genesis of this low pitch (L) in the lexicon is related to a wordinitial /h/, or to the loss of aspiration, /h/, or /s/ at an earlier linguistic stage (cf. Masica 1991:119-120). Such evolution is attested even by dialectical variants such as the Eastern /hàk-/ 'be able' and the older, Western (and Urdu) cognate /sak-/ 'be able.' Many of the older word forms are attested by Urdu cognates of Gojri words (cf. Masica's discussion of Punjabi tonogenesis; 1991:205). The location of lexical L in a root corresponds roughly to the location of the earlier segment that has disappeared. What determines whether the L is ultimately realized within a high-falling melody or a low-rising melody is its location with respect to the nucleus of the word's stressed syllable. If it precedes the stressed

nucleus, the result is LH (low-rising). If it follows the stressed nucleus, the realization is HL (high-falling).

## Low-Tone Causatives of High-Tone Verbs

The clearest evidence of the existence of lexical L in Gojri and its participation in falling and rising tones is seen in a number of causative and non-causative pairs of verbs. For many verbal roots, the addition of the suffix /-ā/ yields a new causative verb stem. A classic example that holds for other area languages as well as for Gojri is the root /pak-/ ['pʌk-] 'ripen, be cooked' and its causative counterpart, /pa'kā-/ [pʌ'ka:-] 'cook.' Since there is no lexical L associated with the root, only default H applies. As a result, the high pitch is realized on the stressed syllables of both forms and the mid pitch is realized on the unstressed first syllable of /pa'kā-/ (note the shift of stress to the causative suffix; see 4.2.1.5 for other examples of causative/non-causative verb pairs with constant level pitch melodies). However, when a lexical L is associated with the latter part of the verb root, its phonetic realization in all inflections of the root will be high-falling. Again, this is because H is assigned by default to the stressed mono-syllabic root, the nucleus of which precedes lexical L in the vicinity of the coda; thus HL. Whenever the inherently stressed causative suffix is added to make a new stem, the stress shifts from the verb root to the causative suffix such that default H then follows lexical L; thus LH. Consider the examples in (43).

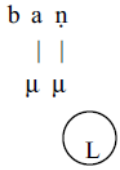
**(43) Non-causative and causative manifestations of lexical low pitch (L)**

| Verb stem consisting of root (showing high-falling tone) | | Verb stem consisting of root + causative suffix /-ā/ (showing low-rising tone) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /báṇ/ | 'become!' | /baˈṇā̀/ | 'make!' |
| /páṛ/ | 'read!' | /paˈṛā̀/ | 'teach!' |
| /bán/ | 'tie!' | /baˈnā̀/ | 'get someone to tie!' |
| /bád/ | 'grow!' also 'tie!' | /baˈdā̀/ | 'let grow!' also 'get someone to tie' |
| /láng/ | 'pass by!' | /lanˈgā̀/ | 'shoot!' |
| /sámj̆/ | 'understand!' | /samˈjā̀/ | 'give constructive criticism!' |
| /káḍ/ | 'remove!' | /kaˈḍā̀/ | 'get someone to remove!' |

It is on the basis of such examples that we can posit the existence of a lexical L in the vicinity of the root coda. This hypothesis is of course supported by the existence of aspiration at the root coda in many Urdu cognates. I will assume that, in Gojri, an L tone that is historically due to a de-aspirated voiced consonant is underlyingly associated with the mora that immediately follows the de-aspirated consonant. Should there be no following mora; i.e. if the de-aspirated consonant is word-final, then L can be said to be 'floating' in the underlying form of the word.

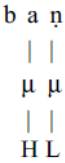
The process described above by which verb roots such as those in (43) alternatelyfeature high-falling and low-rising melodies is represented with greater precision in (44)-(45) for the root /bàn/ 'become!'. In (44), a 'floating' L (circled) is shown as being partof the word's underlying form:[2]

**(44) The underlying form of /bàn/ 'become!'**



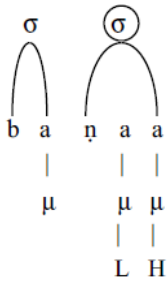

In the absence of a following mora, the floating L docks on the final mora of the root. Next, default H is associated with the remaining empty mora, creating the HL sequence shown in (45). The HL sequence then precipitates a high-falling melody commencing at an extra-high pitch on the first mora and resolving in a mid pitch on the second mora.

**(45) The surface form of /bàn/ 'become!'**




With the addition of the inherently stressed causative suffix /-ā/, floating lexical Ldocks on the mora immediately to the right of the de-aspirated consonant, as shown in (46). H is then assigned to the remaining mora of the stressed second syllable, creating anLH sequence. The underlying LH sequence precipitates a low-rising melody on thesecond syllable, which commences at an extra-low pitch on the first mora and resolves ina mid pitch on the second mora. Since there is no L or H in the unstressed syllable, thephonetic result is a mid pitch on that syllable.

(46) The surface form of /ba'ṇà/ ‘make!’ (ợ= syllable; stressed syllable is circled)




Low Tone Related to Loss of Initial Aspiration Perhaps the most striking phonological difference between Eastern and Western varieties of Gojri is the variation in voicing which is concomitant with low-rising tone. The variation involves word-initial plosives at all five points of articulation: /p/ (/b/), /t/ (/d/), /č/ (/j/), /T/ (/D/), and /k/ (/g/). These are cognate with the Urdu initial voiced aspirates: /bh/, /dh/, /jh/, /Dh/ and /gh/, respectively. Eastern forms reflect both the deaspiration and devoicing of these older initial voiced aspirates, or ‘breathy voiced stops’ (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:57-63). Western forms are also de-aspirated but remain voiced. For example, the Gojri word for ‘horse’, /'kòrɔ/ (/'gòrɔ/), is cognate with the Urdu /'ghorā/. I have found that, in pronouncing words of this type in conversation with both Eastern and Western speakers, correct production of the low-rising tone, rather than correct voicing, is more critical to being understood. These segments remain voiced in both dialects in medial position

(where they are rare), e.g. /u'gārī/ fem. ‘naked’, /ka'dā/ ‘get [someone] to remove!’

Low-tone words attesting the East-West initial voicing distinction are shown in (47) for each of the five points of articulation.

(47) Low-tone words involving East-West initial voicing distinction

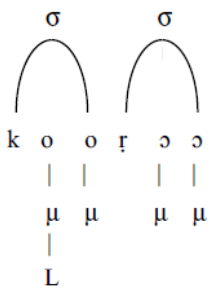
| Articulation | East-West correspondences (Western forms are shown in parentheses) | |
|---|---|---|
| /p/ (/b/) | /ˈpà̰bī/ (/ˈbà̰bī/) ‘brother’s wife’ | /ˈpà̰rū/ (/ˈbà̰rū/) ‘sheep and goats’ |
| /t/ (/d/) | /tàr/ (/dàr/) ‘set down!’ | /tìk/ (/dìk/) ‘push!’ |
| /ṭ/ (/ḍ/) | /ṭàk/ (/ḍàk/) ‘cover!’ | /ˈṭà̰kɔ/ (/ˈḍà̰kɔ/) ‘mountain’ |
| /č/ (/j/) | /ˈčòṭɔ/ (/ˈjòṭɔ/) ‘male buffalo’ | /ˈčà̰nṭhī/ (/ˈjа̰̀nṭhī/) ‘stick’ |
| /k/ (/g/) | /kàl/ (/gàl/) ‘pour!’ | /kà̰/ (/gà̰/) ‘grass’ |

For all words attesting the initial voicing distinction between dialects, I assume that L is linked with the mora immediately following the historically de-aspirated consonant. This is the place in the lexical structure that was previously characterized by the lowering of pitch following breathy voicing. The derivation of surface tone for such words is shown in (48) below.

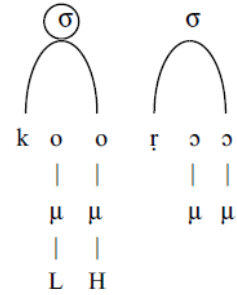
When the first syllable of such a word is stressed, the assigment of H on the second mora creates an LH sequence. The LH sequence precipitates a low-rising melody that commences at an extra-low pitch on the first mora and resolves in a mid pitch on the second mora.

**(48) Derivation for /ˈkòrɔ/ (/ˈgòrɔ/) ‘horse’**

a) Location of underlying L




b) Results of H-assignment




When such words are stressed on a subsequent syllable, the low-rising melody occurs on that syllable and a level low pitch occurs on all preceding syllables. Some examples are shown in (49).

**(49) Cross-dialectal voice variation for words featuring non-initial low-rising tone**

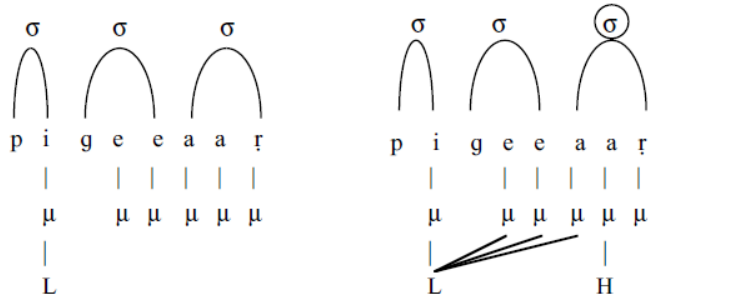
| Eastern | E. Phonetic | Western | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| /pì gēˈāɽ/ | [pìgèːˈăːɽ] | /bì gīˈāɽ/ | 'wolf' |
| /pùˈkam/ | [pùˈkʌ̆m] | /bàˈkham/ | 'earthquake' |
| | | (the Allaiwal Muhajar variant has no aspiration) | |
| /pàˈɽās/ | [pʌˈɽă:s] | /bàˈɽās/ | 'steam' |
| /pàˈɽāī/ | [pʌˈɽă:y] | /bàˈɽāy/ | 'miller's share' |
| /pàˈtī jɔ/ | [pʌˈtì:jɔ́] | /bàˈtī jɔ/ | 'nephew' |
| /dèˈāɽɔ/ or /tèˈāɽɔ/ | [dèːˈàːɽɔ́] | /dìˈāɽɔ/ | 'day' |

The level low pitch preceding the low-rising contour is readily observed in the contrast between /pàˈrās/[pʌˈră:s] 'steam' and /paˈrā/ [pʌˈră:] 'teach!'

The derivation for the surface tones of /pìge'ār/ (/bìgī'ār/) 'wolf' is shown in (50).

**(50) Derivation for /pìge'ār/ (/bìgī'ār/) 'wolf' (L-spread indicated by diagonal lines)**

a) Location of underlying L b) Results of L-spread and H-assignment




In (50)a, L is shown as being pre-linked in the lexicon to the first mora, the vowel /i/. In (50) b, the third syllable (the last 'heavy' syllable) is shown as being stressed. L spreads right-ward from its lexical location to a point up to and including the first mora of the stressed third syllable. Next, H is assigned to the remaining mora of the stressed syllable, resulting in an LH sequence in the stressed syllable. On moras preceding the stressed syllable, the spread of L produces a phonetic level low pitch. In the stressed syllable, the LH sequence precipitates a low-rising surface melody which commences at an extralow pitch on the first mora and resolves in a mid pitch on the second mora. For words like /pà'tĩj̃ɔ/ (/bà'tĩj̃ɔ/) 'nephew' and /dè'ārɔ/ (/dī'ārɔ/) 'day', the stressed syllable

is penultimate and so the low-rising melody resolves in the suffixal ultima, i.e. [pʌ'tì:jɔ], [dè:'à:rɔ].

## Summary of Analysis

The analysis that has been presented so far can be summarized as follows.

(1) Stress Placement:

- The last heavy syllable of the word is stressed; if there is no heavy syllable, thepenultimate syllable is stressed; the last segment of the word is disregarded in thedetermination of syllable weight.

- The causative suffix is always stressed; this fact overrides stress placement based onsyllable structure.

-There is only one stress per word, no matter whether the word is monomorphemic ormorphologically complex.

(2) Lexical L:

- In a root, one mora may be pre-associated in the lexicon with an L tone; some roots inthe lexicon carry an L tone that is 'floating', i.e. it is underlyingly not associated with aspecific mora. (Usually, an L tone occurs on the mora that immediately follows anhistorical voiced aspirate or /h/; if there is no following mora in the root, then the L tonefloats.)

(3) L-spread:

- An L tone spreads right-ward from its underlying position in the word, up to andincluding the first mora of the stressed syllable. (By implication, this rule does not applyto an L tone that does not precede the stressed syllable.)

(4) L-docking:

- A floating L docks on the first mora of a following morpheme; if there is no followingmorpheme, a floating L docks on the final mora of the root.

(5) Default H:

- H is associated with any empty mora in the stressed syllable; if there is no empty morain the stressed syllable, then H is associated with the immediately following mora.

These basic rules account for the derivation of surface tonal melodies for all types oftone-bearing words in Gojri.

## Other Low-Tone Words

Sin this section I describe low tone which is associated with initial /h/ and low tone related to the loss of medial /h/.

## Low Tone Associated with Initial /h/

As noted in 2.1.5, low tone is concommitant with the glottal fricative /h/. This ismost readily observed in the grammatical monosyllables /hàm/ ‘we’, /hū~/ ‘I’, and

theEastern present auxiliaries /hɛ́/ ‘is’ and /hɛ́~/ ‘are’ (cf. Western /ɛ/ ‘is/are’). Such wordsattest the linkage of lexical L with the mora following initial /h/. When a word beginningwith /h/ is stressed on the first syllable, the frication is audible and the derivation ofsurface tone is identical to that shown for /'kòrɔ/ (/'gòrɔ/) ‘horse’ in (48).

However, when a word beginning with /h/ is stressed on a subsequent syllable, thereis no friction and level low pitch occurs with every syllable preceding the low-rising pitchcontour commencing on the stressed syllable. The phonetic differences attending changeof stress from the first syllable to a subsequent syllable are most clearly shown bycomparison of causative and non-causative forms of verbs beginning with /h/. Someexamples are shown in (51).

**(51) Causative and non-causative pairs of verbs beginning with /h/**

| verb stem consisting of root | | verb stem consisting of root + causative suffix /-ā/ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /hàl̩/ [hɤ̌l̩] | ‘shake!’ | /hàˈl̩ā/ [ʎˈl̩ǎː] trans. | ‘shake!’ |
| /hàg/ [hɤ̌g] | ‘defecate!’ | /hàˈgə̀̃/ [ʎˈgə̌ː] | ‘get [someone]to defecate!’ |
| /hàṭ/ [hɤ̌ṭ] | ‘move!’ | /hàˈṭə̀̃/ [ʎˈṭə̌ː] trans. | ‘move!’ |

Some examples with polysyllabic stems are given in (52). For all these words and thecausative verbs in (51) above, the derivation of surface tone (via L-spread) is identical tothat shown for /pìge'ār/ (/bìgī'ār/) ‘wolf’ in (50).

**(52) Words beginning with /h/ that are stressed on a non-initial syllable.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /hà'sāb/ | [ʌ̀'sǎ:b] | 'account' | cf. Urdu /hi'sāb/ |
| /hà'zār/ | [ʌ̀'zǎ:r] | 'thousand' | cf. Urdu /ha'zār/ |
| /hà'mešā~/ | [ʌ̀'mè:šǎ~] | 'always' | cf. Urdu /ha'mešā/ |
| /hàm'zoḷɔ/ | [ʌ̀m'zò:ḷɔ́] | 'age mate (masc.)' | |
| /hà'rīṛ/ | [ʌ̀'rǐṛ] | 'a medicinal herb' | |

There is evidence suggesting that the unstressed, low-pitch first syllables of wordslike those in (52) (which also lack a phonetic onset) are vulnerable to elision and loss. Forexample, some speakers pronounce /hà'vā/ 'wind' as monosyllabic [vǎ:]. Such loss alsoaccounts for the difference between the Eastern /lāl/ 'slay!' and the Western cognate/hì'lāl/. The process is also attested by Western copular forms like /wɛ́ gɔ/ '(he) will be'(Eastern /'hòwɛ kɔ/), in which lexical L is all that survives of the verb stem /hò/ 'be' andpresumably epenthetic /w/ has become word-initial (Western /wɛ́nɔ/ 'to be;' cf. Marwari/vheno/ 'to be', Masica 1991:104). Likewise, the genitival first plural pronoun /'mārɔ/'our' surely represents the loss of a weakened first syllable from an older form attested by the Urdu cognate, /ha'mārā/, with retention of the L tone which was associated withthat syllable.

## Low Tone Related to Loss of Medial /h/

A large number of Gojri words feature the low-rising pitch contour in a first syllableconsisting of consonant + long vowel in which the consonant is constant

crossdialectically.These words are cognate with Urdu words in which /h/ occurs between afirst-syllable short vowel and a second-syllable long vowel. The origin of the low tone forsuch words cannot be the de-aspiration of old initial voiced aspirates, since there is noEast-West voicing variation for the initial consonant and the set of initial consonants isnot limited to just stops. Rather, it appears that the historic erɔsion of medial /h/ andrelated loss of preceding short vowels has left a trace in the form of an L tone associatedwith the initial mora. The derivation of surface tones for such words is therefore identicalto that noted for words like /ˈkòrɔ/ (/ˈgòrɔ/) 'horse' shown in (48).

**(53) Low-tone words attesting loss of medial /h/ before long-vowel**

| Gojri word | Gloss | Urdu cognate (or source in most cases) |
|---|---|---|
| /mə̀l/ | 'Mahal, palace' | /maˈhāl/ |
| /ˈkə̀ṇī/ (/ˈgə̀ṇī/) | 'story' | /kaˈhānī/ |
| /pə̀ṛ/ | 'mountain' | /paˈhāṛ/ |
| /jə̀z/ | 'ship' | /jaˈhāz/ |
| /ˈswə̀gā/ | 'ashes' | /suˈhāge/ |
| /ˈmə̀ṇɔ/ | 'month' | /maˈhīnā/ |
| /ˈbə̀dar/ | 'brave' | /baˈhādar/ |
| /jə̀d/ | 'jihad' | /jiˈhād/ |
| /ˈmə̀ǰar/ | 'refugee' | /muˈhāǰir/ |
| /sə̀l/ | 'diarrhea' | /saˈhāl/ |
| /lɔr/ | 'Lahore' | /laˈhor/ |
| /ˈbə̀nɔ/ | 'excuse' | /baˈhānā/ |

For a small number of words, stress falls on a non-initial syllable and surface tones attest a medial, rather than initial, lexical L. Examples include /dāde'āl/ [da:de'ă:l]

'paternal relatives' (cf. /'dādɔ/ 'paternal grandfather' and /'ālā/ (/'hàlā/) 'ones of ...'), and /male'àp/ [mʌle'ʌp] 'worm.' For the latter example, it is not clear why stress and the low-rising tone occur on the short-vowel ultima.

## Other High-Tone Words

Whereas low tone almost always derives from initial lexical L, high tone derives from medial or final lexical L. The historical source of lexical L in a given word is generally less transparent than it is for the various kinds of low-tone words described above.

In addition to the high-tone verbs described in 3.1.2.3, there are other high-tone words for which high tone is associated with the loss of aspiration in a non-initial voiced aspirate. Some examples are shown in (54). The de-aspirated consonants remain voiced in both dialects. There are no Gojri words featuring a high-falling tone with a short vowel preceding a final voiceless consonant.

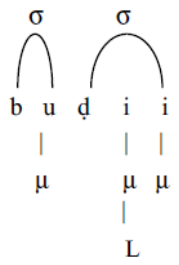
**(54) High-tone words associated with de-aspiration of non-initial voiced aspirates**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /dúd/ | 'milk' | cf. Urdu /dudh/ |
| /ˈčɔ́drī/ | 'Choudhry' | cf. Urdu /ˈčɔdharī/, title taken by prominent Gujars |
| /kúj̃/ | 'some' | cf. Urdu /kučh/ |
| /ˈbúḍī/ | 'old woman' | cf. Urdu /ˈbuṛhī/ |
| /ˈdā́ṛī/ | 'beard' | cf. Urdu /ˈdāṛhī/ |
| /rúṛ/ | 'roll' | |
| /ˈkáṛī/ | 'boiled buttermilk' | |

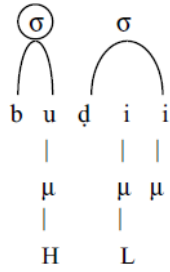
For all such monosyllables, L is floating in the underlying form of the word, and the derivation of surface tones is identical to that shown above for /bàn/ ‘become!’ in (47)-(48). For all such two-syllable words, L is pre-linked in the lexicon with the mora following the de-aspirated consonant. Default H tone is then assigned to the single mora of the stressed first syllable, creating an HL sequence that is realized phonetically as a high-falling melody spread over the two syllables. The underlying and derived forms of /'búdī/ ‘old woman’ are shown in (55).

**(55) Derivation for /' búdī / ‘old woman’**

a) Location of underlying L




b) Results of H-assignment




Almost all other indigenous high-tone words involve lexical L following a medial orfinal long vowel. The sources of lexical L include loss of /s/ (e.g. /bī—/ ‘twenty’ vs. Urdu/bīs/) and loss of /h/ (e.g. /čā—/ ‘want’ vs. Urdu /čāh/). Many high-tone stems such as/gā—k/ ‘customer’ (Urdu /'gāhuk/) represent the loss of medial /h/ after a long vowel alongwith loss of the following unstressed short-vowel syllable and subsequent association ofL with

the end of the long vowel. Some examples of high-tone words attesting medial orfinal L are shown in (56).

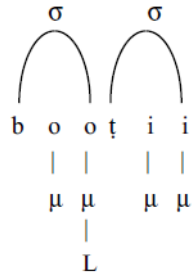
**(56) Contrast between high-falling and level tonal melodies**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ˈḍóḷɔ/ | 'upper arm' | /ˈḍoḷɔ/ | 'large water pot' |
| /ˈsa̋yɔ/ | 'rabbit' | /ˈsāyɔ/ | 'shadow' |
| /ˈma̋ǹjī/ | 'one who tends bufalo' | /ˈmāǹjī/ | 'bride's guests' |
| /ma̋/ | '2nd month of lunar calendar' | /mā/ | 'mother' |
| /ˈbóṭī/ | 'bride' | /ˈboṭī/ | 'piece of meat, kabob' |
| /ča̋/ | 'want!' | /čā/ | 'lift!' |
| /za̋r/ | 'poison, saliva' | /zār/ | 'Darling' |
| /ba̋/ | 'arm' | /bā/ E.only | 'water hole, dam' |

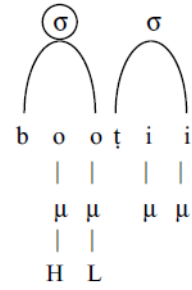
The derivation of surface tone for such words is shown in (57) for /'bótī/ 'bride.'

**(57) Derivation for /'bótī/ 'bride' (stressed syllable is circled)**

a) Location of underlying L




b) Results of H-assignment




In (57)b, an HL sequence is created by the assignment of H to the first mora of the stressed syllable, the mora which immediately precedes lexical L. The HL

sequence precipitates a high-falling melody which commences on the stressed syllable and resolves in the following suffixal syllable. For monosyllabic words like /bā—/ ‘arm’, the high-falling melody commences on the first mora and resolves on the second mora of the root vowel. I have not investigated the historical antecedents of lexical L for these words, nor is such information needed to determine the location of L within words.

## Low Tone Co-occurring with Aspiration

For a few words such as those in (58), low tone co-occurs with aspiration. In my research to date, all instances noted involve the segment /th/.

**(58) Co-occurrence of low tone and aspiration**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ˈthə̀ɳɔ/ [ˈtʰaːɳɔ́] | ‘to be found’ | | |
| /ˈthə̀rɔ/ [ˈtʰàːrɔ́ː] | pl ‘your’ | | |
| /ˈthòɽī/ [ˈtʰòːɽíː] | ‘hammer’ (Eastern) | cf. Western /hàˈthoɽī/ Urdu /haˈthoɽī/ | |
| /ˈthə̀raf/ [ˈtʰàːráf] | ‘introduction’ | cf. Urdu /ˈtāraf/ | |
| /maˈthə̀j/ [məˈtʰə́ːj] | ‘deprivation, lack’ | cf. Urdu /məˈtāj/ | |

Only for the Eastern word /ˈthòɽī/ ‘hammer’ is the origin of lexical L transparent (from comparison with cognates retaining an initial /h/). Further research is likely to reveal the source of L for the other examples shown here. Words showing that low tone is not automatic with /th/ include /ˈthoɽī/ ‘a little (fem.)’ and /ˈthānɔ/ ‘police station.’

Elsewhere, low tone and aspiration contrast. Some examples include /ṭànḍ/ ‘still water’ vs. /ṭhanḍ/ ‘cold’,

/kàl/ ‘pour!’ vs. /khal/ ‘stop, wait!’, and /ˈčātī (ˈmārnī)/ ‘(playing) peek-a-boo’ vs. /ˈchātī/ ‘chest, upper torso.’ This contrast is limited to the Eastern dialect, since the initial consonants of the corresponding low-tone words in the Western dialect are voiced rather than voiceless.

## 3.2 Representation of Gojri Tone

### 3.2.1 Tone Marking in Orthography Design

While the literature on tone marking is not extensive, recent empirical studies in African tonal languages by Bird and others he cites (1997) demonstrate that exhaustive marking of surface tone is detrimental to fluent reading, as is ‘zero marking’ – ignoring tone altogether. The former extreme is born of the traditional compulsion to represent every phonemic contrast in the orthography, but often results in solutions that are cumbersome and notoriously difficult for mother-tongue readers to master. The latter extreme rightly acknowledges the ability of readers to identify words based on contextual and other clues, but in many languages leaves readers to ‘stumble and guess unnecessarily’ (Bird 1996, citing Nida 1964:27). The compromise approach advocated by Bird (1996) on theoretical and experimental grounds involves representing the underlying or ‘lexical’ tone elements while maintaining a constant word image, given that ‘post-lexical’ spell-out is phonologically predictable and presumably automatic for linguistically naive

mothertongue readers. Such an approach has the added advantage of tending to minimize dialect differences (Bird 1996:25), and is even more promising for languages like Gojri in which the tone pattern of each word remains basically constant (i.e. is not very sensitive to phrasal influences).

A fourth approach would mark tone only when necessary for disambiguation, much as Urdu diacritics indicating vowel quality are normally employed only to distinguish ambiguous pairs. This would necessarily involve special tone diacritics, as optional writing of tone graphemes (letters) in a linear and cursive Perso-Arabic representation would largely preclude maintenance of fixed word images. Marking tone with diacritics would avoid this problem, allowing for optionality in books and complete tone marking in primary literacy materials. In my opinion, however, a diacritic solution is inferior to that suggested by the correspondence of Gojri lexical L with Urdu /h/ and aspiration (with voiced consonants). Given the influence of Urdu and literate Gujars' familiarity with Urdu spellings, a representation that maintains fixed word images between Gojri and Urdu cognates has the greatest potential to facilitate transitional literacy and the acceptance of Gujar literature among Urdu-literate Gujjars. The challenge then is to achieve a solution that utilizes Urdu-based spellings in a consistent representation of underlying rather than ssurface Gojri tonal facts.

## Evaluation of Conventions In-Use

Orthographic solutions to date have all attempted, whether consciously or unconsciously, to represent Gojri tones as per the representation of their cognate segments in Urdu: by means of do chashmi he, ھ, denoting aspiration, and choti he, ہ, (rendered /nikī hè/ in Gojri) denoting the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. One common pattern is for literate Gujjars to slavishly write Gojri as they write Urdu, with no awareness of Gojri tonal phenomena. In writing of this type, tone is usually only represented, albeit accidentally, in tonal words that have known Urdu cognates. Tone is usually ignored in words that are uniquely Gojri, because writers are both unaware of tone and lacking any technique for transcribing it. Some literate Gujjars intuitively identify tone as aspiration, and by analogy to known Gojri-Urdu cognate relationships will write this 'aspiration' on uniquely Gojri words (their Pronunciation of Urdu may reflect this identification, i.e. they convert instances of Urdu /h/ and aspiration into low-rising and high-falling tone melodies). In my experience, the writing produced by both types of literates is highly idiosyncratic and inconsistent from one occurrence of a word to the next. High tones occurring with medial long vowels tend to get particularly ignored, since cognate relationships of such words with Urdu words are comparatively less transparent.

Among the few who are aware of tone and consciously reflect on how to write it, some, in keeping

with the default tendency to write words the way they sound, attempt to represent all of the surface tonal contrasts. (An additional motivation, that of making the representation phonetically transparent for learners of Gojri as a second language (Sharma 1979:150), is minimized here because, as we shall see, it is at odds with the Gujjars' own needs for a representation that potentially works for both dialects and that maximizes ease of reading skill transfer to and from Urdu.) The difficulty with writing surface tones lies in determining which of the two Urdu letters should represent which tonal pattern in a given context. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that even for Urdu their employment has only recently been standardized, with *do chashmi he* now prescribed for all aspiration and *choti he* for all instances of /h/ (Mathews 1999:xxvi). It should be evident from the variety of tone phenomena described above, however, particularly from that shown in 3.1.2.3, that the traditional ideal of consistently representing one toneme with one grapheme while maintaining constant shape of lexical roots is not achievable for Gojri (e.g. the addition of the causative suffix turns a high tone verbal root into a low tone stem). Furthermore, since the mapping of Gojri toneme to Urdu phoneme/grapheme is not one-to-one, at some point a surface representation must compromise in favor of either the Urdu spellings or tonemic-graphemic correspondence.

## Writing of Low Tone Occurring with Initial /h/ in Monosyllables

If there is any 'given' or non-negotiable convention which can be taken as a starting point for either an underlying or surface approach to tone marking (aside from leaving the level tone unmarked), it is the representation of word-initial low-rising tones, concommitant with /h/ in monosyllables, with *choti he*. This decision is largely unconscious and is based on the spelling of Urdu cognates. The practice is nearly universal in Gojri writing. Since initial /h/ in Gojri monosyllables is always followed by the low-rising tone, this decision would tentatively associate *choti he* with the low toneme or lexical L, depending upon one's perspective. Thus, the first person pronouns and present auxiliaries, together the highest frequency words involving tone of any kind, remain constant between the two languages:

**(59) Uniform spellings for Gojri and Urdu first person pronouns and present auxiliaries**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Gojri /hə̀m/ [hʌ̆m] 'we' | vs. Urdu /ham/ [hʌm] 'we' | ہَم |
| Gojri /hṳ̃~/ [hŭː~] 'I' also 'am' (Eastern only) | vs. Urdu /hũ~/ [huː~] 'am' | ہُوں |
| Gojri /hɔ̀/ [hɔ̆ː] 2pl. 'are' (Eastern only) | vs. Urdu /ho/ [hoː] 2pl. 'are' | ہو |
| Gojri /hɛ̀/ [hɛ̆ː]([ɛː]) 'is' (in Western, also 'am, are') | vs. Urdu /hai/ [hɛː] 'is' | ہے |
| Gojri /hɛ̀~/ [hɛ̆ː~]'are' (Eastern only) | vs. Urdu /he~/ [heː~] 'are' | ہیں |

## Surface Approach to Low Tone Related to Loss of Initial Aspiration

Extending the association of *choti he* with low tone here to the possibility of itsrepresentation of low tone everywhere leads next to an evaluation of its suitability for low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates (see 3.1.2.4 above), e.g. writing /kā/ (/gā/) 'grass' as کہا. Such an approach is advocated by Sharma (1979:150; 2001: personal communication) and has been utilized in Pakistan by Sabir Afaqi and his associates. The impetus behind this convention is the desire to represent the initial consonant as de-voiced, per its Eastern Pronunciation, while avoiding the intolerable ambiguity with voiceless aspirated segments that would result from using *do chashmi he* for the following low-tone vowel. For example, /kā/ (/gā/) 'grass' and /khā/ 'eat!' would both be written as کہا.

Unfortunately this approach has its own problems. First and most obviously, since the segments in question remain voiced in the Western dialect, the use of *choti he* in these contexts unnecessarily precludes the possibility of a single representation for both dialects. This problem by itself may not be of great concern to Eastern writers, who are seldom if ever exposed to Western speech. It can be demonstrated, however, that the approach is problematic even for the Eastern phonology because it creates unnecessary ambiguity between certain low-rising and high-falling pairs of tonal words; for example, /kā/ (/gā/)

'grass' is written as کہا, while /kā~/ 'we say' is written as کہاں. Such ambiguity is particularly evident wherever low-rising and high-falling tones contrast within syllables featuring short (or written as short, as in the case of /ɛ/) vowels. A few such ambiguous examples are shown in (60).

**(60) Ambiguous Eastern low-tone/high-tone pairs**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /kàṭ/ | 'few' | کہٹ |
| /ˈkéṭɔ/ | 'he (doesn't) say' | کہٹو |
| /ˈkàṇī/ | fem. 'many' | کہݨی |
| /ˈkéṇī/ | fem. 'to say' | کہݨی |
| /ˈpàlā/ | masc.pl. 'excellent' | پہلا |
| /ˈpélā~/ | 'before' | پہلاں |
| /ˈtùnī/ | 'navel' | تُہنی |
| /ˈtúmat/ | 'slander' | تُہمت |

Granted, such ambiguities are few in number and would scarcely present anydifficulty for Gujjar literates, but the larger pattern they represent could be a serious challenge for new readers. The ambiguity issues from the fact that all Gujjar writers have continued writing the verbs /ké-/ 'say' and /ré-/ 'stay' as per their Urdu spellings, i.e. with the initial consonant joined to *choti he*, but

without writing the vowel /ɛ/ (Urdu /ah/, approximating but shorter than /ai/ + /h/). By itself, representing the Gojri segment /ɛ́/ with *choti he* is good, since morphophonemic changes alter /ɛ́/ in a majority of contexts anyway, and this practice allows the lexical roots to remain constant in writing before any suffixed vowel. Furthermore, it also maintains a constant word shape between the two languages. For example, Urdu /ra'ho/ and Gojri /rɔ/, 'stay!' can both be represented by رہو; Urdu /ka'ho/ and Gojri /kɔ/, 'say!' can both be represented by کہو (cf. 5.2).

This convention, however, together with using *choti he* for low tones resulting fromthe de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates, perpetuates an ambiguous system in which,given the unusually high frequencies of /kɛ́-/ 'say' and /rɛ́-/ 'stay' in Gojri text (the latterbeing an important grammatical morpheme), the new reader has to memorize whichinstances of *choti he* indicate which type of tone. And of course the transitional readermust learn two spellings (Gojri and Urdu) for a great many pairs of cognates like those for'mare': /'kòṛī/ کھوڑی and /'ghoṛī/ گھوڑی. (respectively). This disadvantage, along withthe introduction of ambiguity between representations of high-tone and low-tone shortvowels, constitutes compelling grounds to consider better orthographic solutions – evenfor the Eastern phonology.[3]

## Writing of /ɛ́/

The preceding discussion, however, may be enough to establish a second orthographic 'given', namely, that the segment /ɛ́/ - cognate with Urdu /ah/ - is well represented by a *choti he* per the Urdu spelling convention (note: reducing ambiguity by writing the vowel /ɛ/ would preclude a morphophonemic representation, since /ɛ/ is always altered before vowel suffixes). This convention is followed in all Gojri writing. Some examples are shown in (61).

**(61) /ɛ́/ written with *choti he* and no other vowel letter**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /ˈrɛ́ɳɔ/ | 'to stay' | رہنو |
| /ˈkɛ́ɳɔ/ | 'to say' | کہنو |
| /lɛ́r/ | 'anger' | لہر |
| /bɛ́ɳ/ | 'sister' | بہن |
| /ˈmɛ́ndī/ | 'henna' | مہندی |
| /bɛ́k/ | 'a roost' | بہک |

Particularly from the perspective of surface tone marking, this practice may appear to contradict the first given, by which *choti he* is associated with initial low tones. Against any charge of ambiguity, however, is the fact that the distributions of initial and noninitial *choti he* are constrained such that no ambiguous spellings can be adduced. But if the approach that marks only underlying lexical L is adopted, there is no contradiction between these two 'givens.' The former can be seen as marking

lexical L initially, which after L-spread and the assignment of H on the second mora of the stressed syllable will invariably precipitate the low-rising pitch contour. The latter can be seen as marking lexical L root-finally (it is lexically linked with the second mora of /ɛ/), which after the assigment of H to the first mora of the stressed syllable (i.e. the root nucleus) will invariably precipitate the high-falling pitch contour. For the lexical tone-marking approach, then, *choti he* and *do chashmi he* do not represent two distinct tonemes; rather, they are allographs representing lexical L, and their distributions are constrained by Urdu spelling patterns rather than by surface tonal contrasts.

## Iconic Approach to Low Tone Related to Loss of Initial Aspiration

Returning to the representation of low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates, we now consider the remaining alternative, that of preserving the Urdu voiced aspirate spellings which consist of the voiced consonants joined to *do chashmi he*.

For Eastern Gojri, such a solution is iconic rather than phonemic (cf. Bird 1996:35), since the consonants are voiceless in initial position. It has been adopted for Punjabi (Parvez 1996:47-54), the phonology of which is identical in this respect to that of Eastern Gojri. The leading proponents of this technique for Gojri have been the (Eastern-speaking) Gujjar scholars associated with the

Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture & Languages. In the introduction to their *Gojri Dictionary* (1985) the editors explain that they have utilized the Urdu orthography, and that the Urdu digraphs for initial /bh/, /dh/, /ḍh/, /j̈h/, and /gh/ are pronounced in Gojri (Eastern) as /p̀/, /t̀/, /ṭ̀/, /c̈̀/, and /k̀/, respectively. These scholars have applied this approach more or less consistently in their many Gojri publications. Its advantages should be clear by now, namely, that it offers a uniform representation for both dialects while maintaining a constant word image with Urdu and avoiding the ambiguities created by writing the consonants as voiceless (whether joined with *choti he* or *do chashmi he*). Consider the sample spellings in (62):

(62) Spellings for low-tone words related to loss of initial aspiration

| word | iconic spelling | alternative phonemic spelling (E.only) |
|---|---|---|
| /ˈpə̀nḍā/ (/ˈbə̀nḍā/) ‘pots and dishes’ | بھانڈا | پہانڈا |
| /ˈčòṭɔ/ (/ˈjòṭɔ/) ‘male buffalo’ | جھوٹو | چہوتو |
| /ˈtə̀gɔ/ (/ˈdə̀gɔ/) ‘thread’ | دھاگو | تہاگو |
| /ˈṭə̀kɔ/ (/ˈḍə̀kɔ/) ‘mountain’ | ڈھاکو | ٹہاکو |
| /ˈkòṛɔ/ (/ˈgòṛɔ/) ‘horse’ | گھوڑو | کہوڑو |
| /pìgeˈāṛ/ (/bìgīˈāṛ/) ‘wolf’ | بھِگیاڑ | پِگیہاڑ or پہگیہاڑ |
| /pàˈṛās/ (/ˈbàˈṛās/) ‘steam’ | بھَڑاس | پَڑہاس or پَہڑہاس |
| /pàˈtīj̈ɔ/ (/bàˈtīj̈ɔ/) ‘nephew’ | بھَتیجو | پَہتیجو or پَہتہیجو |

In my experience, Eastern literates in Pakistan (who have never seen their language in print) often reject this iconic solution upon initial exposure. They feel it is contrary to their distinct Pronunciation, and say that the Western dialect doesn't concern them. However, Eastern speakers need not think that the iconic solution is based on the lowprestige Western dialect, but rather on Urdu, the high-prestige language of wider communication for Muslim Gujjars in all locations. Thus, when presented with the ambiguities created by the alternative and the considerations for Urdu transitional literacy, their impression becomes favorable. The counter-intuitive nature of this solution thus underscores the need for orthography promotion, and for orthographic explanation in the introductions to Gojri publications and literacy materials.

As for pedagogical method, the five segments in question, along with the five voiceless aspirates, must be taught iconically as digraphs, i.e. as single alphabetic units. For example, new Eastern readers using the Gojri Alphabet Primer (Thikri & Losey 2001) in Pakistan readily learn to associate the /gh/ digraph گھ. with the segment /k̀/ by looking at the pictured horse, /'kòṛɔ/. Similarly, they learn to associate the /kh/ digraph کھ with the segment /kh/ by looking at the pictured donkey, /'khotɔ/. Eastern speakers already literate in Urdu need only a concise orthographic 'key', such as that contained in the Gojri Dictionary, when transitioning to Gojri text.

The solution detailed immediately above, then, is superior to its leading alternative, the phonemic solution proposed by Sharma (1979:150). To summarize, the problems with the phonemic solution are that it 'splits' the Eastern and Western dialects, complicates transitional literacy by precluding consistency of word images with Urdu, introduces ambiguities for short vowels even within the Eastern dialect, and at present enjoys comparatively little use. Furthermore, the phonemic solution is ill-equipped to represent the effects of L-spread on words like /Pà'tĩ̂ɔ/ (/Bà'tĩ̂ɔ/) 'nephew' and /pà'ṛās/ (/bà'ṛās/) 'steam.' To be consistently phonemic, awkward spellings like those on the farthest right in (62) would be needed to indicate that the first unstressed syllables also bear low tone (and are tonally distinct from words like /Na'tĩ̂ɔ/ 'result' and /Pa'ṛā/ 'teach!'). The iconic solution, by representing lexical L only (via familiar Urdu-ized spellings), enables readers to correctly interpret low tone from the beginning of the word through to the low-rising pitch contour on the stressed syllable, based on their innate awareness of stress. Given intrinsic merits such as this and the pervasive influence of the Academy's publications, the adoption in Pakistan and Pakistan-occopied Kashmir of the iconic solution promoted by the Academy represents the best opportunity for the broader Gojri movement to achieve a standard, internally consistent representation.

## Writing of High-Tone Words (Other than /ɛ́/ - Type)

The remaining orthographic matters pertaining to tone have received relatively little attention to date, with writers typically defaulting to the Urdu spellings or, when words lack an Urdu cognate, often ignoring the tone entirely. This is probably because the remaining tonal phenomena occur less frequently and are more problematic than those considered thus far in this section. Sharma (1979:151) proposes that the high toneme be represented by do chashmi he written immediately after the vowel bearing high tone. This, however, would put the do chashmi he immediately after a consonant whenever the vowel was short (or perceived as short), given the practice of not writing high-tone (or otherwise) short vowels. This in turn would create many ambiguities with voiceless aspirates and low-tone segments, the latter rightly consisting of a (voiced) consonant followed by do chashmi he. Any related proposal (I know of none) for explicitly writing the short vowels and /ɛ́/ would be problematic in view of the widely accepted practice of ignoring them or of writing /ɛ́/ simply as choti he. Representing the short vowels with the appropriate diacritics would not reduce the ambiguities created by Sharma's proposal, since the consonants would still get joined to do chashmi he.

An Urdu-ized solution to the writing of high-tone words is suggested by two different spelling patterns for

Urdu cognates. Both patterns are used for Gojri high-tone words when the spellings of such words are known from Urdu. These patterns are not, however, consistently applied to uniquely Gojri words.

**Writing of High Tone Associated with Loss of Medial /h/**

The first and most common spelling pattern features choti he or bari he, ھ, (in the Arabic 'gentleman' and 'wedding ceremony' below) written after the high-tone long vowel, as shown in (63). It corresponds to the words shown in (56) in 3.1.2.7.

**(63) High-tone words written with post-vocalic he, per spelling of Urdu cognates**

| Word | Gloss | Urdu(-ized) Spelling | Urdu Cognate | (original spelling, if different) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /sā́b/ | 'gentleman' | صاحب | /ˈsāhib/ | |
| /gā́k/ | 'customer' | گاہک | /ˈgāhuk/ | |
| /ˈsóṇī/ fem. | 'beautiful' | سوہنی | /ˈsohanī/ | |
| /mā́ir/ (/mā́r/) | 'expert' | ماہر | /ˈmāhir/ | |
| /čā́/ | 'want!' | چاہ | /čāh/ | |
| /bādˈšā́/ (/bāˈčā́/) | 'king' | بادشاہ | /bādˈšā/ | |
| /niˈkā́/ | 'wedding ceremony' | نِکاح | /niˈkā/ | |
| /ˈčū̃ɔ/ | 'rat' | چُوہو | /ˈčūhā/ | (چُوہا) |

Uncommon in Gojri are high-tone medial short vowels having Urdu cognates other thanthe kind shown below in (64). Words featuring high-tone medial short

vowels but lackingsuch cognates can be written with *choti he* after the vowel diacritic, by extension of thispattern and the pattern noted earlier for /ɛ́/, e.g. /'túmat/ ‘slander’ تُہمت.

**Writing of High-Tone Associated with De-aspiration**

The second, lower-frequency spelling pattern features *do chashmi he* after a voicedconsonant, as shown in (64). It corresponds to the words shown in (54) in 3.1.2.7 and tothe non-causative verbs presented in 3.1.2.3.

**(64) High-tone words written with final *do chashmi he*, per spelling of Urdu cognates**

| Word | Gloss | Urdu(-ized) Spelling | Urdu Cognate | (original spelling, if different) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /kúǰ/ | ‘some’ | کُجھ | /kuč/ | (کُچھ) |
| /dúd/ | ‘milk’ | دُدھ | /dudh/ | |
| /ˈdā́ṛī/ | ‘beard’ | داڑھی | /ˈdāṛhī/ | |
| /ˈbúḍī/ | ‘old woman’ | بُڈّھی | /ˈbuṛhī/ | (بُڑھی) |
| /ˈčɔ́drī/ | ‘Choudhry’ | چوَدھری | /ˈčɔdharī/ | |
| /páṛ/ | ‘read!’ | پڑھ | /paṛh/ | |
| /sámǰ/ | ‘understand!’ | سَمجھ | /ˈsamaǰh/ | |

The Urdu-ized spellings presented above for both patterns are superior to any surface spellings of high-tone words, despite variation in position and appearance. By representing the location of lexical L, whether by a post-vocalic choti he or final do chashmi he, such spellings

clearly indicate the high-falling pitch contour to mother-tongue readers. Furthermore, these spellings maintain a relatively constant word image between Gojri and Urdu. The greatest advantage to adopting both patterns for Gojri, however, is that writing do chashmi he after formerly aspirated voiced consonants maintains a constant word image for many non-causative and causative pairs of Gojri verbs like those in (65). Any surface representation (whether representing the high toneme everywhere with post-vocalic do chashmi he or, better, with post-vocalic choti he everywhere given its prior association via /kɛ́-/ ‘say’ and /rɛ́-/ ‘stay’) must resort to two surface spellings:

one for the high-tone root and another for the low-tone causative. However, the Urduized representation of lexical L by means of post-consonantal do chashmi he enables readers to interpret high tone and, alternately, low tone from a single spelling of the root. Consider these examples:

(65) Spellings for high-tone root and low-tone causative pairs of verbs

| verb pairs | | Urdu-ized spellings | alternate surface spellings |
|---|---|---|---|
| /páṛ/ | ‘read!’ | پڑھ | پہڑ or پھڑ |
| /paˈṛã̀/ | ‘teach!’ | پڑھا | پڑہا |
| /láng/ | ‘pass by!’ | لَنگھ | لَہنگ or لَھگ |
| /lanˈgã̀/ | ‘shoot!’ | لَنگھا | لَنگہا |
| /báṇ/ | ‘become!’ | بَنھ | بَہنْ or بَھنْ |
| /baˈṇã̀/ | ‘make!’ | بَنھا | بَنْہا |
| /ˈbáṛak/ intrans. | ‘boil!’ | بڑھک | بَہڑک or بَھڑک |
| /baṛˈkã̀/ trans. | ‘boil!’ | بڑھکا | بڑکہا or بڑکھا |

The final pair in (65) is unique in that it shows the effect of L-spreading through an intervening root-final consonant and onto the stressed causative suffix. Only the Urdubased representation allows for correct indication of surface tones while avoiding awkward spellings which all but completely obscure any relationship between the two stems. An analysis mistakenly linking lexical L with root-final /k/ rather than with /ṛ/ would lead to the spelling shown to the far right of the bottom line in (65), the final syllable of which is ambiguous with the aspirated level tone /khā/ ‘eat!’

A similar pair of verbs are /pɔč/ ‘arrive!’ and /pɔˈčā/ ‘deliver!’ As indicated by its voicelessness, the root-final consonant has not been de-aspirated like those presented

above. Rather, the root is a contraction of an older form attested by the Urdu cognate /pa'hunč/ ‘arrive!’ Writing lexical L with choti he after the vowel and before the final consonant accounts for L-spread through that consonant and onto the stressed causative suffix, while avoiding a spelling ambiguous with the aspirated level tone sequence /čhā/ (cf. /čhā~/ ‘shade’). The spellings which correctly indicate surface tones are thus پوہچ ‘arrive!’ and پوہچا ‘deliver!’ Again, any other analysis and related spellings would complicate the interpretation of surface tones.

## Writing of Other Low-Tone Words

Three remaining kinds of low-tone words warrant discussion, the first two involving a small number of words and the third constituting a much broader pattern.

### Writing of Polysyllabic Words Beginning with /h/

The tone and spelling issues related to words like /Pà'tĩ̂ɔ/ (/Bà'tĩ̂ɔ/) ‘nephew’ and /pà'ṛās/ (/bà'ṛās/) ‘steam’ are similar to those for words like /hà'mešā~/ ‘always’ which were presented in 3.1.2.6. The latter begin with /h/ but are stressed on a non-initial syllable, and like the former words bear low tone on all syllables preceding the stressed syllable, followed by a low-rising pitch on the stressed syllable. Most Gujjar writers simply write these words with initial choti he (e.g. ہمیشاں /hà'mešā~/ ‘always’), per their familiarity with the spellings of Urdu cognates (e.g. ہمیشہ /ha'mešā/ ‘always’). This practice actually constitutes a ‘shallow’ orthographic solution and is often

followed even by those normally advocating a phonetic approach to spelling. A surface representation would mark the low-rising tone where it is heard on the stressed syllable, and begin with a vowel since /h/ is not phonetically realized (e.g. اَمہیشاں [ʌ'mè:šá~] ‘always’, in which the first-syllable low tone still remains unwritten). A natural application of this approach would spell the intransitive verb /hàl/ [hăl]‘shake!’ as بَلّ, and its transitive (i.e. causative) counterpart /hà'lā/ [à'lă:] trans. ‘shake!’ as اَلّہا. Such spellings preclude a constant image of the Gojri root, as well as precluding a constant word image between Gojri and Urdu. The Urdu-ized practice of simply writing initial lexical L with initial choti he is the best solution for all words of this type.

**<u>Writing Low Tone in Words Featuring Initial Aspiration</u>**

Words in which low tone and aspiration co-occur (see 3.1.2.8) are most commonly written with reference only to aspiration. Thus, /'thāîrɔ/ ['thà:rɔ:] pl. ‘your’ is spelled تہاروand /'thānɔ/ ['tha:ɳɔ]‘to be found’ is spelled تہانو. An alternative phonemic approach representing both low tone and aspiration would yield awkward spellings for /thārɔ/: تہہاروor worse, تھہارو. Ignoring the tone altogether is the best solution for such words, since only a handful are truly indigenous and lack accepted Urdu spellings. The interpretation of indigenous words like the two spelled above is greatly assisted by contextual clues (given the unique semantics of these two words), and I have not yet

encountered any ambiguities between such words and aspirated level-tone words.

**Writing Low Tone not Associated with Loss of Aspiration**

This category includes all words with Urdu cognates featuring medial /h/ before a long vowel (see (53) in 3.1.2.6), as well as many which do not. The fact that Urdu medial /h/ corresponds to both Gojri high tone (3.1.2.7) and low tone (3.1.2.6) means that any phonemic spelling approach which values compatibility with Urdu is forced either to promote some spellings which are contrary to Urdu or to accept ambiguity in the interpretation of choti he. Since most Gojri words of the type corresponding to medial/h/ before a long vowel in Urdu are in fact Perso-Arabic loans whose spellings are wellknown to literate Gujjars, there is little warrant for promoting unique Gojri spellings (although diacritics representing Urdu first-syllable short vowels must be omitted for Gojri). Examples of such loans are shown in (66).

**(66) Spellings of Perso-Arabic loans pronounced with low tone in Gojri.**

| Word | Gloss | Urdu Pronunciation | Urdu Spelling |
|---|---|---|---|
| /mə̀l/ | 'palace' | /maˈhāl/ | مَحل (with *bari he*) |
| /jə̃ə̀z/ | 'ship' | /jəˈhāz/ | جَہاز |
| /jə̃ə̀d/ | 'jihad' | /jiˈhād/ | جِہاد |
| /ˈmə̃ə̀jar/ | 'refugee' | /muˈhājir/ | مُہاجِر |

Along with such borrɔwed spellings, some Gujjar writers, including the editors of the Academy dictionary, have been writing indigenous words of this type using do chashmi he by analogy with Urdu-ized spellings for low tones resulting from de-aspiration (see 3.2.2.4). Others write all such words with choti he, consistent with their writing of low tones resulting from de-aspiration (by analogy with the spellings of loans like those in (66)). Some common words for which such alternate spellings are used are shown in (67).

**(67) Alternate spellings for indigenous low-tone words not related to de-aspiration**

| word | gloss | with *do chashmi he* | with *choti he* |
|---|---|---|---|
| /ˈmə̀rɔ/ | 'our' | مہارو | مہارو |
| /mɛ̀s/ | 'dairy buffalo' | مہیَس | مہیَس |
| /maleˈə̀p/ | 'worm' | مَلیہَپ | مَلیہَپ |
| /lwə̀/ | 'get [someone] | لُوھا | لُوہا |
| to remove [article of clothing]!' | | cf. لاہ /lə̃ə́/ 'remove [article of clothing]!' | |

In between the words which are clearly loans and those which are truly indigenous are many more words which are not thought of as loans (and which might be indigenous) but whose Urdu cognates do have known spellings. For a small number of words like /'kānī/ (/'gānī/) ‘story’ the Urdu medial-/h/ spelling کہانی (/Ka'hānī/) might be abandoned in favor of گھانی, so that both dialects can be represented by a single form. Conversely, words beginning with any of the plosives /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /č/, /ǰ/, /ṭ/, /ḍ/, /k/, and /g/ but not showing the initial voicing variation between dialects should always be written with the Urdu spellings to avoid confusion about voicing, e.g. بہادر /'bādar/ ‘brave’ (Urdu /ba'hādar/) and پہاڑ /pāṛ/ ‘rɔcky crag’ (Urdu /pa'hāṛ/ ‘mountain’). For words beginning with any other consonant (i.e. any lacking a homorganic voiceless or voiced counterpart), there is no reason to promote a unique Gojri spelling (aside from unique Gojri endings), given the frequency of medial-/h/ loan spellings in the lexicon. In practice such words are typically written with Urdu spellings, but the *do chashmi he* spellings are also possible. Some examples of this variation are shown in (68).

**(68) Alternate spellings for Gojri low-tone words cognate with Urdu medial-/h/ words**

| | *do chashmi he* Spelling | Urdu Spelling (with *choti he*) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /nə̀/ 'bathe!' | نھا | نُہا | /nuˈhā/ |
| /ˈswə̀gā/ 'ashes' | سُوھاگا | سُہاگو | /suˈhāgā/ 'ash' |
| /ˈmɪ̀nā/ 'months' | مھِینا | مہینہ | /maˈhīnā/ 'month' |
| /sə̀l/ 'diarrhea' | سھال | سہال | /saˈhāl/ |

The remaining problem, then, is that there are two competing representations for unique Gojri low-tone words not resulting from de-aspiration. Since there are no lowtone roots featuring initial short vowels which are not the result of de-aspiration, neither *choti he* nor *do chashmi he* written before a long vowel create any ambiguities with hightone roots (assuming rejection of the ambiguous practice of writing *choti he* for low-tone short vowels associated with de-aspiration, see 3.2.2.2). This is because both letters accurately represent the pre-vocalic location of lexical L (whereas *choti he* represents post-vocalic lexical L in high-tone words, provided it is consistently written after any explicit vowel). Therefore, since both representations rightly represent lexical L unambiguously and enjoy current use for large numbers of other Gojri words (assuming validation of the iconic representation for low tones resulting from de-aspiration), the spelling of uniquely indigenous words like those in (67) must be determined with reference to other criteria.

Two possible solutions are (1) to simply spell all low-tone words of this type with *choti he*, or (2) to spell with *do chashmi he* all such Gojri words for which transparent Urdu cognates are not found in modern Urdu dictionaries. Either solution is preferable to subjectively determining the spelling of each word on a case-by-case basis. The first solution may be preferable from the standpoint of maintaining constant word images between Gojri and Urdu, but its adoption is somewhat complicated by the proliferation of spellings like مہارو/mārɔ/ 'our' in the Gojri literature of Indian- side of Jammu and Kashmir.[4] The second solution would afford an overall representation of low tone that is more uniform within Gojri itself, especially for text material that utilizes fewer nonindigenous words (i.e. it would strengthen rather than dilute the association of *do chashmi he* with the low toneme). Testing of both spelling patterns with new readers is needed to determine which potential ambiguity poses the greater problem: (1) the confusion of such *do chashmi he* spellings with spellings of words featuring initial voiceless aspiration; or (2) the confusion of such *choti he* spellings with spellings of high-tone words, especially those involving stems ending in /ɛ́/ and a long-vowel suffix (e.g. کہاں/kā~/ 'we say').

## Evaluation Summary

The evaluation presented above obviously reflects my own conviction that a tone representation which 'joins' the dialects and maximizes ease of transfer between Gojri

and Urdu is better than a representation that 'splits' the dialects and promotes unique Gojri spellings. I have extensively documented the claim that a consistent one-to-one mapping of grapheme to toneme is impossible for any representation that values compatibility with Urdu. A surface representation for Gojri must admit high functional loads (and conflicting functions) for the letters do chashmi he and choti he, while still failing to represent all of the contrastive surface phenomena (most notably, any level low tone preceding a low-rising tone in words like /pìge'āṛ/ (/bìgī'āṛ/) 'wolf').

The documentation demonstrates, however, that Urdu-based conventions in use by some Gujjar writers approximate a consistent representation of underlying lexical L. In this view, do chashmi he and choti he are allographs of lexical L, and their distributions are dictated by Urdu spelling patterns rather than by surface contrasts. Such Urdu-based spellings correctly indicate the interpretation of surface tones while maintaining consistency of word image within Gojri and between Gojri and Urdu.

The full range of Urdu-based conventions for the representation of Gojri tonal words is presented in summary form in Table 8 below. The forms included in Table 8 are representative of the broader spelling patterns which I believe are suitable for standardization. I have not included any of the exceptional spellings noted elsewhere

above, for which only one or two examples exist in my present database. While all of the spellings in Table 8 are in use in some quarter, neither they nor the patterns they represent are applied consistently across-the-board.

It remains then for Gujjar writers to decide together which conventions should be standardized, and which kinds of tonal words should be spelled according to each convention. The success of such decision-making will depend upon many factors, including broad-based participation (geographically and dialectically), the linguistic facts, and the testing of alternate solutions for representative tonal words like /'mārɔ/ 'our' (مہارو vs. مہارو)

Table 8. Urdu-based Conventions for Representing Lexical L in Gojri

| | 1st σ stressed | 2nd σ stressed | 3rd σ stressed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-vocalic lexical L (corresponding to surface low tone) is represented by: | | | |
| -initial *choti he* | ہَم 'we' /hàm/ [hʌ̆m] | ہَمیشاں 'always' /hàˈmešã~/ [ʌˈmè:šá~] | ہَتھیار 'tools' /hàtheˈār/ [ʌtʰèˈă:r] |
| -*do chashmi he* after initial vd. consonant | گھوڑو 'horse' /ˈkòṛɔ/ [ˈkò:ṛɔ́] (/ˈgòṛɔ/ [ˈgò:ṛɔ́]) | بَھڑاس 'steam' /pàˈṛās/ [pɔ̀ˈṛă:s] (/bàˈṛās/ [bɔ̀ˈṛă:s]) | بھیڑیاڑ 'wolf' /pìgeˈāṛ/ [pìgèˈă:ṛ] (/bìgīˈāṛ/ [bìgìˈă:ṛ]) |
| -*do chashmi he* after non-initial vd. consonant | | پڑھا 'teach!' /paˈṛã̀/ [pɔˈṛă:] | |
| -*choti he* after initial consonant in loans | جَہاز 'ship' /jã̀z/ [jă:z] | | |
| -no marking (with aspiration) | تھارو pl. 'your' /ˈthã̆rɔ/[ˈtʰà:rɔ́:] | | |
| Post-vocalic lexical L (corresponding to surface high tone) is represented by: | | | |
| -*choti he* indicating /é/ | بہن 'sister' /béṇ/ [bê:ṇ] | | |
| -*choti he* with vowel diacritic | تُہمت 'slander' /ˈtúmat/ [ˈtúmə̀t] | | |

Table 8 cont.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-choti he* | چُوہو 'rat' | بادشاہ 'king' | گُمراہ 'unbeliever' |
| after explicit vowel | /ˈčũɔ/ [ˈčû:ɔ] | /bādˈšā̃/ [ba:dˈšâ:] | gumaˈrā̃ [gumə'râ:] |
| (only loans for 2nd and 3rd columns) | | (/bāčˈā̃/ [ba:ˈčâ:]) | |
| *-do chashmi he* | پڑھ 'read!' | | |
| after vd. consonant | /páṛ/ [pâṛ] | | |

## COMPARATIVE GOJRI MORPHOSYNTAX

What follows is only a preliminary statement of Gojri morphosyntax. I have necessarily limited myself to those topics which have a bearing on orthography and dialectal variation. I have attempted to exhaust the morphological phenomena in my data, while describing only those syntactic phenomena which are essential to understanding the morphological data and about which something unique can be said with respect to Gojri. Anyone having a basic familiarity with Indo-Aryan syntax should not be hindered by the resulting gaps in my analysis. Throughout I have utilized Masica's (1991) labels and analytic categories to simplify cross-linguistic comparison. I have made no attempt, however, to reconcile my analysis with that of Sharma for Punch-Rajauri Gojri (1982), although I do point out descriptive differences involving the shape of the morphemes themselves.

4.1 Noun-Phrase Constituents and Operations

### 4.1.1 The Structure of Nouns and Noun Phrases

#### 4.1.1.1 Marked and Unmarked Nouns

From the perspective of their morphological structure, two subclasses of nouns can be distinguished in Gojri. Some nouns bear an overt marker that encodes gender (masculine vs. feminine), number (singular vs. plural), and case (nominative vs. general oblique vs. general locative). Here, following common practice in Indo-Aryan linguistics, such nouns are called 'marked'.

Other nouns do not bear an overt marker for these categories. Such nouns are called 'unmarked'. (The oblique plural marker /-ā~/ does not participate in this scheme of things. It attaches to both marked and unmarked nouns. The same is true for the vocative case marker in most of its forms.)

The stems of marked nouns are 'bound' elements in the sense that they cannot occur on their own, without the inflectional marker. The structure of marked nouns can be described as follows:

(69) STEM - INFL1 - (INFL2)

INFL1 is the obligatory marker for gender, number, and case. INFL2 is a slot for an additional inflectional marker. This slot can be occupied by the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ and by most forms of the vocative case marker. For example, consider the suffixes in (70):

(70)E. ɔ mer-e-ā lāyk bač-e-ā
VOC 1s.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG smart child-M.SG-VOC.M.SG
'Oh my smart [boy] child!'

The structure of unmarked nouns is shown in (71):

(71) STEM - (INFL2)

As stated above, unmarked nouns do not take the gender-number-case markers that occur in the INFL1 slot of marked nouns. However, unmarked nouns do combine with the INFL2 type of suffixes. For example consider the attachment of the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ to the unmarked noun /ric/ 'bear' in (72):

(72) rič-ā~ (nā) '(to) [the] bears'

In addition to taking the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ and vocative case markers, certain stems of this class of nouns can also take an ablative case marker.

The stems of nouns from both categories may be further analyzed into roots and derivational suffixes. The reader interested in Gojri derivational morphology should refer to Sharma (1982), as I have not attempted any description of that topic here.

## The Noun Phrase

The basic structure of the Gojri noun phrase is not distinct from that described by Masica for Indo-Aryan generally (1991:373). The noun is the right-most element

in the phrase, with optional modifiers occurring to the left. While the order of these modifiers is not rigid, it may be generalized as follows:

(73) (Gen P) / (Dem) (Quant) (Adj P)* (Gen P) + N

(The asterisk (*) indicates that more than one such constituent may occur in the specified location.)

That is, a noun phrase consists of a noun, preceded by an optional genitive phrase, one or more optional adjective phrases, an optional quantifier, and an optional demonstrative or genitive phrase. A genitive phrase consists of another noun and the genitive postposition /k-/ 'of', and may indicate possession (e.g. /mumtāz kī/ 'Mumtaz's [feminine noun]') or quality (e.g. /makaī kī/ 'of corn'). An adjective phrase usually consists of an adjective, optionally preceded by an adverb of degree, e.g. /muč lāyk/ 'very intelligent'. The relative order of these constituents is shown in examples (74)-(76):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (74) | kāɣān | k-ā | trɛ | baṛ-ā | šóṇ-ā | sar |
| | Kaghan | GEN-NOM.M.PL | three | big-NOM.M.PL | beautiful-NOM.M.PL | lake |

'Kaghan's three very beautiful lakes'

(75) wé do lam-ā kāblī ǰaṇ-ā
3pl.DIST.NOM.M two long-NOM.M.PL Afghani man-NOM.M.PL
'those two tall Afghani men'

(76) ayūb k-ā do baṛ-ā sóṇ-ā lakaṛī k-ā
Ayub GEN-NOM.M.PL two big-NOM.M.PL beautiful-NOM.M.PL wood GEN-F.S
sandūk
chest
'Ayub's two very beautiful wooden chests'

Noun phrases which are more complex may include a relative clause:[1]

(77)E. koe ǰíṛ-ɔ swātī th-ɔ, (ó nɔkrī
INDEF.NOM.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG Swati PAST-M.SG 3sg.DIST wage.labor
kar-t-ɔ)
do-IMPFV-M.SG
'The one who was a Swati, (he would be doing wage labor).'

(78)W. ǰíṛ-ā ǰaṇ-ā ne mer-ī yá baks-ī khol-∅-ī,
REL-OBL.M.SG man-OBL.M.SG AG 1s.GEN-F 3sg.PROX.NOM.F box-F open-PERF-F
(hữ~ us ǰaṇ-ā nā lī-ū~ g-ī)
1s.NOM 3sg.DIST.OBL man-OBL.M.SG DAT take-1s FUT-F
'Whichever man opens this box of mine, (that man I will take).'

## Gender and Number

Unmarked nouns have inherent gender, while their number in a given context will be coded elsewhere in the noun phrase. Marked nouns are inflected to distinguish masculine from feminine and plural from singular (the latter not in all instances) within a single suffix. Table 9 shows the inventory of these gender-number agreement suffixes:

Table 9. Gender-Number Agreement Suffixes

| | Eastern | Western |
|---|---|---|
| m.sg. | -ɔ | -ɔ |
| m.pl. | -ā | -ā |
| f.sg. | -ī | -ī |
| f.pl. | -ī~ | -ī |

Masica uses the term 'adjectival concord' (AC) (1991:260) for suffixes of this type. In addition to marking nouns and adjectives, these AC suffixes occur widely within the verb phrase. Within the noun phrase these suffixes denote unmarked or nominative case.

Note that feminine singular and feminine plural are collapsed in the Western dialect. Since singular and plural number are also often collapsed in the verbal morphology of this dialect, number can only be distinguished for feminine nouns by means of a quantifier, by context, or by the number of a pronoun. The distinction between feminine singular and feminine plural is maintained in the Eastern dialect only on marked nouns (optionally - and normally omitted in nominative if clear from a quantifier or pronoun), the relative pronoun, verbs, and auxiliaries. Adjectives, the genitive postposition, and other modifiers in the noun phrase take the feminine singular suffix for agreement with feminine plural nouns. Compare the Eastern and Western sentences in (79), noting the distribution of the feminine plural suffix /ī~/:

(79)E. us k-ī nik-ī t̀-ī~ ǰíṛ-ī~ th-ī~
3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-F.SG small-F.SG daughter-F.PL REL-F.PL PAST-F.PL

tɛ wé roṭ-ī~ ún-ā~ ǰug-ī th-ī~
and 3pl.DIST.NOM bread-F.PL 3pl/HON.DIST.OBL-PL.OBL for-F.SG PAST-F.PL

'His little daughters that were, those breads were for them.'

W. us k-ī nik-ī d̀-ī ǰíṛ-ī th-ī
3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-F small-F daughter-F REL-F PAST-F

tɛ wé rōṭ-ī ún ǰug-ī th-ī
and 3pl.DIST.NOM bread-F 3pl/HON.DIST.OBL for-F PAST-F

'His little daughters that were, those breads were for them.' .

## Case and Postpositions

Case relations in Gojri are encoded by means of three inflectional categories, representing three degrees of proximity to the noun stem. Masica organizes these categories as follows for Indo-Aryan languages: Layer I, consisting of suffixes; Layer II, consisting of morphemes whose attachment is mediated by a Layer I suffix; and Layer III, consisting of morphemes mediated by a Layer II element (1991:231-234). Nominative or 'direct' case is unmarked in Gojri; stems bearing adjectival concord function as subject in a wide variety of constructions and as 'patient' in ergative constructions.

## Layer I: Case-Marking Suffixes

Most of the case-marking suffixes occur in the INFL1 slot of the Gojri noun (and therefore do not occur on unmarked nouns), while some of them occur in the INFL2 slot.

**/-ā/ oblique masculine singular**: attaches in the INFL1 slot to indicate that a postposition further specifying case will follow a marked masculine singular noun. It cannot occur without a following postposition.

**/-ā~/ oblique plural**: attaches in the INFL2 slot to indicate that a postposition further specifying case will follow a plural noun. It attaches after feminine AC suffixes on marked nouns, but deletes the AC vowel /ā/ when attaching to a marked masculine plural. When affixed to an unmarked noun, this suffix may be the only morphological indication of plurality. In the Eastern dialect only, other constituents of the noun phrase, including numerals and possessive adjectives, normally take this oblique plural suffix to show agreement with a head noun so marked. It cannot occur without a following postposition.

**/-ɛ/ locative singular:** attaches in the INFL1 slot of marked masculine singular inanimate nouns and to the stems of various possessive adjectives, postpositions, and adverbs to indicate abstract location. (Location is expressed for other types of nouns by means of postpositions such as /mā/ 'in'.) Nouns and postpositions which have nothing to do with locative or temporal notions cannot be so marked.

(80)W. ek dɪ̀āṛ-ɛ ek búḍ-ī ā ga-∅-ī, us
one day-LOC one old-F come go-PERF-F 3sg.DIST.OBL

ḍèn-ī k-ɛ ḍer-ɛ.
woman-F GEN-LOC home-LOC

'One day an old woman came to that woman's home.'

**/-ɛ~/ locative plural**: attaches in the INFL1 slot of inanimate marked masculineplural nouns to indicate abstract location. It may also attach to plural possessiveadjectives and to the plural demonstrative stems /ɪ̀n-/ and /ún-/. This morpheme occursonly in the Eastern dialect, and Sharma (1982) does not report it for Punch-Rajauri Gojri.Unlike the locative singular it cannot occur with the genitive postposition (*/kɛ~/).

(81)E. hṹ~ thə̀r-ɛ~ ḍer-ɛ~ čal-ū~ k-ɔ
1s.NOM 2pl/HON.OBL-LOC.PL home-LOC.PL go-1sg FUT-M.SG.NOM

'I will go to your homes.'

**/-ū/ ablative case**: attaches in the INFL2 slot of select unmarked singular nouns toform adverbs indicating abstract point of origin:

(82) sir-ū 'completely' (lit. 'from the head')
muṇḍ-ū 'from the beginning' (lit. 'from the trunk')

Eastern speakers from the Muzaffarabad area have the variant /-ū~/ in their speech, as do speakers of the Punch-Rajauri dialect (Sharma 1982:92). Some Western speakers have the variant /-o~/ in their speech.

**/-ā/ vocative masculine singular**: this and other vocative case suffixes mark the addressee. The vocative masculine singular suffix is phonetically identical to the oblique masculine singular, but unlike the oblique, it can attach to unmarked nouns and cannot be followed by a postposition. On marked masculine nouns and modifiers in the Eastern dialect, the attachment of this suffix in the INFL2 slot changes the masculine singular AC marker in the INFL1 slot from /-ɔ/ to /-e/ as shown in (83).

(83) merɔ + ā > mereā

It attaches in the INFL2 slot of all unmarked masculine nouns, but does not attach to unmarked modifiers. Note the marking on the marked adjective /nik-/ 'little' and the unmarked noun /pūt/ 'son' in (84)a. Note the marking on the marked noun /bač-/ 'child' and the lack of marking on the unmarked adjective /lāyk/ 'smart' in (84)b.

(84)E.a. ɔ mer-e-ā nik-e-ā pūt-ā
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG little-M.SG-VOC.M.SG son-VOC.M.SG
'Oh my little son!'

b. ɔ mer-e-ā lāyk bač-e-ā
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG smart child-M.SG-VOC.M.SG
'Oh my smart [boy] child!'

The change of the AC marker from /-ɔ/ to /-e/ does not apply when the addressee is senior to the speaker and denoted by a marked noun such as /čāčɔ/ 'paternal uncle', /kākɔ/ 'paternal uncle', or /bābɔ/ 'old man.' In these cases

in the Eastern dialect, and for all occurrences of this suffix in the Western dialect, the suffix attaches in the INFL1 slot, replacing the AC vowel rather than changing it:

(85)E. ɔ mer-e-ā kāk-ā
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG paternal.uncle-VOC.M.SG
'Oh my uncle!'

W. ɔ mer-ā kāk-ā
VOC 1sg.VOC.M.SG paternal.uncle-VOC.M.SG
'Oh my uncle!'

The form /kāk-e-ā/ is possible in the Eastern dialect but normally reserved for goodnatured teasing, as it does not convey appropriate respect (cf. Sharma 1982:88).

**/-e/ vocative feminine singular** (Eastern only): attaches in the INFL2 slot of marked feminine nouns and associated marked modifiers, but may not attach to unmarked nouns and modifiers:

(86)E.a. ɔ mer-ī-e nik-ī-e bé̱ṇ
VOC 1sg.GEN-F.SG-VOC.F.SG little-F.SG-VOC.F.SG sister
'Oh my little sister!'

b. ɔ mer-ī-e lāyk beṭk-ī-e
VOC 1sg.GEN-F.SG-VOC.F.SG smart girl-F.SG-VOC.F.SG
'Oh my smart girl!'

c. ašrif k-ī-e t̀-ī-e
Ashrif GEN-F.SG-VOC.F.SG daughter-F.SG-VOC.F.SG
'Daughter of Ashrif!'

In the Western dialect, the vocative is unmarked for all feminine singular nouns and associated modifiers:

(87)W. ɔ mer-ī d̀-ī
VOC 1sg.GEN-F daughter-F
'Oh my daughter!'

**/-ɔ/ (/-ɔ~/) vocative plural**: attaches to the stem of unmarked nouns and after the AC suffix on marked feminine nouns and modifiers. Its Eastern form is identical in shape to the vocative interjection /ɔ/ 'Oh!' In (88), note its attachment to the marked modifiers /mer-/ 'my' and /nik-/ 'little', and to the marked noun /tī/ (/dī/) 'daughter.'

(88)E. ɔ mer-ī-ɔ nik-ī-ɔ t̀-ī-ɔ
VOC 1sg.GEN-F.SG-VOC.PL little-F.SG-VOC.PL daughter-F.SG-VOC.PL
'Oh my little daughters!'

W. ɔ mer-ī-ɔ~ nik-ī-ɔ~ d̀-ī-ɔ~
VOC 1sg.GEN-F-VOC.PL little-F-VOC.PL daughter-F.SG-VOC.PL
'Oh my little daughters!'

In the Eastern dialect it attaches to marked masculine nouns and modifiers after the AC suffix, changing the AC vowel from /ā/ to /ɛ/ as shown in (89):

(89)E. merā + ɔ > mereɔ

In the Western dialect it attaches directly to the stem of marked masculine nouns. The vocative plural does not attach to unmarked modifiers in the Eastern dialect, or

to any modifiers in the Western dialect. Consider examples (90)-(91).

(90)E. ɔ mer-e-ɔ lāyk pūt-ɔ
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL-VOC.PL smart son-VOC.PL
'Oh my smart sons!'

W. ɔ mer-ā lāyk pūt-ɔ~
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL smart son-VOC.PL
'Oh my smart sons!'

(91)E. allā k-e-ɔ band-e-ɔ
Allah GEN-M.PL-VOC.PL man-M.PL-VOC.PL
'Men of Allah!'

W. allā k-ā band-ɔ~
Allah GEN-M.PL man-VOC.PL
'Men of Allah!'

As noted for the vocative masculine singular, so here the plural suffix attaches directly to the stem of marked nouns denoting seniority:

(92)E. ɔ mer-e-ɔ kāk-ɔ!
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL-VOC.PL paternal.uncle-VOC.PL
'Oh my uncles!'

W. ɔ mer-ā kāk-ɔ~
VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL paternal.uncle-VOC.PL
'Oh my uncles!'

## Nominal Paradigms

Tables 10-12 present the regular inflections for marked animate nouns, marked inanimate nouns, and unmarked animate nouns, respectively; summarizing the distributions and attachments of the Layer I suffixes.

Table 10. Inflection of Marked Animate Nouns: /bač-/ 'child'

| | | Nom sg. | Nom pl. | Obl sg. | Obl pl. | Voc sg. | Voc pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | E | bačɔ | bačā | bačā | bačā~ | bačeā | bačeɔ |
| | W | " | " | " | " | bačā | bačɔ~ |
| fem. | E | bačī | bačī~ | bačī | bačī~ā~ | bačīe | bačīɔ |
| | W | " | bačī | " | bačīā~ | bačī | bačīɔ~ |

Table 11. Inflection of Marked Inanimate Nouns: /dèāṛ-/ (/dɪ̀āṛ-/) 'day' (Kashmir variant is /tèāṛ-/)

| | | Nom sg. | Nom pl. | Obl sg. | Obl pl. | Loc sg. | Loc pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | E | dèāṛɔ | dèāṛā | dèāṛā | dèāṛā~ | dèāṛɛ | dèāṛɛ~ |
| | W | dɪ̀āṛɔ | dɪ̀āṛā | dɪ̀āṛā | dɪ̀āṛā~ | dɪ̀āṛɛ | --- |
| fem. | E | dèāṛī | dèāṛī~ | dèāṛī | dèāṛī~ā~ | --- | --- |
| | W | dɪ̀āṛī | dɪ̀āṛī | dɪ̀āṛī | dɪ̀āṛīā~ | --- | --- |

Table 12. Inflection of Unmarked Animate Nouns: /pūt/ 'son', /béṇ/ 'sister'

| | | Nom sg. | Nom pl. | Obl sg. | Obl pl. | Voc sg. | Voc pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | E | pūt | pūt | pūt | pūtā~ | pūtā | pūtɔ |
| | W | " | " | " | " | pūt | pūtɔ~ |
| fem. | E | béṇ | béṇ | béṇ | béṇā~ | béṇ | béṇɔ |
| | W | " | " | " | " | " | béṇɔ~ |

Unmarked inanimate nouns are inflected identically to those in Table 12, but only for nominative and oblique cases as they cannot take vocative suffixes.

## Layer II: Postpositions Mediated by Oblique Case

### Primary or Case-Marking Postpositions

Case-marking postpositions follow oblique-case nouns and pronouns.

**/ne/ agentive case**: marks the agent of an ergative construction. In addition to the marking of agents with /ne/, ergative constructions in Gojri feature the perfective 'participle' of a transitive verb (see 4.2.1.1), the nominative agreement (~AC) of which is always with the grammatical object rather than with the agent/subject:

(93)E. us ǰaṇ-ā ne wá beṭk-ī hèr-Ø-ī
3sg.DIST.OBL man-OBL.M.SG AG 3sg.DIST.NOM.F girl-F.SG see-PERF-F.SG
'That man saw the girl.'

(94)W. bā̆čā́ ne ḱ-ī-ɔ, is dèṇ-ī ne hữ~
king AG say-PERF-M.SG 3sg.PROX.OBL woman-F AG 1sg.NOM
bač-ā-e-ɔ
save-CAUS-PERF-M.SG
'The king said, 'This woman saved me.'

The most common use of /ne/ in discourse is with verbs of speaking like that in the first clause of (94). In such contexts where there is no expressed object, the agreement of the perfective form of the verb defaults to masculine singular.

In constructions where an indirect object is marked with dative case, /ne/ may mark the subject. Compare (95) with (96) and (97):

(95)E. ǰawed nā pɛs-ā de-ṇ-ā hè~
Javed DAT money-NOM.M.PL give-INF-NOM.M.PL 3pl.PRES
'Javed needs to give money.'

(96)E. ǰawed ne ašrif nā pɛs-ā de-ṇ-ā hè~
Javed AG Ashrif DAT money-NOM.M.PL give-INF-NOM.M.PL 3pl.PRES
'Javed needs to give Ashrif money.'

(97)W. hàm ne apaṇ-ī bèḍ-ā~ nā dwā-ī de-ṇ-ī ɛ
1p.NOM AG REFL-F sheep-OBL.PL DAT medicine-F give-INF-F PRES
'We need to give medicine to our sheep.'

The agentive postposition is reduced to /ɛ~/ or /e~/ in certain pronominal forms, particularly in the Western dialect (see 4.1.4).

**/te/ ablative case**: most commonly marks source or origin (cf. English 'from') as in (98), and the undergoer of verbs of asking as in (99):

(98) is jel te hũ~ kis-šāne nas-ū~
3sg.PROX.OBL jail from 1sg.NOM INDEF.OBL-way run.away-1sg

'How shall I escape from this jail?'

(99)E. us ne nikaṛ-ī te puch-e-ɔ
3sg.DIST.OBL AG smallest-F.SG from ask-PERF-M.SG

'He asked the smallest [girl].'

It may have an instrumental sense, as in (100):

(100)W. sat-ā~ mú-ā~ te wá khā-ɛ th-ī.
seven-OBL.PL mouth-OBL.PL from 3sg.DIST.NOM.F eat-2/3 PAST-F

'She ate with seven mouths.'

It may also indicate the agent in certain passive constructions (cf. English 'by'):

(101) wé us te xuš hò-e-ā
3pl.DIST.NOM 3sg.DIST.OBL from happy be-PERF-M.PL

'They were gladdened by him.'

/te/ is also used in comparatives (cf. English 'than'):

(102)W. mer-ɛ te ḍấḍ-ɔ jaṇ-ɔ be kāe ɛ
1sg.OBL-LOC from powerful-M.SG.NOM man-M.SG.NOM also INDEF.SG PRES

'Is there anyone stronger than I?'

The Western sentence in (102) shows /te/ following locative case, as it may follow either oblique or locative case in that dialect. In Eastern it may occur only with oblique case.

Dr. Sabir Afaqi tells me that the variant /tū~/ is in his own speech (recall the ablative suffix variant /-ū~/) and that /te~/ is used in other parts of Kashmir. Sharma reports the forms /dū~/ and /tū~/ for Punch-Rajauri Gojri

(1982:192). The Kunhari Muhajar Bakarwals from whom I elicited the word list in Appendix B have the variant /de/.

**/k-/ genitive case**: normally indicates that there is a relationship between two nominal elements, particularly one of association or possession (cf. English 'of'):

(103)E. us k-ā pɛs-ā wī muk g-ī-ā
3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-M.PL.NOM money-M.PL.NOM also finish go-PERF-M.PL.NOM
'His money ran out too.'

(104)W. yó kāk-ā k-ɔ gòṛ-ɔ ɛ
3sg.PROX.NOM.M paternal.uncle-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG horse-NOM.M.SG PRES
'This is Uncle's horse.'

Like other marked nouns and modifiers, the genitive postposition takes the full complement of nominative AC endings (save the feminine plural in Western) along with whatever locative, oblique, and vocative suffixes are allowed for marked words in a given dialect. When occurring in the nominative with a single noun, it indicates reference (akin to the English 'concerning', 'about', 'with respect to'):

(105)W. us-e~ de k-ɔ nā́ ḱ-ī-ɔ,
3sg.DIST.OBL-AG giant GEN-NOM.M.SG NEG say-PERF-M.SG
'He didn't speak about the giant.'

Sharma reports /g-/ as the genitive postposition for Punch-Rajauri (1982:121). This form is sometimes heard following nasals in Pakistan, particularly in Western varieties (see 2.5.5). In some Western varieties it also

occurs in contexts like /lakaṛī gɔ (sandūk)/ ‘wooden (chest)’ (lit. ‘chest of wood’). Further research is needed to establish the distribution of this variant.

**/nā/ dative case**: marks direct and indirect objects as in (106) and (107), respectively, the direction (‘to’) or purpose of (‘for’) the verbal action as in (108) and (109), respectively, and the experiencer subject in any ‘dative subject’ construction (Masica 1991:346) like that in (110):

(106)W. tam ke kar-ɛ rič nā
2pl.NOM what do-2/3 bear DAT
‘What shall you do to the bear?’

(107)W. hàm nā rozī xudā dī-ɛ
1p. DAT daily.wage God give-2/3
‘God gives us [our] livelihood.’

(108)E. pầy jā r-é-ɔ baṇ nā
brother go stay-PERF-M.SG forest DAT
‘The brother left for the forest.’

(109)E. hữ̃ ter-ɛ nāḷ béā kar-uṇ nā ā-e-ɔ hữ̃
1sg.NOM 2sg.OBL-LOCwith marriage do-INF.OBL DAT come-PERF-M.SG.NOM 1sg.PRES
‘I have come to marry you.’

(110)E. bādšấ nā lér čáṛ-Ø-ī
king DAT anger climb-PERF-F.SG
‘The king got angry.’ (lit. ‘Anger climbed the king.’)

In the Western dialect, the dative postposition is reduced to /-ā~/ in third person singular pronominal forms.

## Other Layer II Postpositions

These postpositions occur with locative or oblique case. In Western there may be less precision about whether locative or oblique case is required for a given use of a postposition.

**/dar/ (/tā/) showing directionality**: specifies direction of the verbal action. It overlaps somewhat with the dative postposition /nā/ but is not used for experience constructions. The distributions of this postposition are not identical for both dialects.

In Eastern it follows locative case:

(111)E. ter-ɛ dar xat likh kɛ ṭor-ū~
2sg.GEN-LOC toward letter write CP send-1sg
'Shall I write you a letter and send it?'

The Western variant follows oblique case:

(112)W. is ǰaṇ-ā ne čhaṭ mār-ī-ɔ būṭ-ā tā
2sg.PROX.OBL man-OBL.M.SG AG grabbing hit-PERF-M.SG tree-OBL.M.SG toward
nap-uṇ tā
catch-INF.OBL toward
'This man grabbed at the tree to catch hold of it.'

**/mā/ 'in'**: occurs with oblique case:

(113)W. wó ḍə̀k-ā~ mā čhap g-ī-ɔ.
2sg.M.DIST.NOM mountain-PL.OBL in hide go-PERF-M.SG.NOM
'He hid in the mountains.'

**/tak/ showing extent or limit - 'as far as, until'**: occurs with oblique case in adverbials of place and time:

(114) wó is hath tak saxī th-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M 3sg.PROX.OBL hand until generous PAST-M.SG
'He was generous to this extent, ...'

(115)W. hòṇ tak yé ṭhanḍ-ī hò jā-t-ī.
now until 3pl.PROX.NOM cold-F be go-IMPFV-F
'These would have cooled off by now.'

**/tūṛī/ (/tūṇī/) showing extent or limit - 'as far as, until'**: occurs with oblique case in adverbials of place and time:

(116)E. ajā~ tūṛī min-nā xat nī́ mil-e-ɔ
now until 1sg.OBL-DAT letter NEG meet-PERF-M.SG
'Until now I have not received a letter.'

(117)E. bālākot te budgrā~ tūṛi ek jīp āṇ-Ø-ī th-ī
Balakot from Budgran until one jeep bring-PERF-F.SG PAST-F.SG
'[We] brought a jeep from Balakot to Budgran.'

**/wāste/ showing benefaction or purpose -'for'**: occurs with oblique case, marking the indirect object or indicating purpose (a use in which it overlaps with with /nā/ and /dar/ (/tā/)):

(118)W. āpaṇ-ā wāste bandūkh be l-ī~-ɔ~
REFL-OBL.M.SG for gun also take-FUT.IMP-2pl

'Choose guns for yourselves.'

(119)E. is gal wāste mɛ~ yé čal-ā-ɛ-ā
3sg.PROX.OBL word for 1sg.AG 3pl.PROX.NOM go-CAUS-PERF-M.PL.NOM

'[It was] for this matter [that] I sent these [people].'

**/jug-/ showing benefaction -'for'**: occurs with oblique case. Agreement is with head noun in Eastern, where it takes the full complement of AC endings minus the feminine plural.

(120)E. yé do roṭ-ī~ ter-a jug-ī hè~
3pl.PROX.NOM two bread-F.PL 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG for-F.SG 3pl.PRES

'These two pieces of bread are for you.'

My Western-speaking research associate reports that in his dialect the feminine ending works for head nouns of both genders, but the masculine endings only work when the head noun is also masculine:

(121)W.a. gòṛ-ɔ ter-ā jug-ī ɛ
horse-NOM.M.SG 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG for-F PRES

'The horse is for you.'

b. *yá čā ter-ā jug-ɔ ɛ
3sg.PROX.NOM.F tea 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG for-NOM.M.SG PRES

*'This tea is for you.' (ungrammatical)

**/lāyk/**: approximates /wāstɛ/ in meaning. It occurs with locative case in the idiom shown in (122).

(122)E. mer-ɛ lāyk kāe xizmat hè
1sg.GEN-LOC from INDEF.M service 2/3sg.PRES

'Is there anything I can do for you?' (lit. 'From me is [there] any service?)

**/samēt/ showing inclusion**: occurs with oblique case:

(123)W. bas roṭ-ī khā-ṇ k-ā šer ɛ, mer-ɛ samet
stop bread-F eat-INF.OBL GEN-M.PL.NOM lion PRES 1sg.GEN-LOC together

'[They] are lions only of food-eating, myself included.'

## Layer III Postpositions

This final category includes all remaining postpositions. These are optionally or necessarily mediated by the genitive /k-/ or ablative /te/ postpositions from Layer II. Most of the stems involved may also occur as adverbs, a use distinguished by placement in a position other than post-nominal together with the lack of a Layer II mediating postposition.

## Postpositions Mediated by the Genitive-Locative Postposition /kɛ/

Postpositions of this type occur optionally with the genitive postposition inflected for locative case, i.e. /kɛ/ or with the locative form of a possessive adjective (see 4.1.4).

With or without /kɛ/, the modified noun must be in the oblique case. Those adverbs which are formed by adding the ablative suffix /-ū/ to postpositions of this type cannot occur with /kɛ/, but rather occur with an oblique-case noun phrase.

***/***nāl***/*** **instrumental-sociative postposition** (Masica 1991:235). Consider these examples:

(124)E. mer-ɛ nāḷ šādī kar l-ī-e
1sg.GEN-LOC with marriage do take-FUT.IMPV-2sg
'Marry me.' (more lit. 'Contract marriage with me.')

(125)E. mə̃r-ā mulx mā kə̃ dāt-ī-ā~ nāḷ kap-ɛ~
1pl.GEN-NOM.M.SG country in grass sickle-F.SG-OBL.PL with cut-3pl

'In our country grass is cut with sickles.'

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /naḷū/ which has an ablative-sociative sense:

(126)E. pes-ā wī aj būṭ-ā~ nāḷ-ū nī́ kho-t-ā
money-NOM.M.PL also today tree-OBL.PL with-ABL NEG pick-IMPFV-M.PL

'And another thing, today money isn't picked from trees.'

(127)W. wá mer-ɛ nāḷ-ū xapā ɛ
3sgg.DIST.NOM.F 1sg.GEN-LOC with-ABL upset PRES

'She is upset with me.'

**/bič/ 'in, into'**:

(128)E. pāṇī k-ɛ bič g-ī-ɔ tɛ bɛs ŕ-ɛ k-ɔ
water GEN-LOC in go-PERF-M.SG then sit stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

'When it goes into water it will sit down.'

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /bičū/ 'from out of'.

**/hèṭh/ 'under'**:

(129)W. ek būṭ-ā k-ɛ hèṭh čal kɛ yó so ŕ-ī-ɔ
one tree-OBL.M.SG GEN-LOC under go CP 3sg.PROX.NOM.M sleep stay-PERF-M.SG

'Going under a tree he went to sleep.'

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /hèṭhū/ 'from under'.x

**/koḷ/ (/koḷɛ/) showing `proximity or possession**: occurs necessarily with /kɛ/ after unmarked nouns in the Eastern dialect (130), without /kɛ/ after locative first and second person prounouns (131), and optionally with /kɛ/ after marked oblique nouns.

(130)E. nɔkar hò-wɛ mer-ɛ koḷ
servant be-2/3sg 1sg.GEN-LOC by

'I should have a servant.' (lit. 'A servant should be by me.')

The Western variant reflects addition of the locative case suffix /-ɛ/:

(131)W. us k-ɛ koḷ-ɛ ek baks-ī th-ī
3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-LOC by-LOC one box-F PAST-F

'She had a little box.' (lit. 'By her was a little box.')

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /koḷū/ 'from near'.

/andar/ **'inside of'**:

(132)E. ek mɪ̀n-ā k-ɛ andar andar xīr-ɔ phuṭ
one month-OBL.M.SG GEN-LOC inside inside diamond-NOM.M.SG break

ǰā-ɛ k-ɔ
go-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

'The diamond will break within one month.'

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /andrū/ 'from out of'.

**/**apar**/ (/upar/) (/**po**/) 'on'**: The form /apar/ (/upar/) is used with or without /kɛ/, while an additional Western variant /po/ occurs only without /kɛ/:

(133)E. rā́ apar laṛaz tɛ saxt-ī bɪ̀
path on trouble and hardship-F.SG also

'On the way there is trouble and also hardship.'

(134)W. is rā́ po čal
3sg.DIST.OBL path on go

'Walk on this path!'

(135)E. ek angūṭh-ī th-ī hàth k-ɛ apar
one ring-F.SG PAST-F.SG hand GEN-LOC on

'There was one ring on [her] hand.'

(136)W. gòṛ-ā k-ɛ upar laḍ
horse-OBL.M.SG GEN-LOC on load

'Load [it] on the horse!'

In Eastern, /apar/ with the ablative suffix forms the adverb /aprū/ 'from off of'.

/agɛ/ 'ahead of', 'before': consists of the root /ag-/ and the locative suffix /-ɛ/. It occurs optionally with /kɛ/ in locative constructions or /te/ in directional constructions:

(137)E. hàm ín-ā~ te ag-ɛ hɪ̀ čal-t-ā~ čal-t-ā~
1sg.NOM 3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL from ahead-LOC EMPH go-IMPFV-ADV go-IMPFV-ADV

jjā ŕ-e-ā apaṇ-ī jjā apar
go stay-PERF-M.PL REFL-F.SG place on

'Way ahead of them we went on and went on - we went to our own place.'

(138)W. mə̀r-ā ḍer-ā harīpur k-ɛ ag-ɛ ɛ
1pl.GEN-NOM.M.PL home-NOM.M.PL Haripur GEN-LOC ahead.of PRES

'Our households are beyond Haripur.'

/pičhɛ/ **'behind'**: consists of the root /pič-/ and the locative suffix /-ɛ/. It may occur following /kɛ/ or /te/ depending upon the context, or without any preceding postposition.

(139)W. kal te pič-ɛ tam phir-ɛ lag-ā rič kə́ḍ
yesterday from behind-LOC 2pl.NOM wander-2/3 CONT-M.PL bear after

'Since yesterday you have been wandering around after the bear.'

/sāmṇɛ/ (/sāmḷɛ/) **'across from'**: occurs necessarily with /kɛ/:

(140)E. allā k-ɛ sāmṇ-ɛ tɛ min-nā ke ḱ-ɛ
Allah GEN-LOC across.from-LOC and 1sg.OBL-DAT what say-2/3sg
'Before Allah, what should [you] say to me?'

## Postpositions Mediated by the Ablative Postposition /te/

Postpositions of this type occur necessarily with the ablative postposition /te/ after an oblique case noun or pronoun. These include /bād/ 'after', /kāḍ/ 'after' (synonymous with /bād/), /pār/ 'across', /pɛ́lā̰/ 'before' (which when occurring without /te/ is an adverb rather than a postposition), and /swā/ 'without'.

Those adverbs which are formed by adding the ablative suffix /-ū/ to postpositions of this type occur not with /te/, but with an oblique-case noun phrase. These include /kāḍū/ 'afterwards' and /pārū/ 'from across'.

## Pronouns and Demonstratives

Tables 13-15 below contain the Gojri personal pronouns in their various inflections, of which the third person nominative forms in tables 14 and 15 also function as demonstratives. Indefinite and relative pronouns, along with their corresponding interrogative forms, are shown in tables 16-17. The reflexive pronoun is shown in Table 18.

For the purpose of highlighting variation, I have only shown ditto marks wherever a form in a paradigm is

identical to the one directly above. Genitive forms are generally shown only with masculine singular AC suffixes, although all of the suffixation shown for the noun in tables 10 and 11, save the the feminine plural suffix, is equally applicable. Similarly, oblique forms are generally shown only with the dative postposition /nā/, although the ablative postposition /te/ also occurs with the same set of forms (however, with /te/, the Western singular stems are identical to those shown for Eastern in Table 13; the distribution of other postpositions varies).

**First and Second Person Pronouns**

Table 13. First and Second Person Pronouns/Possessive Adjectives

| | | Nom | Ag | Obl w/Dat | Gen w/masc.sg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg. | E | hũ̀~ | mɛ~ | minnā | merɔ |
| | W | " | " | mannā | " |
| 1pl. | | hàm | ham ne | hàm nā | mə̀rɔ |
| 2sg. | E | to~ | tɛ~ | tinnā | terɔ |
| | W | to | " | tannā | " |
| 2pl. | | tam | tam ne | tam nā | thə̀rɔ |

The ‘genitive’ forms in Table 13 are possessive adjectives in form and function, i.e. their inflection and distribution are identical to that for marked adjectives (cf. Masica 1991:251). Forms shown as fused to postpositions are those which only occur when there are no intervening

words between the pronoun and postposition. The postposition is shown as a separate word wherever the shape of both morphemes remains unaltered by intervening words.

As noted in 2.5.3, the Eastern first and second person plural agentive and oblique/dative forms shown here contract when there is no intervening word:

**(141) Contracted Eastern Agentive and Oblique/Dative Forms**

| Underlying Form | Pronunciation | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| /hàm ne/ | [hʌ̀mɳeː~] | 'we [did]' |
| /tam ne/ | [tʌmɳeː~] | 'you [did]' |
| /hàm nā/ | [hʌ̀mɳaː~] | 'to us' |
| /tam nā/ | [tʌmɳaː~] | 'to you' |

In the Eastern dialect, second person plural pronouns and associated agreement in the verb phrase are used honorifically for singular referents. The Western variety spoken by the Allaiwal Muhajar Bakarwals does the same (see Appendix B, words 203-204), but the Allaiwal Bakarwal variety (my Western reference dialect) does not. This honorific device is reported as normative for addressing elders. However, I have only rarely heard children use it when speaking to their parents or grandparents. It is more commonly used by adults addressing persons of higher social rank, a practice which may be spreading under the influence of Hindko and Urdu.

Singular Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 14. Singular Demonstrative Pronouns

| | Nom masc | Nom fem | Obl w/Ag | Obl w/Dat | Obl w/Gen |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3sg.prox. | yó | yá | is ne | is nā | is kɔ |
| 3sg.dist. | wó / ó | wá / ó | us ne | us nā | us kɔ |

In the Western dialect, the third person agentive and dative forms of the oblique shown here normally contract when there is no intervening word:

**(142) Contracted Western Oblique Forms: Agentive and Dative**

| underlying form | pronunciation | gloss |
|---|---|---|
| /is ne/ | [is:e~] | 'he/she/this one [did]' |
| /us ne/ | [us:e~] | 'he/she/that one [did]' |
| /is nā/ | [isa:~] | 'to him/her/this one' |
| /us nā/ | [usa:~] | 'to him/her/that one' |

The third singular distal variant /ó/ is used for both genders, and occurs unchanged with all case-marking postpositions when there is an intervening noun. For example, /ó (beṭkī) ne/ 'that (girl) [did]' is grammatical, but /*ó ne/ 'she [did]', is not. If there is no intervening noun, then the oblique form /us/ is required.

Plural Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 15. Plural Demonstrative Pronouns

| | Nom | Obl w/Ag | Obl w/Dat | Obl w/Gen |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3pl.prox. E | yé | ínā~ ne | ínā~ nā | ín kɔ |
| variant E | --------- | --------- | --------- | ínā~ kɔ |
| W | " | ín ne | ín nā | ín kɔ |
| variant W | --------- | --------- | --------- | íngɔ |
| 3pl.dist. E | wé | únā~ ne | únā~ nā | ún kɔ |
| variant E | --------- | --------- | --------- | únā~ kɔ |
| W | " | ún ne | ún nā | ún kɔ |
| variant W | --------- | --------- | --------- | úngɔ |

The high tone on the third oblique plural forms shown in this table is established on such contrasts as that between /ún kɔ (rang)/ 'their (color)' and /un kɔ (rang)/ '(color) of wool'.

The inter-dialectal and intra-dialectal variation shown in Table 15 consists entirely in the use or non-use of the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/. The suffix does not occur in Western forms, and it is optional with the Eastern genitive forms (its non-use being slightly preferred).

As stated in 2.5.5, the genitive postposition /k-/ becomes [g-] following any nasalized vowel or consonant in the speech of many Western dialect speakers:

**(143) Western voicing of the genitive postposition /k-/ following a nasal**

| underlying form | pronunciation | gloss |
|---|---|---|
| /ín kɔ/ | [ínŋgɔː] | 'of these' |
| /ún kɔ/ | [úŋgɔː] | 'of them' |

Third plural pronouns and associated agreement in the verb phrase may be used honorifically for singular referents, particularly for prophets and other Muslim noteworthies. The application of this honorific device is uneven in discourse, however, but its use may be on the rise under influence from other regional languages and Islamicization.

The extension /hɔr/, which has grammaticalized from the adjective meaning 'additional' or 'other', is used with names to denote a larger group of people associated with the named person (cf. the use of the abbreviation 'et al.' in English), as in (144) and (145), or honorifically for singular proper nouns in the Eastern dialect as in (146):

(144)E. ašrif hɔ̀r-ā~ ne makay kap čhuṛ-∅-ī
Ashrif PL/HON-OBL.PL AG corn cut drop-PERF-F.SG
'Ashrif and the others cut the corn.'

(145)E. ikbāl hɔ̀r kad ā-wɛ~ k-ā
Iqbal PL/HON when come-3pl FUT-M.PL
'When will Iqbal and everyone come?'

(146)E. ǰinā hɔ̀r-ā~ ne baṛ-ī mɛ́nat k-∅-ī
Jinnah PL/HON-OBL.PL AG big-F.SG hard.work do-PERF-F.SG
'Jinnah worked very hard.'

## Indefinite Pronouns, with Corresponding Interrogative Pronouns

Table 16. Indefinite Pronouns, with Corresponding Interrogative Pronouns

| | | Nom | Obl |
|---|---|---|---|
| indefinite pl. | | kúǰ | kúǰã~ |
| indefinite masc.sg. | E | koe | kise |
| indefinite masc.sg. | W | kāe | kāe |
| indefinite fem.sg. | E | kāe | kise |
| indefinite fem.sg. | W | kāe | kāe |
| interrogatives: 'Who?' / 'What?' | | kɔn̩ / ke | kis / kā̃~ |

Inflectional distinctions observed for the Eastern dialect are collapsed in the Western dialect. The form /kā~/ is used for inanimate referents. The genitive phrase /kā~ (kɔ)/ 'what kind (of)?' is common in questions like (147):

(147)W. yó anṭaṛ-ɔ kā̃~ šɛ k-ɔ ɛ
3sg.PROX.NOM.M egg-NOM.M.SG what-OBL thing GEN-NOM.M.SG PRES

'What kind of egg is this?'

## Relative Pronouns, with Corresponding Interrogative Pronouns

Table 17. Relative Pronouns, with Corresponding Interrogative Pronouns (unique Western forms are in parentheses)

| | Nom sg. | Nom pl. | Obl sg. | Obl sg. variant | Obl pl. | Obl pl. variant |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rel.masc. | jíṛɔ | jíṛā | jíṛā | jis | jíṛā~ | jinā~ (jin) |
| rel.fem. | jíṛī | jíṛī~ (jíṛī) | jíṛī | " | jíṛī~ā~ (jíṛīā~) | " |
| interr.masc. | kíṛɔ | kíṛā | kíṛā | kis | kíṛā~ | kinā~ (kin) |
| interr.fem. | kíṛī | kíṛī~ (kíṛī) | kíṛī | " | kíṛī~ā~ (kíṛīā~) | " |

The stems /kíṛ-/ and /jíṛ-/ are not reported by Sharma. He reports /jo/ as the nominative relative pronoun for all genders and numbers along with the oblique variants /kis/, /jis/, /kinnã/, and /jInnã/ (1982:102; transcriptions his). In Pakistan, the oblique variants may be preferred wherever the relative pronoun occurs without another noun (cf. the same difference between English 'who?' and 'which?'); e.g. /kis nā/ 'to whom?' vs. /kírā luṛā nā/ 'to which boy?'

The Reflexive Pronoun /āp/

Table 18. The Reflexive Pronoun /āp/

(unique Western forms not shown)

| Nom | forms used w/Ag | Gen Loc (w/Dat) | Gen w/Nom.masc.sg. | Gen w/Obl.masc.sg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| āp | apaṇɛ āp / āpe āp | apaṇɛ (āp nā) | apaṇɔ | apaṇā |

The reflexive pronoun /āp/ 'self' is used whenever there is a need to indicate that the subject and not some

other agent is acting, or that the subject is acting on the subject's own behalf or acting with respect to someone or something that is the subject's own. The analysis presented in Table 18 is only a partial paradigm of Eastern forms. Western dative and agentive forms in my data differ somewhat from those shown. Consider these Eastern examples:

(148)E. hữ̃ āp čal-ū̃ k-ɔ
1sg.NOM REFL.NOM go-1sg FUT-M.SG
'I myself will go.'

(149)E. tɛ̃ āpe āp yó kam k-ī-ɔ hὲ
2sg.AG REFL.AG REFL.NOM 3sg.PROX.NOM.M work do-PERF-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES
'Have you yourself done this?'

(150)E. hữ̃ apaṇ-ɛ ḍer-ɛ čal-ū̃ k-ɔ
1sg.NOM REFL.GEN-LOC home-LOC go-1sg FUT-M.SG
'I will go to my own home.'
(cf. /*hữ̃ merɛ ḍerɛ čalū̃ kɔ/ 'I will go to my house.')

(151)E. min-nā apaṇ-ɛ āp nā mand-ɔ lag-ɛ
1sg.OBL-DAT REFL.GEN-LOC REFL.NOM DAT bad-NOM.M.SG attach-2/3sg
'I dislike myself.'

(152)E. hữ̃ apaṇ-ā wāstɛ čal-ū̃ k-ɔ
1sg.NOM REFL.GEN-OBL for go-1sg FUT-M.SG
'I will go for my own sake.'

## Adjectives

Adjectives, like nouns, are of two types: unmarked stems, which by definition do not inflect; and marked adjectives which are structured as shown in (153):

(153) STEM - INFL

In other words, marked adjectives consist of a stem followed by a single inflectional suffix; the stem of a marked adjective may not occur by itself.

Gojri adjectives of this type agree with their head nouns in gender (whether inherent or marked on the noun), number and, to a limited extent, in case. Masculine singular adjectives can therefore inflect to show locative and general oblique/vocative case agreement with a head noun so marked. In the Western dialect adjectives never take the oblique plural suffix, whereas in the Eastern dialect the oblique plural suffix is optional.

Note example (154), in which the adjective (but not the possessive adjective) is marked with the oblique suffix; and (155), in which every stem in the noun phrase except the adjective is inflected with the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/:

(154)E. ter-ī peār-ī-ā~ peār-ī-ā~ tɪ̀-ā~ k-ɔ
2sg.GEN-F.SG dear-F.SG-OBL.PL dear-F.SG-OBL.PL daughter-OBL.PL GEN-NOM.M.SG

ke hə̀l hè
what condition 2/3sg.PRES

'How are your beloved daughters?'

(155)E. ún-ā~ tro-ā~ baṛ-ā būṭ-ā~ nā kap čhuṛ
3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL three-OBL.PL big-NOM.M.SG tree-OBL.PL DAT cut drop

'Cut down those three big trees!'

Adjectives may occur as substantives, that is, they may substitute for a full noun phrase as /búḍī/ 'old' does for /búḍī māī/ 'old woman' in (156):

(156)W. ek dɪ̀āṛ-ɛ ek búḍ-ī ā ga-Ø-ī, us
one day-LOC one old-F come go-PERF-F 3sg.DIST.OBL

ḍèn-ī k-ɛ ḍer-ɛ.
woman-F GEN-LOC home-LOC

'One day an old woman came to that woman's home.'

Adjectives also serve as the predicate in stative constructions:

(157) jaṇ-ɔ maṇḍ-ɔ th-ɔ
man-NOM.M.SG bad-NOM.M.SG PAST-M.SG

'The man was evil.'

The Specifier /āḷ-/ (/hə̀ḷ-/)

/āḷ-/ combines with oblique nouns and adjectives, the oblique infinitive, and adverbsto specify a noun by its relation to another word. It agrees in gender, number, and casewith the noun it modifies. It may be used as a substantive where the subject isunderstood. Consider example (158):

(158) /(ḍer-ā) āḷ-ɔ/ (/(ḍer-ā) hə̀ḷ-ɔ/) 'husband' (lit.'the one (of the house)')

/(ḍer-ā) āḷ-ī/ (/(ḍer-ā) hə̀ḷ-ī/) 'wife' (lit.'the one (of the house)')

The Adjective Intensifier /j-/ ~ /ja-/ ‘very’

/j-/ ~ /ja-/ ‘very’ follows the adjective it modifies and agrees with it in gender, number, and case. It most frequently occurs in contexts where the head noun is in nominative case and focus position:

(159)E. čhipaṛ-ī mand-ī ǰa-ī tɛ wá hàzār rupay-ā
scarf-F.SG bad-F.SG very-F.SG and 3sg.DIST.NOM.F thousand rupee-NOM.M.PL
nā dī-ɛ
DAT give-2/3sg
‘A very ugly scarf - she sells it for a thousand rupees.’

(160)E. xarč-ɔ thoṛ-ɔ ǰ-ɔ hò-e-ɔ nắ̄,
expense-NOM.M.SG a.little-NOM.M.SG very-NOM.M.SG be-PERF-M.SG NEG
ṭur jā-ɛ~ k-ā
walk go-3pl FUT-M.PL
‘Once [they earn] even a little expense money, they will move on.’

Interrogative, Relative, and Demonstrative Adjective Sets

Table 19. Interrogative, Relative, and Demonstrative Adjective Sets

| | Interrogative | Relative | Demonstrative |
|---|---|---|---|
| of quantity | kitnā | ǰitnā | itnā |
| of quality E | kɛǰɔ | ǰɛǰɔ | ɛǰɔ |
| W | kisɔ | ǰisɔ | isɔ |

## Numerals

According to Sharma (1982:143) and my research assistants, the traditional Gojri numeral system is a base-twenty, or *vigesimal*, system (cf. Baart 1999:57-59 for

Kalami). This system is in flux, however, with Urdu multiples of five and ten entering into counting and replacing the traditional multiples of five, ten, and twenty (cf. old English '3 score' = 60). In addition, numeric designations formed by subtracting the numbers one through five from the next multiple of ten (e.g. '3 less than 40' = 37), and adding the last multiple of ten to the numbers one through five (e.g. '30 onto 3' = 33), are in common use. These reflect a shift to a *decimal* or base-ten system. Among educated persons a standard decimal system is used, which remains distinct from the Urdu system at many points. It is not identical with Hindko or Punjabi, but may represent a Gojri Pronunciation of that system. The addition/subtraction method may be a transitional method for those who are familiar only with multiples of ten from the standard decimal system.

The variety of counting techniques is illustrated by the variants for 'twenty-five', all of which are perfectly acceptable: /panĵ tɛ bī—/ ('5 and 20', vigesimal), /panĵā~ apar bī—/ ('20 onto 5', addition), /panĵā~ kàṭ trĪ/ ('5 less [than] 30', subtraction), and /panĵĪ/ ('25,' decimal). As I have yet to get any two informants to count fluently to one hundred in exactly the same fashion, I cannot report with confidence any series of numerals greater than forty that is distinctively Gojri. All three methods are shown in (161).

(161) Gojri cardinal numbers 1-40

| Vigesimal Method | Addition/Subtraction Method (mainly in my Eastern data) | Decimal Method |
|---|---|---|
| 1. /ek/, /ik/ | /ek/, /ik/ | /ek/, /ik/ |
| 2. /do/ | /do/ | /do/ |
| 3. /trɛ/ | /trɛ/ | /trɛ/ |
| 4. /čār/ | /čār/ | /čār/ |
| 5. /panǰ/ | /panǰ/ | /panǰ/ |
| 6. /če/ | /če/ | /če/ |
| 7. /sat/ | /sat/ | /sat/ |
| 8. /aṭh/ | /aṭh/ | /aṭh/ |
| 9. /nɔ/ | /nɔ/ | /nɔ/ |
| 10. /das/ (/dā̃/) | /das/ | /das/ (/dā̃/) |
| 11. /yārā~/ | /yārā~/ | /yārā~/ |
| 12. /bārā~/ | /bārā~/ | /bārā~/ |
| 13. /terā~/ | /terā~/ | /terā~/ |
| 14. /čɔdā~/ | /čɔdā~/ | /čɔdā~/ |
| 15. /pandarā~/ | /pandarā~/ | /pandarā~/ |
| 16. /sɔlā~/ | /sɔlā~/ | /sɔlā~/ |
| 17. /satārā~/ | /satārā~/ | /satārā~/ |
| 18. /aṭhārā~/ | /aṭhārā~/ | /aṭhārā~/ |
| 19. /unī/ | /unī/ | /unī/ |
| 20. /bī̃/ | /bī̃/ | /bī̃/ |
| 21. /ek tɛ bī̃/ | /ekuṇ apar bī̃/ | /ikī/ |
| 22. /do tɛ bī̃/ | /doā~ apar bī̃/ | /bāī/ |
| 23. /trɛ tɛ bī̃/ | /troā~ apar bī̃/ | /trɛī/ |
| 24. /čār tɛ bī̃/ | /čoā~ apar bī̃/ | /čawī/ |
| 25. /panǰ tɛ bī̃/ | /panǰā~ apar bī̃/, /panǰā~ kàṭ trī/ | /panǰī/ |
| 26. /če tɛ bī̃/ | /čoā~ kàṭ trī/ | /čhabī/ |
| 27. /sat tɛ bī̃/ | /troā~ kàṭ trī/ | /satāī/ |
| 28. /aṭh tɛ bī̃/ | /doā~ kàṭ trī/ | /aṭhāī/ |
| 29. /nɔ tɛ bī̃/ | /ekuṇ kàṭ trī/ | /unatī/, /unatrī/ |
| 30. /das tɛ bī̃/ (/dā̃ tɛ bī̃/) | /trī/ | /trī/ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 31. /yārā~ tɛ bī́/ | /ekuṇ apar trī/ | /ikatī/, /ikatrī/ |
| 32. /bārā~ tɛ bī́/ | /doā~ apar trī/ | /batī/, /batrī/ |
| 33. /terā~ tɛ bī́/ | /troā~ apar trī/ | /tɛ~tī/, /tɛ~trī/ |
| 34. /čɔdā~ tɛ bī́/ | /čoā~ apar trī/ | /čɔ~tī/, /čɔ~trī/ |
| 35. /pandarā~ tɛ bī́/ | /panjā~ apar trī/ /panjā~ kàṭ čāḷī/ | /pɛntī/, /pɛntrī/ |
| 36. /sɔlā~ tɛ bī́/ | /čoā~ kàṭ čāḷī/ | /čhatī/, /čhatrī/ |
| 37. /satārā~ tɛ bī́/ | /trɔā~ kàṭ čāḷī/ | /sɛ~tī/, /satatrī/ |
| 38. /aṭhārā~ tɛ bī́/ | /doā~ kàṭ čāḷī/ | /aṭhatī/, /aṭhatrī/ |
| 39. /unī tɛ bī́/ | /ekuṇ kàṭ čāḷī/ (/ek gàṭ čāḷī/ ) | /untāḷī/ |
| 40. /do bī́/ | /čāḷī/ | /čāḷī/ |

The variant /ik/ ‘one’ or ‘a’ (approximating an indefinite article; cf. Masica 1991:370) is used as a quantifier but never in counting. Counting beyond forty with the traditional method follows the pattern shown in (161), adding the cardinals one through nineteen to subsequent multiples of twenty (/trɛ bī/ ‘sixty’, /čār bī/ ‘eighty’), etc. Again, these multiples are frequently replaced with decimal system numerals. For example, a speaker will use the traditional numerals shown in (161) up to the number forty, at which point he or she may insert /čāḷī/ ‘forty’ and then form subsequent numbers by addition to /čāḷī/ rather than to /do bī/ ‘two score.’

The remaining decimal system numbers through one hundred are shown in (162).

(162) Decimal system numbers 41-100 (cf. Sharma 1982:136-143)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. /iktāḷī/ | 42. /betāḷī/ | 43. /tartāḷī/ | 44. /čurtāḷī/ | 45. /pɛntāḷī/ |
| 46. /čhetāḷī/ | 47. /satāḷī/ | 48. /aṭhtāḷī/ | 49. /unwanjā/ | 50. /panjā/ |
| 51. /ikwanjā/ | 52. /bawanjā/ | 53. /tarwanjā/ | 54. /čarwanjā/ | 55./pačwanjā/ |
| 56. /čhewanjā/ | 57. /satwanjā/ | 58. /aṭhwanjā/ | 59. /unāṭh/ | 60. /saṭh/ |
| 61. /ikāṭh/ | 62. /bāṭh/ | 63. /trɛ~ṭh/ | 64. /čɔ~ṭh/ | 65. /pɛnṭh/ |
| 66. /čheāṭh/ | 67. /satāṭh/ | 68. /aṭhāṭh/ | 69. /unattar/ | 70. /sattar/ |
| 71. /ikattar/ | 72. /battar/ | 73. /trattar/ | 74. /čarattar/ | 75. /pačattar/ |
| 76. /čheattar/ | 77. /satattar/ | 78. /aṭhatar/ | 79. /unāsī/ | 80. /asī/ |
| 81. /ikāsī/ | 82. /bāsī/ | 83. /trāsī/ | 84. /čurāsī/ | 85. /pačāsī/ |
| 86. /čheāsī/ | 87. /satāsī/ | 88. /aṭhāsī/ | 89. /unānawe/ /nɔāsī/ | 90. /nawe/ |
| 91. /ikānwe/ | 92. /bānwe/ | 93. /tarānawe/ | 94. /čurānwe/ | 95. /pačānawe/ |
| 96. /čheānawe/ | 97. /satānawe/ | 98. /aṭhānawe/ | 99. /naṇānwe/ | 100. /sɔ/ |

For numbers greater than one hundred, the hundreds place value precedes whatever balance is represented by a smaller number shown in (161) or (162); for example, /ek sɔ iktāḷī/ (one hundred forty-one) ‘141’. Similarly, any thousands place value precedes the hundreds place value, e.g. /ek hàzār ek sɔ iktāḷī/ (one thousand one hundred fortyone) ‘1141’.

When followed by a postposition, Gojri cardinal numerals inflect to indicate oblique case. For example, consider the Eastern phrase /coā~ dèāṛā~ (te bād)/ ‘(after) four days’. The oblique forms, shown in (163), consist of the cardinal stems (modified for the numbers one through four) and the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/. For the numbers eleven through eighteen, the oblique plural suffix coalesces with the stem-final vowel /ā~/.

(163) Oblique forms of cardinal numbers 1-10

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. /ekuṇ/ (/ike/) | 11. /yārā~/ |
| 2. /doā~/ | 12. /bārā~/ |
| 3. /troā~/ | 13. /terā~/ |
| 4. /čɔā~/ | 14. /čɔdā~/ |
| 5. /panǰā~/ | 15. /pandarā~/ |
| 6. /čheā~/ | 16. /sɔlā~/ |
| 7. /satā~/ | 17. /satārā~/ |
| 8. /aṭhā~/ | 18. /aṭhārā~/ |
| 9. /nɔā~/ | 19. /unīā~/ |
| 10. /dasā~/ | 20. /bíā~/ |

The Gojri ordinal numbers are shown in (164). Ordinals higher than 'fourth' show a consistent /-m-/ ordinal suffix. Ordinal numbers agree in case with their head nouns; for example, the Eastern locative form /tījɛ dèāṛɛ/ 'on the third day.' My research assistants tell me that ordinals above /ikīmɔ/ 'twenty first' are not used.

(164) Gojri ordinals 1-20 (shown with masculine AC)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. /pɛ́lɔ/ 'first' | 11. /yārmɔ/ 'eleventh' |
| 2. /dūǰɔ/ 'second' | 12. /bārmɔ/ 'twelfth' |
| 3. /tīǰɔ/ 'third' | 13. /termɔ/ 'thirteenth' |
| 4. /čɔthɔ/ 'fourth' | 14. /čɔdmɔ/ 'fourteenth' |
| 5. /panǰmɔ/ 'fifth' | 15. /pandarmɔ/ 'fifteenth' |
| 6. /čhemɔ/ 'sixth' | 16. /sɔḷmɔ/ 'sixteenth' |
| 7. /satmɔ/ 'seventh' | 17. /satārmɔ/ 'seventeenth' |
| 8. /aṭhmɔ/ 'eighth' | 18. /aṭhārmɔ/ 'eighteenth' |
| 9. /nɔmɔ/ 'ninth' | 19. /unīmɔ/ 'nineteenth' |
| 10. /dasmɔ/ 'tenth' | 20. /bímɔ/ 'twentieth' |

A few small numbers may be suffixed with /-ɛ/ to indicate inclusion of all subjects:

/ika/ (/ikoe/) ‘just one, a single’, /doe/ ‘both’, and /trɛē / ‘all three.’ It is possible that the Eastern indefinite masculine singular pronoun /kāe/ ‘any’ bears this same suffix, as it is most unusual for stems to end in /ɛ/.

## 4.2 Verb-Phrase Constituents and Operations

### 4.2.1 Verbal Forms and Categories

#### 4.2.1.1 Structure of Gojri Finite Verbal Constructions

For Gojri, the term ‘finite verbal construction’ is more useful than the term ‘finite verb’, which for other languages usually denotes the verb form bearing tense and agreement features. In Gojri, however, tense and aspect are not necessarily marked, and agreement may be marked on more than one element. Furthermore, verb forms which might be called ‘participles’ on account of their formal structure often function as the main verb, blurring the traditional distinction between ‘finite’ and ‘non-finite’ (dependent) forms. The term ‘finite verbal construction’, then, allows for reference to units that consist of more than one word, while avoiding the confusion created by associating participial forms with the category of ‘finite verb.’

Gojri is polysynthetic to a degree, relying heavily on various verbal auxiliaries in addition to suffixation of the verb stem. The Gojri finite verbal constructions always include a main verb (which carries the lexical meaning and may also be marked for agreement features and tense or

aspect), and they may include one or more auxiliaries. The auxiliaries always occur to the right of the main verb. They add tense, aspectual, and modal meanings to the whole construction.

Structure of the Main Verb

The main verb in most Gojri finite verbal constructions is structured according to the two basic patterns shown in (165):

(165) STEM + PERSON-NUMBER AGREEMENT

or

STEM + ASPECT + GENDER-NUMBER AGREEMENT

That is: stem, followed by a suffixed marker of person-number agreement ('personal concord, PC); or stem, followed by a suffixed marker of aspect, followed by a suffixed marker of gender-number agreement ('adjectival concord', AC). Verbs structured according to the first pattern are therefore unmarked for aspect and feature personal concord (PC; see Table 23). Verbs structured according to the second pattern are participial forms (see Table 24), marked for imperfective or perfective aspect and, like nouns and adjectives, featuring adjectival concord (AC).

Among verbs which are unmarked for aspect, there are two exceptions to the basic structural pattern: the Negated Future and the Future Imperative. Each of these

forms features a unique future tense suffix between the verb stem and the PC suffix. The distribution of these suffixes is limited to specific forms and does not correlate with the future tense generally. Likewise, the slot in which they occur does not function generally for tense. Rather, tense is generally marked by auxiliaries.

The basic structure of the Gojri verb phrase is not distinct from that which Masica describes for NIA languages in general (1991:373-374). The Gojri verb phrase (VP) may consist of an adverb and one or more object and/or direction-specifying noun phrases (NP) to the left of the main verb (V), optionally followed by an adverb (rarely) and/or modal verb and as many as three tense/aspect auxiliaries. Any tense/aspect auxiliary is normally the final element. Negative particles are immediately to the left of the main verb, and their use is often accompanied by radical changes in the forms of other verb phrase constituents. This basic structure is summarized in (166).

(166) VP = (NP)* (Adv) (Neg) + V (Adv) (MODAL) (Aux)*

(The asterisk (*) indicates that more than one such constituent may occur in the specified location.)

Concord Suffixes

Table 20. Personal Concord Suffixes (PC)

| | Eastern | Western |
|---|---|---|
| 1sg. | -ū~ | -ū~ |
| 1pl. | -ā~ | -ā~ |
| 2/3sg. | -ɛ | -ɛ |
| 2pl. | -ɔ | -ɛ |
| 3pl. | -ɛ~ | -ɛ |

In the Western dialect, the second and third person distinctions found in Eastern are collapsed. The one exception is in the Western plural imperative, which has /-ɔ~/ where we might expect /-ɛ/ or /-ɛ~/. Sharma's paradigm is basically the same as that shown here for Eastern, except that he reports /-e~/ rather than /-ɔ/ as the second person plural suffix (1982:167).

Table 21. Adjectival Concord Suffixes (AC)

| | Eastern | Western |
|---|---|---|
| m.sg. | -ɔ | -ɔ |
| m.pl. | -ā | -ā |
| f.sg. | -ī | -ī |
| f.pl. | -ī~ | -ī |

As noted earlier (4.1.2), Western Gojri does not distinguish feminine plural from feminine singular. Otherwise the AC suffix inventory is identical for both dialects.

## Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Finite Verbal Constructions

In this section I describe, in turn, the form and function of the primary finite verbal constructions. Table 22 summarizes the structure of each construction, excluding the imperatives and several dialect-specific constructions. I have included in this section only those combinations of morphemes which have been clearly grammaticalized for a unique tense/aspect/mood interpretation and which, except for the marginal Present Continuous II construction, involve only one verb. Later we shall see that further aspectual distinctions can be made through employment of a second verb. Throughout I have utilized Masica's terminology to facilitate ready comparison with his paradigms for Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi (1991:291-296). That Gojri encodes more distinctions than these related languages points to the age of its forms. Associated with this proliferation of

Table 22. Primary Verbal Constructions (Eastern only)

| Tense/Aspect/Mood | Structure | Example | Translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual - Contingent Future | V-PC | ča l-ū~ | 'I go'; 'I may go' |
| Past Unspecified | V-PC PAST-AC | ča l-ū~ th-ɔ | 'I used to go' |
| Definite Future | V-PC FUT-AC | ča l-ū~ k-ɔ | 'I will go' |
| Present Continuous | V-PC /lag/-AC (/w/-AC) | ča l-ū~ lag-ɔ (w-ɔ) | 'I am going' |
| Past Continuous | V-PC PAST-AC /lag/-AC (/w/-AC) | ča l-ū~ th-ɔ lag-ɔ (w-ɔ) | 'I was going' |
| Present Habitual | V-PC /ho/-PC | bɛs-ū~ hò-ū~ | 'I sit (repeatedly)' |
| Past Habitual | V-PC /ho/-PC PAST-AC | sad-ū~ hò-ū~ th-ɔ | 'I called (repeatedly)' |
| Negated Future | V-/s/-PC | ča l-s-ū~ | 'I will not go |
| Habitual (Negated) - Contrafactive | V-IMPFV-AC | ča l-t-ɔ | 'he doesn't go'; 'he would go' |
| Subjunctive Habitual | V-IMPFV-AC /ho/-PC | ā-t-ɔ hò-wɛ | '(perhaps) he comes' |
| Presumptive Habitual | V-IMPFV-AC /ho/-PC FUT-AC | ā-t-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ | 'he (probably) comes' |
| Contrafactive Habitual | V-IMPFV-AC /ho/-IMPFV-AC | bɛs-t-ɔ hò-t-ɔ | 'if he had sat regularly' |
| Unspecified Perfective | V-PERF-AC | sad-e-ɔ | 'he called' |
| Present Perfective | V-PERF-AC PRES-PC | sad-e-ɔ hɛ̀-ɛ | 'he has called' |
| Past Perfective | V-PERF-AC PAST-AC | sad-e-ɔ th-ɔ | 'he had called' |
| Presumptive Perfective | V-PERF-AC (/w/-AC) /ho/-PC FUT-AC | g-ī-ɔ (w-ɔ) hò-wɛ k-ɔ | 'he must have gone' |
| Contrafactive Perfective | V-PERF-AC /ho/-IMPFV-AC | ā-e-ɔ hò-t-ɔ | 'if he had come' |

formal and functional distinctions is the issue of negation, which for several tense/aspect/mood distinctions requires morphology that in no way resembles that required by these same distinctions in the positive.

Gojri distinguishes present, past, and future tense. Present actions or events are indicated by the unspecified verb (stem + PC), and elsewhere by a present auxiliary form of /hò-/ 'be' (see 4.2.1.1.5). There are two strategies for indicating past actions or events: the perfective form of the verb (stem + /-e/ (/-ī/) + AC) with no tense auxiliary indicates past time (in simple clause structures), while the past auxiliary /th-/ explicitly specifies past time. There are three markers of future tense: the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/) for Positive constructions, the suffix /-s/ for negative constructions, and the suffix /-ī/ (/-ī~/)for imperatives.

Various aspectual distinctions possible with past and present time are neutralized in the future.

Aspectually, the primary formal distinction in the Gojri finite verb is between forms marked for aspect and those which are unmarked for aspect, variously taking AC and PC suffixes, respectively. The basic aspectual distinction is between perfective and imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect, which views the verbal event as a whole, is indicated by the suffix /-e/ (/-ī/)in main verbs bearing AC agreement. This suffix coalesces with the feminine AC suffixes /-ī/ and /-ī~/ such that it is not phonetically realized in feminine forms (it is therefore shown as /-¤/ before feminine suffixes in the examples). An older perfective suffix, /-eā/ (/-īā/), from which the modern perfective suffix evolved and which is itself the remnant of an earlier Sanskrit /-ita/ suffix (Masica 1991:269), still survives in one type of compound imperative (see discussion of /kar-/ 'do' in 4.2.2.3) and in one Eastern contrafactive form (see 4.2.1.3). It attaches directly to the verb stem and does not take an AC suffix, nor does it itself agree with any noun (it only appears to agree with the masculine plural).

Imperfective aspect, which views the verbal event as incomplete, is futher subdivided into distinctions of unspecified, habitual, and continuous aspect. Unspecified imperfective aspect is unmarked, i.e. it is indicated by the verb stem and AC suffix without any other marker.

Habitual aspect is indicated variously by the suffix /-t/ in main verbs bearing AC agreement and in participles, and by the auxiliary /hò-/ 'be'. Continuous aspect is marked by the auxiliary /lag-/ followed by the perfective participle marker /w-/ (Eastern only), and by the auxiliary /rɛ-/ 'stay' in certain Eastern constructions.

Mood (or 'mode') 'describes the speaker's atitude toward a situation, including the speaker's belief in its reality, or likelihood' (Payne 1997:244). Gojri, like some other NIA languages including Kalami (Baart 1999:113), lacks any morphological marking of mood, although important functional distinctions are indicated by intonation patterns and/or combinations of tense and aspect marking. Actual or 'real' verbal events are described by *realis*mood, a broad category that in Gojri includes many imperfectives and all perfectives other than those occurring in conditionals. All instances of realis mood are negated by the negative particle /nī/ (the converse doesn't hold).

Events which are potential rather than actual from the speaker's standpoint are described by *irrealis* mood. The irrealis interpretations occurring in Gojri apart from any marker of aspect include the following for the Eastern verb / (tam) čal-ɔ / '(you pl.) go' (note that all are associated with the same form): (1) imperative mood ('You pl. go!'), with extra stress on the verb stem; (2) interrogative mood ('You go?'), with rising intonation that

peaks utterance-finally; and (3) subjunctive mood ('You should go.'), with unmarked intonation identical to that for the Unspecified Habitual ('You go.') such that the two meanings are distinguished only by context. Two irrealis interpretations occurring with a marker of aspect are contrafactive mood and presumptive mood (e.g. 'you don't go', 'you will have gone;' respectively). All Gojri verb forms negated by the particle /nā/ are *irrealis*mood (the converse doesn't hold).

## Finite Verbal Constructions Based on Forms Unmarked for Aspect

The Unspecified Habitual - Contingent Future consists of the verb stem with PC suffix, without any marker of tense or aspect. This form represents a retention of the 'Old Present' parallel to that surviving in Sindhi (Masica 1991:274).

(167) hữ̃ čal-ū̃
1sg.NOM go-1
'I go.'

The Contingent Future, or 'subjunctive', is distinguished from the Unspecified Habitual only by context and, when occurring as it frequently does with the interrogative, by rising intonation. The Unspecified Habitual refers to habitual action rather than to any specific event (cf. Payne 1997:240), while the Contingent Future normally expresses advisability, permissibility, or desireability of a specific action ('I should go.' / 'May I

go?'), including such expressions in conditional clauses ('If I go ...') (Masica 1991:281-282). Compare (168) with (169):

(168) hàm bazār nā čal-ā~
1pl.NOM bazaar DAT go-1pl

'We go to the bazaar.' / 'We should go to the bazaar.'

(169)E. hàm kade bazār nā čal-ā~ tɛ to~ wī čal-ɛ k-ɔ
1pl.NOM if bazaar DAT go-1pl then 2sg.NOM also go-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

'If we go to the bazaar, will you go too?'

Unspecified Habitual verbs can only be negated as such (i.e. without change in form) in the presence of another negated verb, and then only by the negative particle /nā/ placed ahead of the verb. Such constructions are similar to the English '... neither V1 ... nor V2' and '... not V1 ... nor V2.' The former is illustrated in (170) and (171) and the latter in (172):

Negative habitual notions occurring without another negated verb in constructions unmarked for tense, or occurring in constructions of the type '... not V' such as that in (172), can only be expressed by means of the imperfective form of the verb preceded by the negative /nī—/, as in /nī— čaltɔ/ '[he] does not go' (see Habitual (Negated) – Unspecified Contrafactive below).

(172)W. roǰ-ā mā hàm dɪ̀āṛ-ī pāṇī nɪ́ pī-t-ā tɛ nɑ́
fast-OBL.M.SG in 1sg.NOM day-F water NEG drink-IMPFV-M.PL and NEG

čɑ́ pī-ā~
tea drink-1sg

'During the fast we don't drink water during the day, neither do we drink tea.'

Contingent future verbs may also be negated only by a preceding /nā/.

(173)W. gòṛ-ɔ be is-ɔ wʼ-ɛ, yerā ke jíṛ-ɔ
horse-NOM.M.SG also such-NOM.M.SG be-2/3 namely that REL-NOM.M.SG
doṛ nā̃ hàk-ɛ
run NEG be.able-2/3
'The horse should be such, namely, one that won't be able to run.'

The **Negated Future** consists of the verb stem with future tense suffix /-s/ and a PC suffix, preceded by the negative particle /nī/:

(174) hʉ̃~ nī̃ čal-s-ū~
1sg.NOM NEG go-FUT-1sg
'I will not go.'

In the Western dialect only, this form may also occur with the future auxiliary /g-/:

(175)W. wó nī̃ čal-s-ɛ g-ɔ
2sg.DIST.NOM.M NEG go-FUT-2/3 FUT-M.SG
'He will not go.'

The **Present Imperative** consists of the verb stem alone in the singular, while theplural is formed by adding the second person PC suffix /-ɔ/ (/-ɔ~/) to the verb stem (notethat the Western second person PC suffix is /-ɛ/ everywhere else):

(176)E. to~ čal! 'You (sg.) go now!' tam čalɔ! 'You (pl.) go now!'
W. to čal! 'You (sg.) go now!' tam čalɔ~! 'You (pl.) go now!'

The Present Imperative is negated by the particle /nā/.

The **Future Imperative** is formed by adding the future suffix /-ī/ (/-ī~/) and the second person singular /-e/ and plural /-ɔ/ (/-ɔ~/) PC suffixes to the verb stem:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (177)E. | to~ čalīe! | 'You (sg.) go!' | tam čalīɔ! | 'You (pl.) go!' |
| W. | to čalī~e! | 'You (sg.) go!' | tam čalī~ɔ~! | 'You (pl.) go!' |

The nasality of the Western Future Imperative suffix formally distinguishes such forms as the plural Future Imperative, /āī~ɔ~/ 'You come (later)!', from the masculine singular perfect, /āīɔ/ 'I/You/He came.' Vowel quality alone distinguishes these in Eastern speech: /āīɔ/ 'You come (later!)' vs. /āeɔ/ 'I/You/He came.'

Occasionally the Future Imperative may be used in the present for politeness, possibly due to influence from Urdu. Politeness is normally expressed in the Eastern dialect by adding the request particle /dā~/ 'please' after the imperative (whether present or future):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (178)E. | zarī | apaṇ-ā | xat | mā likh-ī-e | dā~ |
| | a.little | REFL-OBL.M.SG | letter in | write-FUT-2sg | please |

'Please write a little [about it] in your letter.'

In the Western singular form of the future imperative, the personal concord suffix /-e/, which normally follows the future imperative suffix, may elide in normal speech:

(179)W. mer-ɔ xyāl kar-ī~
1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG thought do-FUT.IMPV
'Think about me.'

The Future Imperative is also negated by the particle /nā/.

## Finite Verbal Constructions Based on Forms Marked for Aspect

The Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive consists of the imperfective form of the verb (stem + imperfective suffix /-t/ + AC suffix). The most common use of this construction is for Present Habitual verbs negated by the particle /nī/. Like the Unspecified Habitual-Contingent Future (see 4.2.1.2.1), it is capable of both habitual and contingent future interpretations:

(180) hữ~ nī́ čal-t-ɔ
1sg.NOM NEG go-IMPFV-M.SG
'I do not go.' / 'I will not go.'

In conditional clauses negated by /nī/, the interpretation is always contingent future:

(181) wó kade nī́ čal-t-ɔ tɛ hữ nī́ čal-t-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M if NEG go-IMPFV-M.SG then 1sg.NOM NEG go-IMPFV-M.SG
'If he will not go, then I will not go.'

When preceded or followed by the negative /nā/, the imperfective form of the verb has a simple contrafactive meaning. Compare the negated present

habitual in (182)a. with the contrafactives in (182)b., (182)c., and (183):

(182)E.a. to~ nɪ̃ pakā-t-ɔ
2sg.NOM NEG cook-IMPFV-M.SG
'You do not cook.'

b. to~ pakā-t-ɔ nɑ̃́
2sg.NOM cook-IMPFV-M.SG NEG
'You should have cooked.''

c. to~ nɑ̃́ pakā-t-ɔ
2sg.NOM NEG cook-IMPFV-M.SG
'You shouldn't have cooked.'

(183)W. to pélā pakā-t-ɔ, ke hòṇ tak yé ṭhaṇḍ-ī
1sg.NOM earlier IMPFV-M.SG that now until 3pl.PROX.NOM cold-F
hò ǰā-t-ī
be go-IMPFV-F
'You should have cooked earlier, so that these could have cooled off by now.'

The Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive also occurs in contrafactive conditional constructions (see 4.2.1.3).

The **Unspecified Perfective**consists of the perfective form of the verb (stem + perfective suffix /-e/ (/-ī/) + AC suffix). This form presents the verbal action as a completed whole, without reference to its timing. Most often it correlates with simple past tense as in (184) and (185), but future interpretations are also abundant in conditionals like those in (186) and (187):

(184) hũ̃~ g-ī-ɔ
1sg.NOM go-PERF-M.SG

'I went.'

(185)E. us ne akram sad-e-ɔ
3sg.DIST.OBL AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG

'He/she called Akram.'

(186)E. jad mɛ~ pɛs-ā ter-ā muk-ā-e-ā
when 1sg.AG money-NOM.M.PL 2sg.GEN-NOM.M.PL finish-CAUS-PERF-M.PL

tɛ fir hũ̃~ apaṇ-ī angūṭh-ī moṛ le čal-ū~ k-ī
then then 1sg.NOM REFL-F ring-F return take go-1sg GEN-F

'When I finish [paying off] your money then I will take back my ring and go.'

(187)W. jíṛ-ā jaṇ-ā ne mer-ī yá baks-ī khol-∅-ī,
REL-OBL.M.SG man-OBL.M.SG AG 1sg.GEN-F 3sg.PROX.NOM.F box-F open-PERF-F

hũ̃~ us jaṇ-ā nā lī-ū~ g-ī
1sg.NOM 3sg.DIST.OBL man-OBL.M.SG DAT take-1sg FUT-F

'Whichever man opens this box of mine, that man I will take.'

A number of common irregular (unspecified) perfective forms attest the Sanskrit /-ita/ suffix: /dittɔ/ 'given', /ḍiṭṭhɔ/ 'seen', /naṭṭhɔ 'ran away', /bɛṭhɔ/ 'seated', and /suttɔ/ 'slept'. Some such forms are instances of pure suppletion, while others at least feature the expected initial consonant. All take the regular AC suffixes (the examples shown feature masculine singular agreement).

## Verbal Inflections

The paradigms in tables 23 and 24 present formal distinctions only; functional distinctions are explained further below. Here the forms are labeled according to whatever function each has in isolation, even though the

same forms may have other functions when occurring in combination with another verb or verbal auxiliary. Paradigms for representative verbs ending in vowels are given in Appendix C.

Table 23. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in Consonant: /sad-/ 'call' (unique Western forms are in parentheses)

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | sad- | | -ū~ | sadū~ |
| | 1pl. | sad- | | -ā~ | sadā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | sad- | | -ɛ | sadɛ |
| | 2pl. | sad- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | sadɔ (sadɛ) |
| | 3pl. | sad- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | sadɛ~ (sadɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | sad- | -s | -ū~ | sadsū~ |
| | 1pl. | sad- | -s | -ā~ | sadsā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | sad- | -s | -ɛ | sadsɛ |
| | 2pl. | sad- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | sadsɔ (sadsɛ) |
| | 3pl. | sad- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | sadsɛ~ (sadsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | sad- | | Ø | sad |
| | 2pl. | sad- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | sadɔ (sadɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | sad- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | sadīe (sadī~e) |
| | 2pl. | sad- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | sadīɔ (sadī~ɔ~) |

Table 24. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in Consonant: /sad-/ 'call' (unique Western forms are in parentheses)

| | | Stem | Asp | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | sad- | -t | -ɔ | sadtɔ |
| | m.pl. | sad- | -t | -ā | sadtā |
| | f.sg. | sad- | -t | -ī | sadtī |
| | f.pl. | sad- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | sadtī~ (sadtī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | sad- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | sadeɔ (sadīɔ) |
| | m.pl. | sad- | -e (-ī) | -ā | sadeā (sadīā) |
| | f.sg. | sad- | -e (-ī) | -ī | sadī |
| | f.pl. | sad- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | sadī~ (sadī) |

## Finite Verbal Constructions Involving Tense Auxiliaries

Constructions Involving the Present Auxiliary /h-/ (/ɛ/)

The present auxiliary specifies present time. In the Eastern dialect the present auxiliary paradigm consists of the full inventory of PC suffixes attached to a stem, /h-/ (a reduction of the verb /hò-/ 'be'), while in the Western dialect the paradigm has collapsed down to the second and third singular, and that without any vestige of the verb stem.

**Table 25. Present Auxiliary**

| | Eastern | Western |
|---|---|---|
| 1 sg. | hữ~ | ɛ |
| 1 pl. | hã̀~ | ɛ |
| 2/3 sg. | hɛ̀ | ɛ |
| 2 pl. | hɔ̀ | ɛ |
| 3 pl. | hɛ̀~ | ɛ |

The variation shown in Table 25 constitutes one of the more salient differences between the dialects. Sharma's paradigm is basically the same as that given here for the Eastern dialect, only with the 2pl and 3pl forms collapsed as /hè~/ (1982:176,100). He reports the variant /hā~/ for first singular, giving the example /hū~ ḍākṭar hā~/ 'I am a doctor' (1982:176-177; transcriptions mine). While this sentence is ungrammatical in the speech of my Eastern and Western research assistants, the auxiliary variant itself is familiar from Hindko and certain Eastern contrafactive constructions (see 4.2.1.3).

The present auxiliary is the right-most constituent of the constructions in which it occurs. In negation, the present auxiliary is replaced with the negative particle /nī/. When occurring by itself without any other verb, it is the copula, linking a noun phrase subject with some specifying static quality or identification in present time, or merely indicating the existence of a noun phrase subject. For example, /hū~ ḍākṭar hū~/ (/hū~ ḍākṭar ɛ/) 'I am a doctor.'

The **Present Perfective**consists of the perfective form of the verb followed by the present auxiliary /h-/ (/ɛ/). It signifies that the verbal action 'has been' completed with respect to the present.

(188)E. us ne akram sad-e-ɔ hè
3sg.DIST.OBL AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES
'He/she has called Akram [and he's not here yet].'

(189)E. mɛ~ roṭ-ī khā d-Ø-ī hè
1sg.AG bread-F.SG eat give-PERF-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES
'I have eaten.'

(190)W. mɛ~ tɛ hòṇ allā k-ā hùkam nāḷ šarū kar-Ø-ī ɛ
1sg.AG and now Allah GEN-OBL.M.SG command with start do-PERF-F PRES
'Now by Allah's command I have made a start.'

## Constructions Involving the Past Auxiliary /th-/

The past auxiliary, which specifies past time, consists of a root, /th-/, and an ACsuffix. It occurs to the right of the main verb, with or without one or more interveningauxiliaries or other grammatical words, and serves as the copula in past stativeconstructions:

(191) ó is ilāk-ā k-ɔ māl ik th-ɔ
3sg.DIST 3sg.DIST.OBL area-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG owner PAST-M.SG
'He was the owner of this area.'

The **Past Unspecified**consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the past auxiliary /th-/:

(192) hũ̃~ čal-ū~ th-ɔ
1sg.NOM go-1sg PAST-M.SG
'I used to go.'

(193)W. wó muč ḍar-ɛ th-ɔ laṛā-ī te
3s.DIST.NOM.M very fear-2/3 PAST-M.SG fight-F from
'He was very afraid of battle.'

(194)W. agl-ā lok muč ḍắḍ-ā wə̀-ɛ th-ā
former-NOM.M.PL people very strong-NOM.M.PL be-2/3 PAST-M.PL
'The people of old were very tough.'

This form is negated by the particle /nɪ́/ without inducing any morphological change:

(195) hũ̃~ nɪ́ čal-ū~ th-ɔ
1sg.NOM NEG go-1sg PAST-M.SG
'I used to not go.'

The **Past Perfective**consists of the perfective form of the verb followed by the past auxiliary /th-/. It signifies that the verbal action was completed at an earlier time:

(196) hũ̃~ g-ī-ɔ th-ɔ
1sg.NOM go-PERF-M.SG PAST.M.SG
'I went [at an earlier time].'

(197)E. us ne akram sad-e-ɔ th-ɔ
3sg.DIST.OBL AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG PAST-M.SG
'I called Akram [at an earlier time].'

Constructions Involving the Future Auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/) The future auxiliary, specifying future time, consists of a root, /k-/ (/g-/), and an AC suffix. Normally it occurs immediately to the right of the main verb as shown in (198), but the root is not fully suffixed as it has become in

Urdu and Punjabi (cf. Masica 1991:288-289). Rarely, as in (199), the adverb /wī/ (/bī/, /be/) 'also' may intervene between the main verb and future auxiliary.

(198)W. ras-ɔ saṭ tɛ hàm čáṛ-ā~ g-ī
rope-NOM.M.SG throw and 1pl.NOM climb.1pl FUT-F
'Throw the rope and we will climb [out]!'

(199)E. angūr khā-ū~ k-ɔ, beč-ū~ vī k-ɔ, lok-ā~ nā
grapes eat-1sg FUT-M.SG sell-1sg also FUT-M.SG people-OBL.PL DAT
dī-ū~ k-ɔ
give-1sg GEN-M.SG
'I will eat the grapes. I will also sell [them]. I will give [them] to people.'

The **Definite Future**consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/):

(200)E. hữ~ čal-ū~ k-ɔ
1sg.NOM go-1sg FUT-NOM.M.SG
'I will go.'

W. hữ~ čal-ū~ g-ɔ
1sg.NOM go-1sg FUT-NOM.M.SG
'I will go.'

This form cannot be used with a negative of any type.

## Finite Verbal Constructions Involving Other Auxiliaries

Constructions Involving /hò-/ 'be'

The verb /hò-/ serves as an important auxiliary in many verbal constructions (cf. Masica 1991:285-286). In its

unspecified form it can also be used as a main verb in the present or past to express habitual aspect, indicating that a particular state of affairs usually holds, as in (201), or typically held, as in (202):[2]

(201) ajkal hũ̃ padār hò-ū̃
nowadays 1sg.NOM busy be-1sg
'Nowadays I am busy.'

(202) pélā̃ hũ̃ padār hò-ū̃ th-ɔ
before 1sg.NOM busy be-1sg PAST-NOM.M.SG
'I used to be busy.' (lit. 'Before, I was busy.')

With the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/), the unspecified form of /hò-/ indicates that a particular state of affairs will hold in the future (cf. the Definite Future in 4.2.1.2.4), without specifying habitual aspect:

(203)E. panj baj-ɛ hũ̃ padār hò-ū̃ k-ɔ
five o'clock-LOC 1sg.NOM busy be-1sg FUT-NOM.M.SG
'At five o'clock I will be busy.'

Some important inflections of /hò-/ are shown in Table 26 (its full paradigm is given in Appendix C).

**Table 26. Inflections of /hò-/ 'be'**

| | | Eastern | Western |
|---|---|---|---|
| unspecified | 1sg. | hò-ū~ | hò-ū~ |
| | 1pl. | hò-wā~ | wə̀-ā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | hò-wɛ | wə̀-ɛ |
| | 2pl. | hò-wɔ | wə̀-ɛ |
| | 3pl. | hò-wɛ~ | wə̀-ɛ |
| imperfective | m.sg. | hò-t-ɔ | hò-t-ɔ |
| | m.pl. | hò-t-ā | hò-t-ā |
| | f.sg. | hò-t-ī | hò-t-ī |
| | f.pl. | hò-t-ī~ | hò-t-ī |

In Western, /hò-/ has been lost in all unspecified forms except the first singular, leaving formerly epenthetic /w/ (and a low-rising tone) as the verb stem. In this respect the Western form has evolved exactly opposite from the direction noted for Hindi-Urdu, where the subjunctive /ho/ is now preferred to the older /hove/ (Masica 1991:293; transcription his). In between the Kaghani (Eastern) and Allaiwal (Western) forms reported here are a range of transitional forms that may be heard in the speech of other Gujjars.

The **Present Habitual**consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ 'be'. It describes a verbal action performed repeatedly over an indefinite period of time which includes the present. While the 'unspecified' constructions normally indicate habitual interpretations, the addition of /hò-/ marks habitual aspect explicitly. This construction cannot as such be

negated; rather, its negative counterpart is the Contrafactive Habitual:

(204)E. subā subā nā hữ̃ čat apar bɛs-ū̃ hò-ū̃
morning morning DAT 1sg.NOM roof on sit-1sg be-1sg

'I sit on the roof every morning.'

(205)W. roz roz hữ̃ geḍ nā kol-ū̃ hò-ū̃
day day 1sg.NOM gate DAT open-1sg be-1sg

'I open the gate every morning.'

The **Past Habitual**consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ 'be' and the past auxiliary /th-/. It describes a habitual verbal action performed over an indefinite period of past time:

The Past Habitual is negated simply by inserting the particle /nī/ before the main verb:

(208)E. hữ̃ akram nā nī́ sadū̃ hỗū̃ thɔ
'I didn't used to call Akram on a regular basis.'

The **Subjunctive Habitual**consists of the imperfective form of the verb followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ 'be'. It describes a verbal action which the speaker views as possible. This form is comparatively rare, and in my data occurs only with the idiom /ke pattɔ/ 'perhaps', 'who knows?'

(209)E. ke patt-ɔ akram ā-t-ɔ hò-wɛ
what information-NOM.M.SG Akram come-IMPFV-M.SG be-2/3sg

'Perhaps Akram will come.'

(210)W. ke pat-ɔ mə̀r-ī bèḍ ut čug-t-ī ẁ-ɛ
what information-NOM.M.SG 1pl.GEN-F sheep there graze-IMPFV-F be-2/3

'Perhaps our sheep will graze there.'

The **Presumptive Habitual**consists of the imperfective form of the verb followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ 'be' and future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/). It describes probable future actions or actions assumed to be in progress:

(211)E. wó ā-t-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come-IMPFV-M.SG be-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

'He will be coming.'

W. wó ā-t-ɔ ẁ-ɛ g-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come-IMPFV-M.SG be-2/3 FUT-M.SG

'He will be coming.'

Replacing imperfective forms with ones involving the continuous auxiliary /lag-/ (see below) results in ungrammatical constructions (cf. the Urdu Presumptive Continuous; Masica 1991:293).

The **Contrafactive Habitual** consists of the negative /nī/ or /nā/ and the imperfective form of the main verb followed by the imperfective form of /hò-/ 'be'. Its functions include simple negations of the Present Habitual,

as in (212), and describing verbal actions like that in (213) which could have but did not (or do not) transpire.

(212) hữ̃ nī́ bɛs-t-ɔ hò-t-ɔ
1sg.NOM NEG sit-IMPFV-M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG
'I don't usually sit.'

(213)E. hữ̃ kade it nā́ bɛs-t-ɔ hò-t-ɔ tɛ min-nā
1sg.NOM if here NEG sit-IMPFV-M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG then 1sg.OBL-DAT
selānī sáī nā́ hò-t-ā
tourist be.seen NEG be-IMPFV-M.SG
'If I didn't always sit here then I wouldn't see the tourists.'

The **Presumptive Perfective** consists of the perfective form of the verb followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ 'be' and the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/). In the Eastern dialect, the perfective participle marker /w-/ occurs optionally after the perfective form of the verb. I know of no difference in meaning between the examples in (214):

(214)E.a. wó g-ī-ɔ w-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG be-2/3sg FUT-M.SG
'He must have gone.'

b. wó g-ī-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG be-2/3sg FUT-M.SG
'He must have gone.'

W. wó g-ī-ɔ ẁ-ɛ g-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG be-2/3 FUT-M.SG
'He must have gone.'

The **Contrafactive Perfective**consists of the perfective form of the main verb and the imperfective form of /hò-/ 'be'. It describes perfective verbal actions which, had they occurred, would have resulted in some other verbal action that did not occur. It is used only in the condition clause of conditional constructions:

(215)E. seāl mā min-nā ek xat mil-e-ɔ hò-t-ɔ
winter in 1sg.OBL-DAT one letter meet-PERF-M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG

tɛ min-nā ter-ā hə̀l k-ɔ pat-ɔ
then 1sg.OBL-DAT 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG condition GEN-NOM.M.SG information

lag jā-t-ɔ
attach go-IMPFV-M.SG

'If I had received one letter during the winter, then I would have found out about your condition.'

(216)E. to~ kade īd apar ā-e-ɔ hò-t-ɔ
2sg.NOM if Eid on come-PERF-M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG

tɛ ter-ī tɛ us k-ī mulākāt hò-t-ī
then 2sg.GEN-F.SG and 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-F.SG meeting be-IMPFV-F.SG

'If you had come for Eid, you and he/she would have met.'

(217)W. hũ~ kade skūl mā páṛ-ī-ɔ hò-t-ɔ tɛ hũ~
1sg.NOM if school in read-PERF-M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG then 1sg.NOM

kitɛ nɔkar hò-t-ɔ
somewhere employee be-IMPFV-M.SG

'If I had studied in a school, I would be an employee somewhere.'

'If I had studied in a school, I would be an employee somewhere.'

All such condition clauses can also be formed by the Unspecified Contrafactive (see 4.2.1.2.2) without change in meaning.

Constructions Involving the Continuous Auxiliary /lag-/

The continuous auxiliary consists of a stem, /lag-/, and an AC suffix. Continuous aspect indicates that a specific verbal event has commenced and is ongoing at a specified past or present time. The stem of the continuous auxiliary, /lag-/, is the perfective for of the verb 'attach' (an original lexical meaning not applicable in many contexts). This form is irregular because it lacks the perfective aspect suffix /-e/ (/-ī/). In Eastern, the continuous auxiliary often occurs in combination with the perfective participle marker /w- / (see 4.2.1.7).3 This /w-/ formative is normally omitted in Western (especially after /lag-/), and is optional in Eastern following /lag-/.

The **Present Continuous**consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the continuous auxiliary /lag-/, the perfective participle marker /w-/ (in the Eastern dialect only), and optionally by the present auxiliary. It describes the verbal action as being in progress at the present time. Present Continuous verbal constructions cannot as such be negated. The negative counterpart of this construction is the Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive (4.2.1.2.2).

(218)E. wó bazār nā čal-ɛ lag-ɔ w-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M bazaar DAT go-2/3sg CONT-M.SG PFP-M.SG

'He is going to the bazaar.'

W. wó bazār nā čal-ɛ lag-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M bazaar DAT go-2/3sg CONT-M.SG

'He is going to the bazaar.'

(219)E. hữ~ apaṇ-ā nasīb nāḷ khā-ū~ lag-ī w-ī
1sg.NOM REFL.OBL.M.SG fortune with eat-1sg CONT-F.SG PFP-F.SG

'I am eating by means of my own [good]fortune.'

(220)W. giduṛ agɛ tɛ kắḍ rič ɛ, ā-wɛ lag-ā
jackal ahead and behind bear PRES come-2/3 CONT-M.PL

'They are coming; the jackal in front and the bear behind [him].'

The **Past Continuous**consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the past auxiliary /th-/, the continuous auxiliary /lag-/ and the perfective participle marker /w-/ (in the Eastern dialect only). It describes the verbal action as being in progress simultaneous with another past verbal action in the discourse:

(221) hũ̃~ čal-ū~ th-ɔ lag-ɔ (w-ɔ)
1sg.NOM go-1sg PAST-M.SG CONT-M.SG (PFP-M.SG)

'I was going [at that moment].'

(222)E. tɛ~ jĩs waxt fon k-ī-ɔ tɛ hàm roṭ-ī
2sg.AG REL.OBL.SG time phone do-PERF-M.SG and 1pl.NOM bread-F.SG

kh-ā~ th-ā lag-ā w-ā
eat-1pl PAST-M.PL CONT-M.PL PFP-M.PL

'When you phoned we were eating.'

(223)W. (nān-ɔ mer-ɔ šinkīārī nā
maternal.grandfather-NOM.M.SG 1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG Shinkiari DAT

ā-e-ɔ.) kitɛ taṇā tɛ khū po muč dèṇ-ī
come-PERF-M.SG somewhere downhill and well on many woman-F

bàr-ɛ th-ī lag-ī
fill-2/3 PAST-F CONT-F

('My grandfather came to Shinkiari.) Somewhere below lots of women were filling water [vessels] at a well.'

In the above examples, movement of the past auxiliary to the position following /lag- (w-)/ is possible but unusual in discourse.

## Dialect-specific Finite Verbal Constructions

The **Contrafactive Conditional**(Eastern only) is an alternative to the Unspecified Contrafactive in conditional constructions involving singular subjects (see the form of the Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive in 4.2.1.2.2). For first person singular, the Contrafactive Conditional consists of the unspecified form of the verb followed by the present auxiliary variant /hā~/. It is used in both the condition and result clauses of the conditional construction. Compare its use in (224) with that of the

Unspecified Contrafactive in (225) (the latter is obligatory for all contrafactive conditionals in Western):

(224)E. hữ̃ kade sabar kar-ū̃ hã̀̃ tɛ hữ̃ kāg nā
1sg.NOM if patience do-IMPFV-1sg 1sg.PRES then 1sg.NOM crow DAT

mār lī-ū̃ hã̀̃
hit take-1sg 1sg.PRES

'Had I been patient, I would have killed the crow.'

(225) hữ̃ kade sabar kar-t-ɔ tɛ hữ̃ kāg nā
1sg.NOM if patience do-IMPFV-M.SG then 1sg.NOM crow DAT

mār le-t-ɔ
hit take-IMPFV-M.SG

'Had I been patient, I would have killed the crow.'

For second and third person singular subjects, the result clause (only) may feature a perfective form of the verb consisting of the verb stem and the 'old' perfective suffix /-eā/. Compare its employment in (226) with that of the Unspecified Contrafactive in (227):

(226)E. koe jíṛ-ɔ swātī th-ɔ, ó nɔkrī kar-eā
INDEF.NOM.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG Swati PAST-M.SG 3sg.DIST wage.labor do-PERF

'The one who was a Swati, he would be doing wage labor.'

(227)E. koe jíṛ-ɔ swātī th-ɔ, ó nɔkrī
INDEF.NOM.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG Swati PAST-M.SG 3sg.DIST wage.labor

kar-t-ɔ
do-IMPFV-M.SG

'The one who was a Swati, he would be doing wage labor.'

The **Present Continuous II**(Eastern only) consists of the verb stem followed by the 'continuous II' auxiliary

(itself the perfective form of /rɛ́-/ ‘stay’) and the present auxiliary /h-/ (/ɛ/). This construction describes intransitive verbal events and situations that are ongoing over an indefinite period of time that includes the present. It occurs only with select intransitive verbs including /hò-/ ‘be’ /guzar-/ ‘pass’, and /čal-/ ‘go’.

Although it is structurally identical to the Urdu and Punjabi present continuous constructions (and may represent a borrɔwing of the same), the function thereby achieved in those languages is achieved in Gojri by the Present Continuous (formed with /lag-/).

Consider these examples:

(228)E. ún-ā~ kī gal kaṭh hò rá-∅-ī hè
3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL GEN-F.SG word stream be stay-PERF-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES
‘They are engaged in discussions.’ (lit. ‘Their conversation is ongoing.’)

(229)E. roz-ā kɛǰ-ā guzar r-́e-ā hè~
fast-NOM.M.PL how-NOM.M.PL pass stay-PERF-M.PL 3pl.PRES
‘How are the fasts going?’

(230)E. ún-ā~ k-ī paṛə̀y kɛǰ-ī čal rá-∅-ī hè
3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL GEN-F.SG education how-F.SG go stay-PERF-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES
‘How is their education coming along?’

The Present Continuous II is negated by the insertion of the particle /nī/ before the verb and removal of the present auxiliary:

(231)E. ún-ā~ k-ī gal kaṭh nī́ hò rá-∅-ī
3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL GEN-F.SG word stream NEG be stay-PERF-F.SG
'They are not engaged in discussions.' (lit. 'Their conversation is not ongoing.')

The **Past Continuous II**(Eastern only) consists of the verb stem followed by the continuous II auxiliary and the past auxiliary /th-/. It locates select continuous verbal events and situations in past time:

(232)E. ún-ā~ k-ī paṛə̀y kɛj-ī čal rá-∅-ī th-ī
3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL GEN-F.SG education how-F.SG go stay-PERF-F.SG PAST-F.SG
'How was their education coming along?'

The **Contrafactive Continuous II**(Eastern only) consists of the verb stem followed by the continuous II auxiliary and the imperfective form of /hò-/ 'be'. It describes continuous actions and events that could transpire but do not. In Western, all such notions are expressed by means of the Contrafactive Perfective (see 4.2.1.2.5).

(233)E. wó ā ŕ-e-ɔ hò-t-ɔ tɛ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come stay-PERF-M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG then
maz-ɔ hò-t-ɔ
enjoyment-NOM.M.SG be-IMPFV-M.SG
'If he was coming then it would be a good time.'

The verb phrase in the first clause of (233) encodes a composite of the verbal notions expressed in (234):

(234)E.a. wó āwɛ lagɔ wɔ 'He is coming.'

b. wó nɪ́ ātɔ 'He isn't coming.' / 'He doesn't come.'

The **Present Unspecified** (Western only) consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the present auxiliary /h-/ (/ɛ/). Use of this form typically indicates that the subject is about to commence upon a course of action. It occurs only with first singular subjects in my data:

(235)W. hū̃~ čal-ū~ ɛ
1sg.NOM go-1sg PRES

'I am going.'

(236)W. (akhɛ nas-ɛ lag-ɔ) akhɛ hū̃~ nas-ū~ ɛ
QUOT run.away-2/3 CONT-M.SG QUOT 1sg.NOM run.away-1sg PRES

('Are [you] escaping?') '[Yes,]I am going to escape.'

In (237), however, the meaning is different than in the above examples:

(237)W. hū̃~ muč ḍar-ū~ ɛ
1sg.NOM very fear-1sg PRES

'I am very afraid.'

The Present Unspecified does not occur in the Eastern dialect, at least not in that spoken in Pakistan proper. This may be due to the correspondence of the Eastern present auxiliary vowels with the PC vowels on the verb. Sharma, however, reports such a construction for Punch-Rajauri Gojri: /tũ kit rɛ́ ɛ́/ 'Where do you live?' (1982:100; transcription his).

Instead, Eastern Gojri approximates the function of the Western Present Unspecified by means of a little-employed strategy involving the perfective form of the verb and an optional present auxiliary:

(238)E. hữ~ pāṇī lā-uṇ nā čal-e-ɔ (hữ~)
1sg.NOM water put.on-INF.OBL DAT go-PERF-M.SG (1sg.NOM)

'I am going to water [the fields].'

Example (238) is a translation of one of Sharma's examples, /hũ paṇi laṇ čəFlyo ã/ (1982:191; transcription and English gloss his). My research assistants say that the nuance is identical to that in examples (235) and (236) above.

## Passives

There are several means of forming passive constructions in Gojri. The most common strategy employs /ĵā-/ 'go' as the conjugational base, together with the perfective form of the active verb. The latter agrees with the patient in gender and number. This type of construction occurs with or without an agent marked by the ablative postposition /te/:

(239)E. goǰarī kāɣān mā bol-Ø-ī ǰā-ɛ
Gojri Kaghan in speak-PERF-F.SG go-2/3sg

'Gojri is spoken in Kaghan.'

(240)W. aǰaṛī te bèḍ katr-Ø-ī ǰā-ɛ th-ī
shepherd from sheep shear-PERF-F go-2/3 PAST-F

'The sheep were sheared by the shepherd.'

In passive constructions of this type, select verbs including /mār-/ ‘kill’ and /khā-/ ‘eat’ necessarily feature the passive suffix /-e/ (/-ī/) on the active verb in place of the usual perfective aspect and AC suffixes. This passive suffix is indistinguishable from the perfective aspect suffix, although it derives from a separate source (Masica 1991:316).

Evidence that the suffix is invariable for all genders and numbers is shown in (241)-(243).

(241)E. ek lel-ɔ khā-e g-ī-ɔ
one lamb-NOM.M.SG eat-PASS go-PERF-M.SG
‘One ram was eaten.’ (cf. the ungrammatical equivalent /*ek lelɔ khāeɔ gīɔ/)

(242)E. do ǰaṇ-ā mār-e g-ī-ā
two man-NOM.M.PL kill-PASS go-PERF-M.PL
‘Two men were killed.’

(243)E. ek beṭ̣k-ī mār-e ga-∅-ī
one girl-F.SG kill-PASS go-PERF-F.SG
‘One girl was killed.’

In the above examples, replacing the verb and passive suffix with the perfective form of the verb results in ungrammatical forms.

Another passive strategy features the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’ as the conjugational base, following the oblique infinitive of the active verb and an agent marked by the ablative postposition /te/:

(244)E. min-te do roṭ-ī~ agl-ī nī́ khā-uṇ hò-wɛ~ th-ī~
1sg.OBL-ABL two bread-F.PL former-F.SG NEG eat-INF.OBL be-3pl PAST-F.PL

'Weren't two pieces of bread being eaten by me before?'

A third strategy, which should perhaps be called an impersonal construction rather than a true passive, employs the third person plural Unspecified Habitual of the active verb (cf. 4.2.1.2.1) with no expressed agent:

(245)E. is šɛ nā ke ḱ-ɛ~
3sg.PROX.OBL thing DAT what say-3pl

'What is this thing called?'

(246)E. mȁr-ā mulx mā kȁ dāt-ī-ā~ nāḷ kap-ɛ~
1pl.GEN-NOM.M.SG country in grass sickle-F.SG-OBL.PL with cut-3pl

'In our country grass is cut with sickles.'

(247)W. čāwal dáī naḷ khā-ɛ
rice yogurt with eat-2/3

'Rice is eaten with yogurt.'

## Causatives

Causative verbal stems are produced by adding the causative suffix /-ā/ to verbal roots. We may therefore summarize the structure of the Gojri verbal stem as follows:

(248) ROOT - (CAUS)

That is, a stem may consist of a root plus an optional causative suffix. Some examples of bare root/causative verbal pairs are shown in (249):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (249) | /badal-/ | intrans. 'change' | > | /badlā-/ trans. 'change' | |
| | /ǰī-/ | 'live' | > | /ǰīā-/ | 'resurrect' |
| | /pak-/ | 'ripen' | > | /pakā-/ | 'cook' |
| | /kar-/ | 'do' | > | /karā-/ | 'make arrangements' |
| | /suṇ-/ | 'listen' | > | /suṇā-/ | 'tell' |
| | /čal-/ | 'go' | > | /čalā-/ | 'send' |

A variant of the causal suffix, /-āḷ/, occurs with the causative member of the pairs in (250).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (250) | /bɛs-/ | 'sit' | > | /bɛsīā̀ḷ-/(/bɛsā̀ḷ/) | 'seat' |
| | /so-/ | 'sleep' | > | /swaḷ-/ | 'put down to sleep' |
| /khā-/ | 'eat' | > | /khwāḷ-/ trans. | 'feed' | |
| /pī-/ | 'drink' | > | /pīāḷ-/ | 'give to drink' | |

Causative verbs are also formed by lengthening the short vowel of another verb. Some representative examples are given in (251):

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (251) | /muṛ-/ intrans. | 'return' | > | /moṛ-/ trans. | 'return' |
| | /ṭur-/ | 'walk' | > | /ṭor-/ | 'drive [livestock]' |
| | /kaṛ-/ intrans. | 'boil' | > | /kāṛ-/ trans. | 'boil' |
| | /čimuṛ-/ | 'cling to' | > | /čimeṛ/ | 'place against' |
| | /mar-/ | 'die' | > | /mār-/ | 'kill, hit' |
| | /nikhaṛ-/ intrans. | 'separate' | > | /nikheṛ-/ trans. | 'separate' |

While Sharma reports for Punch-Rajauri Gojri numerous second causatives formed by adding another /-

ā/ suffix to a causative stem already suffixed with /-ā/ (resulting necessarily in the suffix /-wā/ after hiatus resolution), my research assistants insist that they are not used in any form of Gojri with which they are familiar. I do, however, have examples of second causatives involving pairs of stems related like those in (252) with the transitive (or causative) member taking the causative suffix:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (252)a. | /čáṛ-/ | 'be built' |
| | /čā́ṛ-/ | 'build' |
| | /čaṛā̀-/ | 'have built' (i.e. 'arrange for the construction of') |
| b. | /mar-/ | 'die' |
| | /mār-/ | 'hit, attack, kill' |
| | /marā-/ | 'kill' (i.e. 'arrange for the death of') |

## Conjunct Verbs

Gojri has produced numerous verbs by joining a noun or adjective with a semantically empty or weakened verb which serves as the conjugational base. Stems most commonly employed in such compounds include /kar-/ 'do', /hò-/ 'be', /mār-/ 'hit', /le-/ 'take', /de-/ 'give', /ā-/ 'come', and /lā-/ 'put on'. Some examples are /bāz ā-/ ' repent', /čuɣlī mār-/ 'start a fight', and /gal kar-/ 'talk'. Conjunct verbs involving the verb stems /le-/ 'take' and /de-/ 'give' are more likely to retain more of the verb's independent semantic content. For example, consider /báḍī le-/ 'take bribes' and /nātɔ de-/ 'give in marriage'.

Many transitive and intransitive pairs of Gojri verbs feature a constant noun or adjective conjoined to /kar-/

‘do’ and /hò-/ ‘be’, respectively. Examples include /baṭlā hò-/ ‘be gathered’ and /baṭlā kar-/ ‘gather’, and /bideā hò-/ ‘be bidden farewell’ and /bideā kar-/ ‘bid farewell’ (Western forms have /bidĪā/ ‘farewell’).

All Gojri conjunct verbs are lexicalized; i.e. the combinations are fixed and must be memorized, and attempts to substitute for either constituent result in ungrammatical forms.

## Non-finite Verb Forms

Prototypical non-finite or dependent verb forms are those verbs which modify the main verb and are not fully inflected such that they can stand alone in discourse. Payne (1997:306) states that verbs are dependent to various degrees, or conversely, that they are finite to various degrees. Understanding finiteness as a continuum is particularly useful in the case of Gojri and other Indo-Aryan languages, where originally non-finite forms like the imperfective and perfective participles have been incorporated fully into the finite verbal paradigm (Masica 1991:321). Gojri participles are not fully inflected (i.e. they lack PC suffixes), yet in certain constructions they can stand alone as the main verb. In other constructions, as we shall now see, they serve as dependent modifiers of another main verb.

The structure of the non-finite verb is shown in (253):

(253) STEM - SUFFIX - (CONCORD)

In other words, a non-finite verb consists of a verbal stem with suffix, followed optionally by a concord suffix.

Non-finite forms in Gojri perform a wide range of nominal, adjectival, and adverbial functions (Masica 1991:321). I now describe infinitives, adjectival participles, adverbial participles, and conjunctive participles.

Infinitives > V-ing / to V

Gojri infinitives perform a variety of nominal functions. They are formed by adding an infinitive suffix to the verb stem. Nominative case infinitives consist of a verb stem followed by the suffix /-ɳ/ and an AC suffix. The infinitive suffix /-ɳ/ changes to /-ɳ/ when attached to verbs ending in a retroflex consonant. The nominative case infinitive may function as the subject of experiencer constructions like (254) or of predicate nominal constructions like (255). It agrees in gender and number with the associated noun. Infinitives are always masculine singular when there isn't an associated noun:

(254)W. sel kar-ṇ-ɔ man-nā čang-ɔ lag-ɛ
outing do-INF-NOM.M.SG 1sg.OBL-DAT nice-NOM.M.SG attach-2/3

'I like to travel.'

(255)E. angrēzī pā́ṛ-n-ī baṛ-ī ɔkh-ī hè
English read-INF-F.SG big-F.SG difficult-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES

'Reading English is very difficult.'

Oblique case infinitives consist of a verb stem followed by the suffix /-un/ with no AC suffix. The oblique infinitive is used adjectivally with the genitive to modify nouns, ascribing to the noun the characteristic of agency:

(256)W. bas roṭ-ī khā-ṇ k-ā šer ɛ, mer-ɛ samet
stop bread-F eat-INF.OBL GEN-M.PL.NOM lion PRES 1sg.GEN-LOC together

'[They] are only lionhearted when it comes to dining, myself included.'
(lit. '[They] are lions only of food-eating, myself included.')

The oblique infinitive is also used with the postpositions /nā/, /dar/ (/tā/) and /wāstɛ/ in purpose clauses:

(257)W. is ǰaṇ-ā ne čhaṭ mār-ī-ɔ būṭ-ā tā
2sg.PROX.OBL man-OBL.M.SG AG grabbing hit-PERF-M.SG tree-OBL.M.SG toward

nap-uṇ tā
catch-INF.OBL toward

'This man grabbed at the tree to catch hold of it.'

Sometimes the postposition is omitted from the purpose clause without any change in meaning:

(258)E. čal-ɛ jā-ū~, kúǰ khā-uṇ pī-uṇ
go-2/3sg go-1sg INDEF.NOM.PL eat-INF.OBL drink-INF.OBL

'I should go eat and drink a little.'

The remaining uses of the infinitive are described in 4.1.5 and 4.2.2.2.

Perfective Adjectival Participle > has been V-ed

Perfective participles consist of the verb stem followed by the perfective aspect suffix /-e/ (/-ī/) and an AC suffix. In the Eastern dialect they are commonly marked by a following /w-/ formative (= 'perfective participle marker'), which takes an AC suffix.

The nominative perfective participle functions adjectivally, ascribing to the modified noun a characteristic which has resulted from a prior verbal action. It is therefore the semantic equivalent of the English perfect 'tense'. Most commonly it occurs in simple attributive clauses, and it agrees with the modified noun:

(259)E. pāṇī tap-e-ɔ w-ɔ hὲ
water warm-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES
'The water is heated.'

W. pāṇī tap-ī-ɔ ɛ
water warm-PERF-M.SG PRES
'The water is heated.'

(260)E. wó bɛṭh-ɔ w-ɔ hὲ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M sit.PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES
'He is seated.'

W. wó bɛṭh-ɔ ɛ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M sit.PERF-M.SG PRES
'He is seated.'

(261)E. wá ga-Ø-ī w-ī hὲ
3sg.DIST.NOM.F go-PERF-F.SG PFP-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES
'She is gone.' (cf. /wá gaī/ 'She went.')

W. wá ga-Ø-ī ɛ
3sg.DIST.NOM.F go-PERF-F PRES
'She is gone.' (cf. /wá gaī/ 'She went.')

Perfective adjectival participles can also convey important nuances of meaning in sentences like those in (262)-(264):

(262)E. to~ pə̀r čā-e-ɔ w-ɔ kī~ā čal-ɛ
2sg.NOM load lift-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG to.where go-2/3sg

'Where are you going with that load you are carrying?'

(263)E. mɛ~ to~ it ā-e-ɔ w-ɔ hèr-e-ɔ
1sg.AG 2sg.NOM here come-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG see-PERF-M.SG

'I saw you [after you had] arrived.'

(264)E. mɛ~ akram sad-e-ɔ w-ɔ hɛ̀
1sg.AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

'I have called Akram [and he has arrived].' (cf. the Present Perfective in (188))

Perfective Adverbial Participle > since V-ing ... Perfective participles inflected for oblique case preceding the dative postposition /nā/ are used to indicate that a period of time has elapsed since an earlier action or event. Note that the Western example employs the perfect participle marker /w-/, which is omitted elsewhere in that dialect:

(265)E. min-nā it ā-e-ā w-ā nā do kànṭ-ā
1sg.OBL-DAT here come-PERF-OBL.M.SG PFP-OBL.M.SG DAT two hour-NOM.M.PL

lag g-ī-ā
attach go-PERF-M.PL

'Two hours have passed since I arrived here.'

(266)E. xat kàl-e-ā w-ā nā ek mìn-ɔ
letter pour-PERF-OBL.M.SG PFP-OBL.M.SG DAT one month-NOM.M.SG

hò g-ī-ɔ
be go-PERF NOM.M.SG

'A month has passed since the letter was mailed.'

(267)W. bèḍ su-Ø-ī w-ī nā xās-ɔ šeb-ɔ hò g-ī-ɔ
sheep give.birth-PERF-F PFP-F DAT special-NOM.M.SG period be go-PERF-M.SG

'It has been quite a while since the sheep gave birth.'

## Imperfective Adjectival Participles > V-ing ...

Imperfective participles consist of the verb stem followed by the imperfective aspect suffix /-t/ and another suffix, most commonly an AC suffix.

Imperfective participles taking the nominative AC suffixes are adjectival. They agree in gender and number with the modified nominative subject (as in (268)) or object (in ergative constructions like (269) and (270)):

(268) hữ~ doṛ-t-ɔ čal-ū~
1sg.NOM run-IMPFV-M.SG go-1sg

'I go running.' (i.e. 'I run as I go.')

(269)E. mɛ~ to~ kam kar-t-ɔ hèr-e-ɔ
1sg.AG 2sg.NOM work do-IMPFV-M.SG see-PERF-M.SG

'I saw you working.'

(270)W. ún beṭk-ī-ā~ ne nolakhīɔ taḷɛ lá-t-ɔ
3pl.DIST.OBL girl-F-OBL.PL AG Nolakhio down descend-IMPFV-M.SG

dekh-ī-ɔ
see-PERF-M.SG

'Those girls saw Nolakhio going down.'

## Imperfective Adverbial Participles > while V-ing, etc.

Imperfective participles inflected for oblique case preceding a postposition function adverbially.

When preceding the dative postposition /nā/, they describe circumstances or actions attending the main verbal action:

(271)E. hữ~ tin-nā kam kar-t-ā nā hèr-ū~
1sg.NOM 2sg.OBL-DAT work do-IMPFV-OBL.M.SG DAT see-1sg

lag-ɔ w-ɔ
CONT-M.SG PFP-M.SG

'I am watching you while you are working.'

If the participle in (271) was not so inflected by /nā/ (i.e. if the form was /kar-t-ɔ/), then the meaning would be 'I am watching you while I am working.'

When preceding the locative postposition /mā/ 'in', imperfective adverbial participles indicate an action within the progression of which the main verb transpires:

(272)E. mer-ā it ā-t-ā mā do kànṭ-ā
1s.GEN-OBL.M.SG here come-IMPFV-OBL.M.SG in two hour-NOM.M.PL

lag g-ī-ā
attach go-PERF-M.PL

'Just now it took two hours for me to get here.'

(273)W. man-nā kitāb páṛ-t-ā mā baṛ-ɔ maz-ɔ
1sg.OBL-DAT book read-IMPFV-OBL.M.SG in big-NOM.M.SG enjoyment-NOM.M.SG

ā-e-ɔ
come-PERF-M.SG

'I really enjoyed reading the book.'

Imperfective adverbial participles inflected for locative case also describe the timing of the main verb with reference to another verbal action:

(274) nà̀tɛ waxt 'at bathing time'
čalte waxt 'when it is time to go'
khātɛ waxt 'at meal time'
miltɛ waxt 'when meeting'

## Repeated Adverbial Participles

Imperfective adverbial participles may also be formed with the suffix /-ā~/ (/-e~/), which is invariable for all genders and numbers. A common use of this type of adverbial participle is to describe continuous and repeated action associated with the main verb. In such cases the participle is always repeated at least once:

(275)E. hũ̃ páṛ-t-ā̃ páṛ-t-ā̃ sāyfal malūk k-ī kã̀n-ī
1sg.NOM read-IMPFV-ADV read-IMPFV-ADV Saiful Maluk GEN-F.SG story-F.SG

tuṛ-ī pɔ́ĉh g-ī-ɔ
up.to arrive go-PERF-M.SG

'I read and read and [finally] got to the story of Saiful Maluk.'

(276)E. thoṛ-ɔ thoṛ-ɔ kam kar-t-ā̃ kar-t-ā̃ tɛ
a.little-NOM.M.SG a.little-NOM.M.SG work do-IMPFV-ADV do-IMPFV-ADV and

ham-ṇe koṭh-ā k-ɔ kam muk-ā l-ī-ɔ
1pl-AG house-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG work finish-CAUS take-PERF-M.SG

'We did a little work here and did a little work there and finally we finished the work on the house.'

(277)W. mār-t-ẽ mār-t-ẽ de nā mār kɛ mõr-ā mā
hit-IMPFV-ADV hit-IMPFV-ADV giant DAT hit CP hole-OBL.M.SG in

ā g-ī-ɔ
come go-PERF-M.SG

'Striking and striking, he killed the giant and came into the cavern.'

Such participles of the verbs 'go' and 'do' often occur without any other verb to describe continuous and repeated action (traveling or effort of some kind, respectively) performed over an indefinitely long period of time:

(278)W. čār hò g-ī-ā. čal-t-e~ čal-t-e~ čal-t-e~ čal-t-e~
four be go-PERF-M.PL go-IMPFV-ADV go-IMPFV-ADV go-IMPFV-ADV go-IMPFV-ADV

'Then there were four. (They) traveled and traveled and traveled and traveled.'

A participle so formed may contract with the emphatic particle /hȉ/ to express an attendant action simultaneous to the main verb:

(279)E. rustam ne tavīz hèr-t-ā́ī~ us kā hath te
Rustam AG amulet see-IMPFV-ADV.EMPH 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-OBL.M.SG hand from

talvār čàṛ ga-∅-ī.
sword fall go-PERF-F.SG

'Right when Rustam saw the amulet, his sword fell out of his hand.'

The contraction of this suffix /-ā~/ with /hī/ causes the low-tone inducing initial /h/ to become a high-tone inducing final /h/, with the nasalization of the suffix extending through the remaing vowel /ī/. The Western variant of the participle in (279) is /hèrtéī~/ per the same contraction process, and the Urdu equivalent is /dekte hī/. This contraction is obligatory, but speakers are capable of detaching the emphatic particle when asked to do so, in which case its Pronunciation is /hī/ with low tone, as elsewhere.

Identical in function but formally unique are Eastern adverbial participles formed with the suffix /-ī~/ joined directly to the verb stem. This suffix remains unchanged for all persons and numbers, but may have grammaticalized from the feminine plural perfective participle. In (280), the sequence /laī~ laī~/ 'taking and taking' is equal in meaning to /le caltā~ le caltā~/:

(280)E. pā̀y le kɛ ǰā r´e-ɔ baṇ nā, la-ī le kɛ tɛ bas
brother take CP go stay-PERF-M.SG forest DAT take-PERF-ADV take CP and well

la-ī~ la-ī~ le kɛ
take-ADV take-ADV take CP

'The brother took [her] and left for the forest, taking [her] and well, took [her] on and on ...'

(281)E. mɛ~ bāngī čā-ī~ čā-ī~ čā-ī~ čā-ī~ it
1sg.AG rooster lift-ADV lift-ADV lift-ADV lift-IMPFV here

āṇ kɛ čhoṛ ditt-ɔ
bring CP leave give.PERF-M.SG

'I carried and carried the rooster - brought it here and left it.'

Western Gojri uses the repeated perfective participle in ergative constructions like that in (282). Note that the participles agree with the nominative object:

(282)W. mɛ~ bāngī čā-e-ɔ čā-e-ɔ čā-e-ɔ
1sg.AG rooster lift-PERF-M.SG lift-PERF-M.SG lift-PERF-M.SG

čā-e-ɔ it āṇ kɛ čhoḍ dītt-ɔ.
lift-PERF-M.SG here bring CP leave give.PERF-M.SG

'I carried and carried the rooster - brought it here and left it.'

(283)W. mɛ~ kukaṛ-ī čā-Ø-ī čā-Ø-ī čā-Ø-ī čā-Ø-ī
1sg.AG chicken-F lift-PERF-F lift-PERF-F lift-PERF-F lift-PERF-F

it āṇ kɛ čhoḍ ditt-ī.
here bring CP leave give.PERF-F

'I carried and carried the chicken - brought it here and left it.'

My Eastern-speaking research assistant says that sometimes the suffix is /-ī/ rather than /-ī~/ in speech of his type.

## Conjunctive Participle > having V-ed …

The conjunctive participle consists of the verb stem followed by the particle /kɛ/ (which happens to be phonetically identical with the locative postposition). Against the analysis of /kɛ/ as a suffix is the fact that, although it always and only occurs immediately following a verb stem, it never undergoes phonological change in any Environment and it attaches only to the final verb stem in a series of verb stems (including echo-formatives beginning with /š-/ 'and the like', which elsewhere receive the same inflection as the main

verb):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (284) | ṭur ṭur kɛ | 'having walked and walked ...' |
| | mang (šang) kɛ | 'having begged (and such) ...' |
| | udīk kar kar kɛ | 'having waited and waited ...' |

The conjunctive participle immediately precedes the main verb phrase and describes an action completed immediately prior to the main verb.

(285) khā kɛ čal
eat CP go
'Having eaten, go!' / 'Eat and then go!'

In common idioms meaning 'give' and 'take with/away', /kɛ/ is omitted. The absence of /kɛ/ after the first verb stem in (286) and (287) makes these stem-on-

stem constructions look like the vector constructions described in 4.2.2.1:

(286) kāk-ā nā pɛs-ā čā dé
paternal.uncle-OBL.M.SG DAT money-NOM.M.PL lift give

'Give the money to Uncle!' (lit. 'Lifting the money, give it to Uncle.')

(287) kāk-ā, pɛs-ā le čal
paternal.uncle-VOC.M.SG money-NOM.M.PL take go

'Uncle, take the money and go!'

The conjunctive participle can be used to describe action that is repeated and continuous, by repeating the verb stem a number of times prior to /kɛ/, as in (288):

(288)W. sār-ī dɪ̀āṛ-ī us-e˜ doṛ-ā doṛ-ā doṛ-ā kɛ sā́y-ɔ
all-F day-F 3sg.DIST.OBL-AG run-CAUS run-CAUS run-CAUS CP rabbit-NOM.M.SG

nap nā́ hàk-ī-ɔ
catch NEG be.able-PERF-M.SG

'All day he chased and chased and chased, but he wasn't able to catch the rabbit.'

Occasionally in narrative discourse /kɛ/ is omitted altogether in such a construction, andthe conjunctive participle serves as the main verb:

(289)W. agɛ de kā́ṛ nolakhīɔ, doṛ doṛ doṛ doṛ
ahead giant behind Nolakhio run run run run

'The giant was in front and Nolakhio was behind. (They) ran and ran and ran and ran.'

## Complex Verbs

## Vector Verbs

A small set of Gojri verbs occurs in compound with other verbs so as to intensify their meanings in some way. These 'vectors' follow the bare stem of another verb and receive whatever inflectional suffixation that verb would otherwise receive, while losing their own lexical meanings. With few exceptions, the vector verb can be removed without effecting any change in meaning. Their presence may specify a nuance of completeness, deliberateness, or benefaction to the manner of the verbal action (Masica 1991:326).

They may also be preferred for aesthetic reasons. As noted by Masica for other Indo- Aryan languages, Gojri vectors also occur most commonly in perfective and imperative constructions, and less commonly with the future (1991:327). I now consider each of the vector verbs in turn.

**/**ĵā-**/ 'go'** occurs with select intransitive verbs including *come*, *sit*, *sleep*, *be made*, *become*, *be*, and *open*. This verb is irregular in the perfective, where the stem is /g-/ (see Appendix C). Its use conveys a nuance of completeness:

(290) bɛs ǰā
sit go

'Sit down!'

(291) rič ā g-ī-ɔ
bear come go-PERF-M.SG

'A bear came.'

(292) wó ṭhīk hò g-ī-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M well be go-PERF-M.SG

'He got better.'

(293)E. hàt lā-ū~ tɛ ǰandar-ɔ lug-ɔ khūl ǰā-ɛ
hand put.on-1sg then lock-NOM.M.SG free-NOM.M.SG open go-2/3sg

'When I put my hand on, the lock opens by itself.'

(294)W. wó amīr báṇ ǰā-ɛ g-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M wealthy be.made go-2/3 FUT-M.SG

'He'll become a wealthy man.'

**/**rɛ́-**/ 'stay'** occurs with select intransitive verbs including *come*, *go*, *sit*, and *sleep*, and conveys a nuance of completeness similar to that noted for /ǰā-/ 'go'. The two vectors are apparently interchangeable in (295) and (296), but not in (297) and (298) or in (299) and (300) (where /ǰā-/ 'go' is not a vector):

(295)E. wó so ŕ-e-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M sleep stay-PERF-M.SG
'He went to sleep.'

(296) wó so g-ī-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M sleep go-PERF-M.SG
'He went to sleep.'

(297)E. wó ā ŕ-e-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come stay-PERF-M.SG
'He has now come.' (cf. /wó āeɔ wɔ hè/ 'He has come.')

(298) wó ā g-ī-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come go-PERF-M.SG
'He came.'

(299)E. wó jā ŕ-e-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go stay-PERF-M.SG
'He left.'

(300) wó g-ī-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG
'He went.'

A common idiom meaning 'will depart' uses this kind of construction, but with the imperfective form of the second verb. In (301) the structure would predict habitual aspect (see 4.2.2.3 below), but the meaning is clearly not habitual here (perhaps by analogy to (299) above). Compare the construction in (301) with an ordinary use of this vector in the future in (302):

(301)E. akram čal-t-ɔ ŕ-ɛ k-ɔ
Akram go-IMPFV-M.SG stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG
'Akram will leave [for an indefinitely long period].'

(302)E. pāṇī kɛ bič g-ī-ɔ tɛ bɛs ŕ-ɛ k-ɔ
water GEN-LOC in go-PERF-M.SG then sit stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG
'When it goes into water it will sit down.'

**/**čhuṛ-**/ 'drop'** occurs with transitive verbs. This common vector occurs with most transitive verbs in certain contexts, but not with an as-yet-undefined class of verbs that includes 'deceive' and 'take care of'. The use of this vector may be preferred for aesthetic reasons to the regular endings of /kar-/ 'do' in the perfective. Although its original lexical meaning is 'drop' (intransitive), it might be glossed as 'do completely', a nuance that seems more fitting in some contexts than others:

(303)E. mɛ~ apaṇ-ī~ bakar-ī~ beč čhuṛ-Ø-ī~
1sg.AG REFL-NOM.M.SG goat-F.PL sell drop-PERF-F.PL

'I sold my goats.'

(304)W. hữ~ gīd gā čhuṛ-ū~
1sg.NOM song sing drop-1sg

'Should I sing a song?'

**/le~/ 'take'** occurs with transitive verbs, conveying a nuance of completion:

(305)E. mɛ~ roṭ-ī khā la-Ø-ī
1sg.AG bread-F.SG eat take-PERF-F.SG

'I already ate.'

(306)E. ham-ṇe koṭh-ā k-ɔ kam muk-ā l-ī-ɔ
1pl-AG house-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG work finish-CAUS take-PERF-M.SG

'We finished the work on the house.'

**/**de-**/ 'give'** occurs with transitive verbs, conveying a nuance of completion:

(307) mɛ~ roṭ-ī khā d-Ø-ī
1sg.AG bread-F.SG eat give-PERF-F.SG

'I ate.' (cf. the ungrammatical /*mɛ~ roṭī khāī/ 'I ate.')

(308)W. dīnā duǰ-ɔ čhoḍ ditt-ɔ
tomorrow second-NOM.M.SG leave give.PERF-M.SG

'The next day [they] left the second one.'

Note that example (307) contains a variant of the perfective form of /de-/ 'give', whereas (308) contains the usual form (i.e. that attesting the Sanskrit /-ita/ suffix).

**/**saṭ-**/ 'throw'** occurs with transitive verbs, especially with 'give':

(309)E. bādšā̃ nē apaṇ-ī jān kurbānī wāstɛ de saṭ-∅-ī
king AG REFL-F.SG life sacrifice for give throw-PERF-F.SG

'The king gave his life as a sacrifice.'

## Modals

Gojri uses a small number of verbs in modal constructions which modify the sense of the main verb without affecting its lexical content. These modals express notions which cannot occur in isolation, i.e. they require a verbal complement to make any sense (Masica 1991:374). Each requires the main verb to be in a particular morphological shape, with the 'modal' verb receiving whatever inflection the main verb would otherwise take. I discuss them in turn.

/hàk-/ /sak-/ 'be able' > be able to V

/hàk-/ /sak-/ occurs with the bare stem of the main verb, expressing the capacity of the agent to perform the main verb:

(310)E. hữ̃ čal hàk-ū̃
1sg.NOM go able-1sg

'I am able to go.'

(311)W. mɛ̃ kúj̃ nā̃ páṛ hàk-ī-ɔ
1sg.AG INDEF.NOM.PL NEG read able-PERF-M.SG

'I wasn't able to study at all.'

The two forms of this verb are in free variation in both of these dialects, but my research assistants believe that /sak-/ is preferred in Kashmir.

/čā-/ 'want' with the infininitive > want to V

/čā-/ occurs with the infinitive of the main verb, expressing the agent's desire to perform the action of the main verb.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (312) | hū̀~ | čal-ṇ-ɔ | čā́-ū~ |
| | 1sg.NOM | go-INF-NOM.M.SG | want-1sg |

'I want to go.'

/pɛ-/ 'fall' with the infinitive > must V

/pɛ-/ occurs in experiencer constructions (i.e. where the subject is marked by dativecase) with the infinitive of the main verb, expressing obligation or constraint to act from asource outside the agent (Masica 1991:380).[4] The use of /pɛ-/ 'fall' to express thisnuance is similar to the the English, 'It fell to me to present the report.' This verb hasirregular forms which differ between the two dialects (see Appendix C):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (313)E. | min-nā | čal-ṇ-ɔ | po-ɛ |
| | 1sg.OBL-DAT | go-INF-NOM.M.SG | fall-2/3sg |

'I am obligated to go.'

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (314)W. | hàr | ādmī | nā | laṛāy | po | ā-ṇ-ɔ | p-ɛ | g-ɔ |
| | every | person | DAT | fight | on | come-INF-M.SG | fall-2/3 | FUT-M.SG |

'Every man will be obligated to come to the battle.'

/čā́yɛ/ with the infinitive > ought to V (Urdu, not used in female speech)

(315)E. min-nā čal-ṇ-ɔ čā́yɛ
1sg.OBL-DAT go-INF-NOM.M.SG is.needed
'I ought to go.'

The infinitive in this and the preceding two constructions represents what Masica has analyzed as the Unspecified (or 'future') Passive Participle (1991:322-324).

/de-/ 'give' with oblique infinitive > allow to V

/de-/ occurs with the oblique infinitive of the main verb, expressing the willingness ofthe nominative agent to allow another party (the dative indirect object) to act:

(316)E. wó min-nā čal-uṇ dī-ɛ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M 1sg.OBL-DAT go-INF.OBL give-2/3sg
'He allows me to go.'

## Secondary Aspectuals

Gojri uses a small number of verbs to further specify the aspect of the main verb. I consider them in turn.

/ŕé-/ 'stay' > finish V-ing / have already V-ed

/ŕé-/ occurs with the bare stem of the main verb, expressing the completion of a verbal action prior to the present time and situation. Since /ŕé-/ 'stay' is inherently intransitive, it can never occur with agentive case in an ergative construction (even though its lexical meaning is lost in this type of construction). Compare (317) with its ergative counterpart in (318):

(317)E. hữ̃ akram nā sad ŕ-e-ɔ hữ̃
1sg.NOM Akram DAT call stay-PERF-M.SG 1sg.NOM

'I have already called Akram [he hasn't come].'

(318)E. mɛ̃ akram sad-e-ɔ hɛ̀
1sg.AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

'I have called Akram [he has arrived ].'

/lag-/ 'attach' with oblique infinitive > begin to V

/lag-/ occurs with the oblique infinitive of the main verb, expressing inceptive aspect.Inceptive aspect describes the beginning ('inception') of a verbal action. Examples (319)-(321) illustrate the basic use of the inceptive:

(319)E. wá mer-ɛ dar kùl-uṇ lag ga-∅-ī
3sg.DIST.NOM.F 1sg.GEN-LOC direction fight-INF.OBL attach go-PERF.F.S

'She started arguing with me.'

(320)W. ek ṭem sap čáṛ-un lag-∅-ɔ ún bač-ā̃
one time snake climb-INF.OBL attach-PERF-M.SG 3pl.DIST.OBL animal.baby-OBL.PL

tā khā-uṇ nā.
direction eat-INF.OBL DAT

'At some [point in] time, a snake started climbing to eat those chicks.'

(321)W. us-ā̃ ḍùnḍ-uṇ lag g-ī-ā
3sg.DIST.OBL-DAT search-INF.OBL attach go-PERF-M.PL

'They started looking for him.'

In narrative, the inceptive with /kɛ́-/ 'say' is the preferred formula for introducing reported speech, particularly at the beginning of conversations or where the speech consists of single statements. While a literal

translation of this formula would be ‘started to say’, a more accurate rendering would require perfective or habitual aspect per parallels in English discourse:

(322) wó us nā kɛ́-uṇ lag-∅-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M 3sg.DIST.OBL DAT say-INF.OBL attach-PERF-M.SG
‘He said to him, ...’ / ‘He says to him, ...’

Like its Indo-Aryan relations (Masica 1991:384), Gojri uses the verbs stay, go, and do in combination with a participial form of the main verb to further specify imperfective aspect:

/rɛ́-/ ‘stay’ > keep on V-ing

/rɛ́-/ occurs in any tense with the imperfective participle, adding a nuance of continuation to the habitual aspect. /rɛ́-/ receives whatever inflection would otherwise be associated with the main verb. In (323) the addition of /rɛ́-/ connotes the subject’s effort to sit every morning, whereas the Present Habitual in (324) merely states the subject’s habit without implying his or her deliberate continuation in it:

(323)E. subā subā nā hữ~ čat apar bɛs-t-ɔ rá-ū~
morning morning DAT 1sg.NOM roof on sit-IMPFV-M.SG stay-1sg
'I keep sitting on the roof every morning.'

(324)E. subā subā nā hữ~ čat apar bɛs-ū~ hò-ū~
morning morning DAT 1sg.NOM roof on sit-1sg be-1sg
'I sit on the roof every morning.'

(325)W. tam rāt ke kar-t-ā ŕ-ī-ā ɛ
2pl.NOM night what do-IMPFV-M.PL stay-PERF-M.PL PRES
'What have you kept on doing all night?'

Since the Gojri habitual cannot occur with the future tense (cf. 4.2.1.2.5), any future habitual notion must be expressed by the future of /ŕé-/ with the imperfective form of the main verb (such usage approaches grammaticalization). In such cases the sense of continuance may survive in addition to the broader habitual denotation. Compare examples (326)-(327):

(326)E. hũ̃~ akram nā sad-t-ɔ rá-ū~ k-ɔ
1sg.NOM Akram DAT call-IMPFV-M.SG stay-1sg FUT-M.SG

'I will keep calling Akram.'

(327)E. hũ̃~ akram nā sad-t-ɔ hò-ū~ k-ɔ
1sg.NOM Akram DAT call-IMPFV-M.SG be-1sg FUT-M.SG

'I will be calling Akram [at a given time].'
(cf. the ungrammatical /*hũ̃~ akram nā sadū~ hòū~ kɔ/)

(328)W. do-ā~ dɪ̀āṛ-ā~ te bā́d mā̀r-ā ḍer-ā
two-OBL.PL day-OBL.PL from after 1pl.GEN-NOM.M.PL home-NOM.M.PL

čal-t-ā ŕ-ɛ g-ā
go-IMPFV-M.PL stay-2/3 FUT-M.PL

'After two days our households will be departing.'

There is one common idiom in my data in which this construction contains the perfective rather than imperfective form of the main verb /ṭik-/ 'stay':

(329)E. wó mā́l-ī apar ṭik-e-ɔ
3sg.DIST.NOM.M high.pasture on stay-PERF-M.SG

ŕ-ɛ k-ɔ
stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

'He will stay at the high pasture.'

/čal-/ 'go' > go on V-ing

/čal-/ occurs with the imperfective participle in imperatives, expressing a type of 'progressive aspect' that indicates continuation despite some kind of resistance or limitation (Masica 1991:269). It receives whatever inflection would otherwise be associated with the main

verb. The verb /čal-/ ‘go’ is irregular in the perfective, where its stem is /g-/. My research assistants say that /čal-/ could be replaced with /rɛ́-/ without change in meaning in the following examples:

(330) mer-ɔ ustāz xerāzrī kar-t-ɔ g-ī-ɔ tɛ
1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG teacher absenteeism do-IMPFV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG and

hữ~ likh-t-ɔ g-ī-ɔ
1sg.NOM write-IMPFV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG

‘My teacher went on absenting himself and I went on writing.’

(331)E. tārā us ḍāḷ-ī nā le kɛ mār-t-ɔ g-ī-ɔ,
Tara 3sg.DIST.OBL bar-FEM.SG DAT take CP kill-IMPFV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG

mār-t-ɔ g-ī-ɔ̃, mār-t-ɔ g-ī-ɔ
kill-IMPFV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG kill-IMPFV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG

us bādšā́ k-ī takrīban ád-ī fɔ̆ ǰíṛ-ī th-ī
3sg.DIST.OBL king GEN-F.SG approximately half-F.SG army REL-F.SG PAST-F.SG

us ne wá muk-ā čhuṛ-∅-ī
3sg.DIST.OBL AG 3sg.DIST.NOM.F finish-CAUS drop-PERF-F.SG

‘Tara, taking the branch, kept on killing and killing and killing. He finished off almost half of the army that the king had.’

/kar-/ ‘do’ > make a habit of V-ing

/kar-/ occurs only in compound imperatives, with the main verb stem taking the ‘older’ invariant perfective suffix /-eā/ (/-īā/). It expresses future habitual action. There are no marked future imperative forms of this construction, as the notion of future time is inherent. Note the compounded variant in (332)b.:

(332)E.a. pāṇī pī-ā kar-ɔ
water drink-PERF do-2p

'Always drink water!'

b. pāṇī pī-ā kar-eā kar-ɔ
water drink-PERF do-PERF do-2p

'Always drink water!'

(333)W. dwā kar-īā kar
prayer do-PERF do

'Always pray!'

## Adverbs

Gojri adverbs are those words which convey adverbial notions all by themselves, notions that might otherwise be conveyed by a multi-word phrase. Gojri adverbs therefore specify some property of the verbal event or situation, or of an adjective or other adverb. Adverbs occur outside of noun phrases almost anywhere prior to the verb, and a few adverbs like /wī/ (/bī/, /be/) 'also' may be allowed between the verb and a following auxiliary.

Morphologically related sets of adverbs are shown in Table 27 below. I then list other examples of the several classes of Gojri adverbs in 4.2.3.1-5. The few Gojri adverbs which inflect for agreement with the subject are shown in 4.2.3.1-5 as stems, with the hyphen indicating that an AC marker is required.

Table 27. Interrogative/Relative/Proximate/Distal Adverb Sets

| Adverb Type | Interrogative | REL | PROX | DIST |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| of place: 'Where?' | kit | ǰit | it | ut |
| of place (w/locative): | (kitɛ)* | ǰitɛ | itɛ | utɛ |
| of origin (w/ablative): 'Whence?' | kitū | ǰitū | itū | utū |
| of direction: 'Whither?' E | kī~ā | ǰī~ā | ī~ā | u~ā |
| W | kingā | ǰingā | ingā | ungā |
| of degree: 'To what degree?' | kitnɔ | ǰitnɔ | itnɔ | utnɔ |
| of time: 'When?' | kad | ǰad | is - | us - |
| of time: 'When?' | kičar | ǰičar | ičar | učar |
| of cause: 'Why?' | kyū~ | ---------- | --------- | ---------- |
| of manner: 'In what manner?' E | kis tareā~ | ǰis tareā~ | is tareā~ | us tareā~ |
| W | kis tarīā~ | ǰis tarīā~ | is tarīā~ | us tarīā~ |
| of manner: 'In what manner?' | kišāne | ǰišāne | išāne | ušāne |
| " " (w/ablative) | kɛnū | ǰɛnū | ɛnū | ---------- |

The form */kitɛ/ is not an interrogative. Rather it is an indefinite adverb meaning ‘somewhere, somewhat, sometimes.’ The interrogative adverb /kyū~/ ‘Why?’ is answered by /kyū~ ke/ or /kyū~ je/ ‘because.’

## Other Adverbs of Manner

/ī~e/ (/ā~yɔ/) ‘otherwise’, /bɛ́l-/ ‘quickly’, /cirk-/ ‘late’, /faṭ/ ‘immediately’, /jaltī/ ‘quickly’, /jàb/ ‘quickly’ (W. only), /hòḷe/ ‘slowly’, /jī/ ‘at that moment’, /lug-/ ‘freely’, /mat/ ‘never’ (in prohibitions), /nakūk/ ‘deeply’ (of sleep), /nasāpe~/ ‘suddenly’, /nūī/ ‘anyway, regardless’, /sanganāḷ/ ‘in partnership’, /tāwaḷ-/ ‘quickly’, /tíngī mùngī/ ‘for no reason’ (E. only), /wī/ (/bī/, /be/) ‘also’

## Other Adverbs of Time

/aĵā~/ ‘at the moment, right now’ (occurs in negative constructions), /age~re~/ ‘several weeks ago’ , /aj/ ‘today’, /ajkal/ ‘nowadays’, /atɛ/ ‘then’ , /bič bázɛ/ ‘sometimes’, /dèāṛī/ (/dīāṛī/)‘daily’, /dīnā/ ‘tomorrow’, /fir/ (/phir/, /mī/) ‘then, again’, /hàmešā~/ ‘always’, /hòṇ/ ‘now’, /itnā bicū/ ‘meanwhile’, /kade kade/ ‘occasionally’, /kā—Dū/ ‘afterwards’, /munḍū/ ‘from the beginning’, /par/ ‘last year’, /parār/ ‘two years ago’, /sabɛl/ ‘early in the morning’, /tade/ ‘a little earlier, a short time ago’, /terā~/ ‘this year’, /waxtī/ ‘early in the morning’ (W.only)

## Other Adverbs of Place and Direction

Many adverbs of this class feature a directional suffix /-ā~/ which resembles the dative case-marking postposition /nā/ in many ways. Others feature the ablative suffix /-ū/.

Examples of this class include:

/afrā~/ ‘upwards’, /agā~/ ‘up ahead’, /andrū/ ‘from out of’, /aprū/ ‘from off of, from out of’ (E. only), /āmṇe sāmṇe/ ‘opposite one another’, /bār/ ‘outside, abroad’, /bicū/ ‘from out of’, /biṛɛ/ ‘outside’, /cārcoferī/ (/carchiperī/) ‘all the way around’, /hèṭhū/ ‘from under’, /kāḍ/ ‘behind’, /koḷū/ ‘from near’, /parā~/ ‘in that direction’, /parū/ ‘from across’, /parlūtɛ/ ‘across and down’, /parūtɛ/ ‘next door’, /pichā~/ ‘in the mountains, toward the mountains’, /taḷɛ/ ‘down’, /taṇā/ ‘in the plains, toward the plains’, /taū te/ ‘from below’, /tā~/ ‘toward

the low lands', /tɛ/ 'down', /upar/ 'above', /urā~/ 'in this direction', /urā~ parā~/ 'every which way', /urūte/ 'from adjacent location.'

## Other Adverbs of Degree

/baṛ-/ 'very', /bilkul/ 'completely, totally', /kúĵ/ 'somewhat', /muč/ 'very', /sirf/ 'only' (Urdu, rare in female speech), /sirū/ 'completely, totally', /takrīban/ 'approximately' (Urdu, rare in female speech), /thoṛ-/ 'a little', /zarī/ 'slightly, a little'

## Epistemic Adverbs

Adverbs of this class 'indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause' (Payne 1997:70). The most common such Gojri adverb has grammaticalized from the perfective of the verb /pɛ-/ 'fall' and denotes the speaker's positive disposition toward the verbal clause, rather than his or her commitment to its truth, per se. This adverb agrees with the subject in gender and number, although there is no marked femine plural form. Translations include 'surely', 'certainly', and 'go ahead'.

Consider examples (334)-(335):

(334)E. wé beṭk-ī~ pa-Ø-ī čal-ɛ~
3pl.DIST.NOM girl-F.PL fall-PERF-F.SG go

'Sure those girls can go.'

(335)W. man-nā p-ī-ɔ mār-ɛ
1sg.OBL-DAT fall-PERF-M.SG hit-2/3

'Let him attack me.' / 'I don't care if he attacks me.'

Other examples of this small class of adverbs include /bilkul/ 'absolutely', /lāzmī/ 'surely', /xās kar/ 'especially', and /zarūr/ 'certainly'.

# TOWARD STANDARDIZED GOJRI SPELLINGS AND LITERATURE

## Dialectal Variation and the Standardization of Gojri

The intelligibility testing conducted by Hallberg and O'Leary demonstrated empirically that Gujjars are justified in believing that Gojri is a single language with regional variance (1992:126). In my opinion, the phonological and morphological variation noted above between Eastern and Western forms of Gojri speech is relatively limited and should not therefore constitute a major obstacle to the emergence of a unified literary standard. The nature of the dialectal differences may provide a partial explanation for Hallberg and O'Leary's tentative observation that Western speakers are better able to understand the speech of Eastern Gujjars than the other way around (1992:127). They had speculated that Eastern Gojri might be an older form of the language that facilitated a latent receptive competence among Western speakers, or that the greater similarity of Eastern Gojri to Urdu and Punjabi (observed via word list comparisons and attitude surveys) might make Western Gujjars who are exposed to those languages more likely to understand Eastern Gojri.

While I believe that the ability of Western speakers to understand Eastern speech lies primarily in their greater exposure to Eastern Gojri (and Urdu), the comparative morphological data do suggest that Eastern Gojri retains

older forms. Various inflectional distinctions made in Eastern are collapsed in Western, and those distinctions also correspond - formally in some cases - to those made in Urdu and Punjabi. Related to this is the fact that many Eastern-speaking Gujjars with whom I have contact regard the Western dialect, if they are even exposed to it, as having a corrupted or otherwise incorrect grammar (citing missing inflections), and therefore unworthy of attention. On the other hand, Western Gujjars take a high view of the Eastern Gojri they enjoy on the radio, regarding it only as slightly 'different' from their own speech. They seem to take it as a given that any literature development, like radio programming, will emanate from Kashmir, where Gujjars and Gojri are more influential than in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province.

Despite this apparent willingness of Western-speaking Gujjars to follow the lead of Eastern speakers in language development, I believe that they should be encouraged to produce a limited literature and develop primary literacy programming in their own dialect. Early on in the pilot literacy project which I conducted together with my research assistants, it became clear that, beyond a common alphabet book, they and other literate Gujjar stake-holders wanted separate Eastern and Western reading primers. Their enthusiasm for 'mother-tongue literacy' is tied to the materials being written in their own mother tongue (i.e. not in someone else's mother tongue). A small example of such attitudes involves the future

auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/), for which some Eastern speakers resist an Urdu-based /g-/ spelling, complaining, 'we don't say that!'

The morphological and lexical differences, limited as they are, still affect almost every line of written text, such that new readers working with materials from the other dialect end up memorizing some lesson content by rote rather than merely decoding what is familiar (I have experimented in both directions). Pushing Eastern Gojri primers or hybrid Gojri primers onto the Western dialect community might discourage broad-based involvement in non-formal literacy programs. Development of Western Gojri at this minimal level might also raise the profile of the dialect sufficiently for it to be taken more seriously by Eastern developers, who in any case should see the Western community - including Allaiwal Bakarwals living in Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir - as a way to emphasize the geographic breadth and numeric strength of the Gojri language in their campaign for wider recognition and support (not to mention maximizing their own audience).

After gaining initial skills in their own dialect, Western students can proceed with the Urdu curriculum in either a government school or non-formal literacy program. Through Urdu, then, Western students will learn the spellings for such Eastern forms as the present auxiliary /he~/, the feminine plural AC marker /-ī~/, and the second and third person plural PC markers, /-ɔ/ and /-

ɛ~/ (Urdu /-e~/), respectively. Such a program would leave very little in Eastern-dialect publications to appear foreign to the Western reader, because the 'gain' of inflectional information and spellings would have been largely achieved via Urdu. For female students, the non-formal curriculum could be structured for direct progression to Eastern Gojri materials, since female Gujjars are less likely to learn spoken Urdu outside of a formal setting. Materials could also be developed in Eastern Gojri to teach Urdu as a foreign language to monolingual speakers from both dialects.

## Approaches to Spelling: Theoretical Considerations

The traditional taxonomy of orthography types distinguishes two broad spelling approaches for alphabetic writing systems: the phonemic or 'shallow' representation which generally corresponds to Pronunciation, and the morphophonemic or 'deep' representation of underlying forms. The product of the former should also be distinguished from phonetic spellings which represent predictable allophonic detail. There are advantages and disadvantages to each approach.

## From Phonology

Since its advent in the early to mid-80's, the theory of Lexical Phonology has provided a strong endorsement for a 'shallow' or phonemic orthographic representation. Mohanan argues that orthography should represent the

'lexical alphabet', which approximates the phonemic inventory of a language (1986:194,176-177). In his discussion of the psycholinguistic perceptions of a language's speakers, Mohanan provides the basis for understanding why phonemic spellings are generally superior to phonetic or morphophonemic spellings:

> Speakers of a language can be trained in a matter of hours to interpret 'phonemic'transcriptions (those using the lexical alphabet), and then learn the Pronunciationsof unfamiliar words from a pronouncing dictionary. All that one needs for thispurpose is the key for the symbols, with a few examples. Equally simple istraining in producing lexical phonemic transcriptions: my informal experimentsshow that speakers of the same dialect come up with the same phonemictranscriptions for a given set of spoken nonce forms.

In contrast to the ease with which one can train naive speakers to read and write lexical phonemic transcriptions, it is nearly impossible to train an average speaker to read and write phonetic transcriptions: this would require a great deal of training in articulatory phonetics ... Equally laborious is training in reading and writing underlying representations, which would require special training in the phonological analysis of the language involved. What I am saying, in other words, is that all speakers of a language have direct conscious access to representations

in erms of the lexical alphabet by virtue of knowing the language. Only a few have conscious access to underlying representations and phonetic representations, since conscious access to these two levels is provided through specialized training in phonetics and phonology. (1986:194)

He goes on to summarize the implications for spelling and literacy:

> It is not an accident that many languages have based their orthographic systems on the lexical alphabet. The orthographic system of Malayalam ... is a syllabary that is phonemic. As a result, it has the property that speakers do not have to learn the Pronunciations of unfamiliar words by listening to the spoken form or consulting a pronouncing dictionary: the orthographic representation of a word conveys everything that a speaker needs to know in order to pronounce the word. Thus, literacy in Malayalam is achieved by merely learning the regular correspondences between letters and sounds.
>
> This structural property has a behavioural correlate: given unfamiliar words in the written form, literate speakers pronounce them 'correctly' (i.e. the way they are pronounced by others), and given unfamiliar words in the spoken form, they assign 'correct' written representations to what they hear.

> In contrast, literate speakers of English need to check the correspondence between spelling and Pronunciation for every new word that they come across. Clearly, this is related to the fact that the orthographic system is not lexical phonemic in English ...' (1986:195)

By advocating a 'shallow' orthography, Lexical Phonology provides unqualified support for the approach to tone representation explored for Gojri in 3.2, because it sees tone spreading like that in Gojri as a post-lexical process (Pulleyblank 1986). Stated another way, the results of tone spread in Gojri are phonetic or allophonic in nature, rather than contrastive/phonemic, and do not need to be written (Bird 1996:32). Bird's (1997) documentation illustrates for surface tones what Mohanan avers about surface detail in general: training a native speaker to accurately read and transcribe it is virtually impossible.

## From Reading Theory

The findings of recent reading studies support the implications of Lexical Phonology for orthography design, while providing additional insight about how readers process text. Adams finds that, prior to the development of a large sight vocabulary, 'the connections between orthography and phonology are extremely important for the young reader; as for the skillful reader, however, the importance of phonological processing is as a means or

support system' (1990:215). Contradicting the long-held notion of many linguists and educators that 'deep' etymological spellings enable readers to bypass phonological processing in word recognition, she cites research by Ehri and Wilce (1986) indicating that 'the morphemic structure of a word does not influence learners' image of its phonological structure or, by extension, its spelling. Instead their results invite the converse explanation: that morphemic appreciation derives from our knowledge of words' spellings and our image of their phonological structures' (1990:400).

A related finding with major implications for orthography design is that readers recognize words by automatically parsing words into syllables, not into morphemes (Adams 1990:121-124). This parsing is dependent upon the reader's knowledge of spelling patterns, which consists of associative connections between letters that are learned via phonological processing. One consequence for the cursive Arabic script, I believe, is that such parsing may be complicated by the existence of several allographs for the same pronounced syllable. Where there are no other constraints, the avoidance of longer, joined spellings might simplify the syllabification component of word recognition.

Adam's conclusions about the reading process do not contradict what cross-cultural literacy practitioners have advocated about orthography design; her entire

discussion assumes standardized English spellings. Two general principles continue to guide the development of spelling conventions where they have not been standardized: consistent representation of morphological affixes (Walter 1995), and maintenance of 'fixed wordimages' based on the isolation form of the word (Voorhoeve 1964:130-131, cited with reference to tone orthographies in Bird 1996:12-23). It is possible that syllabification is also complicated by allophonic-level spellings, which multiply the number of visual images associated with morphemes subject to minor surface variations. To my knowledge, however, the case for maintaining the visual consistency of words and grammatical morphemes has not been established through comparable research.

## Simons' Principles of Multidialectal Orthography Design

Simons (1994) outlines seven principles for designing an orthography that enables readers of phonologically divergent dialects to read their own Pronunciations from a single representation while maximizing the political and economic benefits of 'joining'. A multidialectal orthography represents 'levels of phonological structure at which skewed phonemic systems converge. By lifting an insistence on 'phonemic' orthographies, we may be able to discover a solution at a phonetic, morphophonemic, or fast speech level which finds agreement between all dialects, whereas the

phonemic solution would find disagreement' (1994:16). Such an orthography stands in contrast to a unidialectal orthography which corresponds only to the phonology of the most socially acceptable dialect of a language (Gudschinsky 1973). The English orthography is a prime example; its morphophonemic, deep etymological spellings unite in one representation a host of spoken varieties, some of them mutually unintelligible.

Simons proposes that, in evaluating alternative solutions in the design of a multidialectal orthography, that solution is to be preferred which (1) is the most socially acceptable; (2) is the most psycholinguistically acceptable (psychologically 'real' to speakers); (3) minimizes potential ambiguity; (4) minimizes the number of symbolized contrasts; (5) finds a level of phonological structure at which skewed systems converge; (6) symbolizes (in the unified orthography) a given phonemic contrast in one dialect when ease of reading warrants top consideration, or symbolizes another dialect's neutralization of that contrast when ease of writing warrants top consideration; and (7) entails the overall least effort for illiterates to become fluent readers:

The greater the overall effort required to master orthography, the greater is the overall cost of conducting a literacy program. This cost is realized in at least two ways: the cost of losing students and thus failing to produce readers, and the actual expense in terms of time, teachers,

and equipment required for conducting the program. The cost in terms of losing students is the more serious. Ability to succeed in becoming a fluent reader is largely governed by motivation. In a very real way, the effort required to learn can affect one's motivation. Difficulties and long periods without any seeming progress can lead to frustration and discouragement. These in turn may lead to loss of motivation and giving up. The less time and effort required to gain mastery, the greater the chances that the individual student will succeed. (Simons 1994:27)

As the phonemic inventories of Eastern and Western Gojri are virtually identical, Gojri is clearly not a classic case of the situation Simons addresses. Still, these principles might be extended to the representation of morphological differences and sub-phonemic variation. For example, I am convinced that the ‘iconic’, etymological solution considered in 3.2.2.4 for the representation of low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates is preferable to other solutions in terms of all seven criteria. Furthermore, this and other Urdu-based solutions make sense if the principles, particularly the seventh, are applied beyond the dialect differences to the broader language Environment in which Urdu predominates - that is, if Gojri and Urdu are seen as sister dialects. In that light, the ‘cost’ of producing Urdu-literate Gujjars via confidence and skill-building primary literacy in their mother-tongue is minimized to the extent that the Gojri orthography resembles Urdu. Departures from Urdu

conventions add to the student's total learning task, without adding to the resources available. While the governments and economies of English-speaking countries are able to support a literacy task that is protracted due to its orthography, South Asian governments and Gujjars themselves have no such luxury.

## Gojri Spellings

What follows is only a partial listing of spelling-related issues not already addressed in 2.6 and 3.2.2. I have not, for instance, taken time to treat each of the post-lexical processes reported in 2.5 in light of a phonemic spelling approach. The discussion below does, however, provide considerable documentation as to the scope of orthographic variation in Gojri. My purpose is to report and evaluate spelling patterns which have a bearing on the spelling of many words, and on that basis advance the discussion of the spelling of select high-frequency grammatical words. The uniquely Western spellings presented below are in use, to my knowledge, only by myself and those Western speakers who are associated with the literacy project and are not therefore indicative of any truly indigenous activity in that dialect.

## Basing a Word's Spelling on its Isolation Form

This principle can be illustrated via application to the Gojri verb 'give', which is often written with high tone as دیہ per the Pronunciation of the 'bare' singular imperative form, /dé/, and a perceived contrast with the

Urdu imperative form as well as with the Gojri /de/ ‘giant’. Writers are confused, though, when writing suffixed forms of ‘give’, since inflected forms alternate between low and level tone (see the paradigm for ‘give’ in Appendix C). The imperative, however, is not the isolation form of the Gojri verb, as it receives additional stress. The isolation form of the verb is, rather, that which occurs in the conjunctive participle construction (4.2.1.7), as is shown in (336):

(336) de de kɛ g-ī-ɔ
giant give CP go-PERF-NOM.M.SG

‘The giant gave [it to them] and went.’

Here there is no tone contrast between ‘give’ and ‘giant’; they are homophones. The approach advocated by Bird (1996), then, would spell the stem /de-/ ‘give’ as دے in all of its forms.

## Consistent Representation of Morphological Affixes

An application of the consistent representation of morphological affixes involves a post- lexical process for the infinitive suffix /-ṇ/, which is replaced with /-n/ following any retroflex sonorant (see 2.5.4). A phonetic spelling of /āṇṇɔ/ [a:ṇənɔ] ‘to bring’, therefore, is آنّنو, reflecting this replacement. A decision to represent suffixes consistently, however, would write the infinitive suffix as retroflex in all Environments, e.g. ٹنّوآ ‘to bring’.

## Words Involving Perseveratory Nasalization

Since nasalization of vowels is predictable following a nasal consonant (cf. 2.5.6), there is no need to write nasality thereby produced. This convention seems to be selectively applied in Urdu, e.g. nasality is written for /me/ 'in' but not for the ergative postposition /ne/. For example, the Gojri dative postposition /nā/ [na:~] and the postposition /mā/ [ma:~] 'in' could be written without nun gunno, ں, as نا and ما, respectively, rather than phonetically as ناں and ماں. (At present, ماں is used universally, and the two spellings of /nā/ are in free variation in Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir while only ناں occurs in publications on the Pakistan side.)

Words like /nā~/ [na:~] 'name' and /mā~/ [ma:~]'mother', which feature underlying nasality stemming from the erɔsion of a historic nasal consonant, should continue to be written with *nun gunno* after the vowel: as ناں and ماں, respectively. The underlying nasality of suffixes such as the oblique plural /-ā~/ and the feminine plural /-ī~/ (Eastern only) should not be mistaken for cases of perseveratory nasalization when following a nasal consonant - and thus written without *nun gunno*. Rather, they should be written with *nun gunno* regardless of the Environment.

## Stems Ending in Nasalized Vowels

As another application of a commitment to consistently represent morphological affixes, stems ending

in nasalized vowels would be written with *nun gunno* prior to any suffix, even if the nasality extends through a suffixed vowel in the speech of some. Two examples involving the nominative masculine singular AC suffix /-ɔ/ are shown in (337).

(337) Spellings of stems ending in a nasalized vowel (note medial form of *nun gunno*)

| | | consistent-suffix spelling | phonetic spelling |
|---|---|---|---|
| /tu̱~ɔ/ (/du̱~ɔ/) | 'smoke' | دھُونْوَ | دھُوؤں |
| /ṭhū~ɔ/ | 'scorpion' | ٹھُونْوَ | ٹھُوؤں |

## Constraints on the Employment of Vowel Diacritics

In Gojri writing, as in Urdu, the use of vowel diacritics is normally limited to the differentiation of otherwise ambiguous spellings. There is simply no need, for example, to specify that the Pronunciation of the second and third person singular PC suffix is /-ɛ rather than /-e/ by means of the superscript diacritic, zabbar. On the other hand, it may be desirable to write zabbar to distinguish such grammatical words as کے /ke/ 'what?' and کَے /kɛ/, the genitive-locative postposition, particularly in primary literacy materials.

The nominative masculine singular AC suffix /-ɔ/ is universally written without a superscript zabbar, thus neutralizing the contrast between /ɔ/ and /o/. This

practice simplifies reading and writing without introducing any ambiguities.

The neutralization of dialectal variation may be achieved through the omission of vowel diacritics in some contexts. For example, while the difference between the Eastern perfective suffix /-e/ and its Western counterpart /-ī/ could be represented by writing a subscript diacritic zer for Western forms, omitting the zer simplifies both standardization and literacy.

## Constraints on the Adoption of Urdu Spellings

The notion of an 'Urdu-based' approach to writing Gojri does not mean that every Gojri word should be spelled according to the spelling of its Urdu cognate. In the practice of conscientious, development-minded Gujjar writers, Urdu spellings are generally adopted only for stems whose Pronunciations approximate those of their Urdu counter parts. Differences in Pronunciation consisting of one or more phonetic features are intentionally represented in unique Gojri spellings. Some common examples are shown in (338).

(338) Unique Gojri spellings for words with transparent Urdu cognates

| Urdu pronunciation | Urdu spelling | Gojri pronunciation | Gojri spelling | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /kām/ | کام | /kam/ | کَم | 'work' | |
| /ačhā/ | اَچھا | /hàčhɔ/ | ہَچھو | 'good' | masc. sg. |
| /āǰ/ | آج | /aǰ/ | اَج | 'today' | |
| /kuč h/ | کُچھ | /kúǰ/ | کُجھ | 'some' | |
| /kālī/ | کالی | /kāḷī/ | کاڑی | 'black' | fem. |
| /ɔr/ | اَور | /hɔ̀r/ | ہَور | 'more' | |
| /sun/ | سُن | /suṇ/ | سُݨ | 'listen!' | |

There are exceptions to this general rule. The spellings of a few indigenous tonal words are taken from Urdu, even though they do not map precisely to Gojri Pronunciations. One common example is the negative particle /nī/, for which the Urdu spelling نہیں (Urdu /nahī~/) is utilized in Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir. The variant spelling advocated by Sabir Afaqi and utilized in Pakistan and Pakistan-Occopied Kashmir is نیہں, which precisely maps to the Gojri Pronunciation (i.e. it indicates one rather than two syllables, marks high tone with choti he placed after the vowel, and does not mark the underlying final nasality of the Urdu form). Similarly, the Gojri negative particles /nā/ and /na/ [n^ʔ`] are both written with the Urdu spelling, نہ, which would indicate the Pronunciation /ná/ if decoded alphabetically. The complementizer /ke/ occurs frequently in Gojri literature, although its Urdu spelling کہ does not indicate the level-

tone, long-vowel Pronunciation. I am uncertain whether the word itself is indigenous, however, as the allomorph /ĵe/ is more common in spoken Gojri.

While the exceptions noted above stand outside of a strict sound-symbol correspondence, they support the maintenance of fixed word images between Gojri and Urdu and thus simplify the transitional literacy task. If the Urdu spellings of these and other such words remain standard, they should be taught as sight words in Gojri primary literacy materials.

## Pronouns and Demonstratives

The standardization of pronominal and demonstrative spellings, like the standardization of tone representation, constitutes an important first step toward the establishment of a Gojri written standard. For these words, dialectal differences are surprisingly minimal, and the obstacles to standardization seem to lie exclusively between members of the Eastern-speaking community.

The spellings of Gojri pronouns and demonstratives are influenced, to varying degrees, by the spellings of Urdu pronouns. The Urdu spellings referenced below are given in Schmidt (1999:15-24).

## Nominative Forms

The spellings for first and second person nominative pronouns are shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Spellings for First and Second Person Nominative Pronouns

| | spelling | pronunciation | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg. | ہُوں | /hũ̀~/ | 'I' |
| 1pl. | ہَم | /hàm/ | 'we' |
| 2sg. | توں | /to~/ (/to/) | 'you' (cf. Urdu /tū/ 'you') |
| 2pl. | تَم | /tam/ | 'you' (cf. Urdu /tum/ 'you') |

The spellings shown in Table 28 are used invariably. The first person spellings have been appropriated directly from Urdu (the singular is taken from the Urdu present auxiliary for first person singular), while the second person spellings have been slightly adapted to reflect slight differences in Pronunciation from their Urdu equivalents.

In primary literacy materials for the Western dialect, the spelling تو might be utilized for the second singular, as it is identical to the Urdu.

The spellings for third person nominative demonstrative pronouns are shown in Table 29.

Table 29. Spellings for Third Person Nominative Demonstrative Pronouns

| | dominant | variant | pronunciation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. sg. prox. | یوہ | یو | /yó/ | ‘he, this’ |
| fem. sg. prox. | یاہ | یَہ | /yá/ | ‘she, this’ |
| masc. sg. dist. | وُہ | | /wó/ | ‘he, that’ |
| fem. sg. dist. | واہ | وَہ | /wá/ | ‘she, that’ |
| sg. dist. variant | اوہ | | /ó/ | ‘he, she, that’ |
| pl. prox. | یِہ | | /yé/ | ‘they, these’ |
| pl. dist. | ویہ | وے | /wé/ | ‘they, those’ |

Whereas Gojri distinguishes six third person nominative forms, Urdu distinguishes only two (distal and Proximate). This partially explains why the Gojri spellings are standard for only three forms: the singular distal variant /ó/, the singular distal masculine /wó/ (appropriated from the Urdu distal), and the plural Proximate /yé/ (appropriated from the Urdu Proximate). A secondary explanation is geopolitical: It has precluded productive discourse and collaborationbetween Gojri developers on opposite sides of Kashmir. Thus, the dominant forms shown for the four remaining pronominal distinctions in Table 29 are in use in Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir, while the variants mainly occur in literature produced on the Pakistan side (except for the plural distal variant, which is a secondary form in both areas).

In my opinion, the dominant forms in Table 29 are all excellent candidates for standardization. As a set they have a rough visual symmetry corresponding to the symmetry of their Pronunciations, that is, the spellings differ somewhat predictably from one another with respect to the representation of their initial, spatial-marking consonants and their gender and number-marking high-tone vowels. The feminine variants are not visually distinct enough: the singular Proximate feminine is too similar to the plural Proximate, and the singular distal feminine is too similar to its masculine counterpart, especially given the frequency with which diacritics are omitted. Likewise, the singular Proximate masculine variant is identical to the digraph often representing the final syllable of the perfective masculine singular (cf. آیو, 'he came') and the plural distal variant is identical to the common sequence /wɛ/ which occurs in many verbal forms (cf. the Eastern آوے, 'he comes').

First and Second Singular Agentive Forms

The first and second singular agentive pronominal spellings are shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Spellings for First and Second Person Singular Agentive Pronouns

| | spelling | pronunciation | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg. | میں | /mɛ~/ | ‘I [did]’ |
| 2sg. | تیں | /tɛ~/ | ‘you [did]’ |

The spellings in Table 30 are used invariably. The first person singular is appropriated from the homophonic Urdu first singular nominative, and the second person singular is spelled on the same pattern.

The nasality of the first person singular form appears to be underlying. That the nasality of both forms is likely a reduction of the agentive postposition /ne/ is suggested by the non-occurrence of /ne/ with these forms and by the free variation observed for the Western third singular forms /is ne/ and /us ne/ and their contracted allomorphs, /ise~/ and /use~/, respectively.

First and Second Person Plural Agentive and Dative Forms

The spellings for first and second person plural agentive and dative forms are shown in Table 31.

Table 31. Spellings for First and Second Person Plural Agentive and Dative

| | non-fused forms | | fused forms | | phonetic transcription |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1pl. ag. | ہَم نے | | | | [hʌ̀mɳeː~] ([hʌ̀m neː~]) ‘we [did]’ |
| 2pl. ag. | تَم نے | | | | [tʌmɳeː~] ([tʌm neː~]) ‘you [did]’ |
| 1pl. dat. | ہَم نا | ہَم ناں | ہَمنا | ہَمناں | [hʌ̀mɳaː~] (hʌ̀m naː~]) ‘to us’ |
| 2pl. dat. | تَم نا | تَم ناں | تَمنا | تَمناں | [tʌmɳaː~] ([tʌm naː~]) ‘to you’ |

The agentive forms shown in Table 31 are standard per the spellings of their Urdu equivalents. All eight of the dative spellings shown are possible in materials produced in Indian-side of Jammu and Kashmir, while in Pakistan and Pakistan- Occopied Kashmir the two rightmost spellings are prescribed and employed by Sabir Afaqi (1995:155). The total variation for each of the first and second persons derives from connecting the dative postposition /nā/ to the pronoun versus writing it separately, and writing /nā/ with nun gunno versus writing it without nun gunno.

Standardization of dative spellings depends, then, both on the standardization of a spelling for /nā/ and a decision about whether to join or separate /nā/ and the pronoun. Against joining is the fact that it introduces additional forms without conveying anything that is not already conveyed by the separated spellings which must be used whenever other words intervene. The forms thus introduced are not so readily ‘syllabified’ by the new reader/writer. In other words, joining complicates the literacy task without contributing any corresponding benefit.

In favor of joining is the possibility that it might provide a visual clue that assists Eastern readers in interpreting their own unique Pronunciation, itself a contraction of sorts (cf. 2.5.3), without steering Western readers away from their own Pronunciation. The latter might happen if Eastern phonetic spellings involving retroflex *nun* were standardized; fortunately such spellings are not in use. The potential of any such benefit for Eastern readers is diminished, however, by the existence of standard, non-fused spellings for the first and second person plural agentive forms, which involve the same Pronunciation issues (note the phonetic transcriptions in Table 31).

Singular Oblique Forms

The spellings for singular oblique pronominal forms are shown in Table 32.

Table 32. Spellings for Singular Oblique Pronouns
(first and second person are shown with dative case)

| | dominant | variant | pronunciation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg. | منّاں | منّا | /minnā/ (/mannā/) ‘to me’ |
| 2sg. | تنّاں | تنّا | /tinnā/ (/tannā/) ‘to you’ |
| 3sg. prox. | اِس | | /is/ |
| 3sg. dist. | اُس | | /us/ |

The first and second person singular forms shown in Table 32 are written as fused, because the stems /min-/ (/man-/) and /tin-/ (/tan-/) cannot occur in isolation. The spellings shown for these stems achieve neutralization of variation between Western and Eastern Pronunciations (through omission of zabbar and zer, respectively). The third person singular forms shown in Table 32 are standard in Gojri per their Urdu spellings.

The spelling variation observed for the first and second person singular forms reflects the two spellings of the dative postposition /nā/ (see 5.3.3), Standardizing نا for the spelling of /nā/ would entail adoption of the variants in Table 32, given a commitment to consistently represent morphological affixes. This would have the added advantage of avoiding the visual ambiguity between the inherently nasal oblique plural suffix /-ā~/ and the final two letters of the dominant spellings.

In Western literacy materials, the contracted third singular dative forms, /isā~/ and /usā~/, and agentive forms, /ise~/ and /use~/, can be written as fused according to their Pronunciations to reflect the suffixation of these postposition allomorphs; intervening words are not allowed.

The first and second singular oblique stems /min-/ and /tin-/ also occur with the ablative postposition /te/ in both forms of Hazara Gojri. This postposition, however, is normally written تیں /te~/ per its Pronunciation in

Kashmir. Gujjars in Pakistan proper could use the spelling تے/te/, and thus مِنتے/minte/ ‘from me’ and تِنتے/tinte/ ‘from you’ , in their own primary literacy materials. Theformer spelling, which is the better candidate for standardization, has the advantage of dissimilarity with the highfrequency particle تےَ/tɛ/ ‘and, then’, and the disadvantage of being identical with the second singular agentive تیں/te~/, whereas the situation is exactly opposite for a Hazara spelling (less the zabbar on /tɛ/).

Third Person Plural Oblique Forms

The spellings for third person plural oblique pronominal forms are shown in Table 33.

Table 33. Spellings for Third Person Plural Oblique Forms

| | bare | suffixed (dominant) | suffixed (variant) | pronunciation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3pl. prox. | اِن | اِنہاں | اِنھاں | /ɾ́n/ /ɾ́nā~/ |
| 3pl. dist. | اُن | اُنہاں | اُنھاں | /ún/ /únā~/ |

In Table 33, the suffixed forms show the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/. The spellings for the bare or non-suffixed third person plural oblique forms are identical to those for their Urdu equivalents and are therefore used universally in Gojri. The variation evident for the suffixed forms is due to variation in Urdu, where the choti he spelling is preferred to the do chasmi he spelling despite the fact that the latter ‘reflects the phonology more

accurately' (Schmidt 1999:22). The same could be said for Gojri, since do chasmi he following a voiced consonant normally indicates high tone on the preceding short vowel (cf. 3.2.2.5.2), whereas the choti he spelling does not so correspond to the Pronunciation. Both spellings occur in materials produced in Indian-Jammu and Kashmir, while only the dominant spelling is used on the Pakistan side. If the choti he spelling should become standardized on account of its dominance in Urdu, it would need to be treated as a sight word in primary Gojri literacy materials.

First and Second Person Possessive Adjectives

The spellings for first and second person possessive adjectives are shown in Table 34.

Table 34. Spellings for First and Second Person Possessive Adjectives (shown with nominative masculine singular agreement)

| | dominant | variant | pronunciation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1sg. | میرو | | /merɔ/ 'my' |
| 2sg. | تیرو | | /terɔ/ 'your' |
| 1pl. | مهارو | مہارو | /mə̀rɔ/ 'our' |
| 2pl. | تهارو | | /thə̀rɔ/ 'your' |

The spellings for the singular forms in Table 34 are appropriated from spellings of their identical Urdu stems, and are used universally. The second person plural spelling

is also universal, and its under-representation of low tone does not seem to create any ambiguity.

The first person plural has two common spellings. The dominant spelling represents low tone with do chasmi he, per the way most low-tone words beginning with stops are written in the Urdu-based approach advocated by the Cultural Academy in Srinagar. This offers the added benefit of symmetry with the second person plural spelling. The variant spelling represents low tone with choti he, consistent with the approach of those in Pakistan and Pakistan-Occopied Kashmir. The standardization of the spelling of this form hinges on resolution of the broader problem of indigenous low-tone words not related to de-aspiration, for which both do chasmi he and choti he can unambiguously represent underlying low tone ('lexical L'; see the third subsection in 3.2.2.6).

## Western Present Auxiliary and Inflections of /hò-/ 'be'

I recommend that the Western present auxiliary, /ɛ/, which is constant for all persons and numbers (cf. 4.2.1.1.5), be written as ےٕ and learned as a sight word per the Urdu and Eastern Gojri singular form, rather than spelled according to its own Pronunciation, which would yield اَے.

The spelling of the Western form of the verb be is more complicated, since the stem /hò-/ 'to be' survives only in the lower-frequency first singular. There are at

least five possible spellings for the second and third person form, /wé / [vé:] (the first person plural spellings would be identical save for the PC suffix):

(1) وھے, a phonemic spelling by analogy with the way most low-tone words are written in an Urdu-based approach to Gojri (other than those beginning with /h/);

(2) ہوے, the Eastern spelling of the full verb form, which could be taught as a sight word in which the first two letters are 'silent';

(3) وے, the spelling of the Eastern contracted form that occurs in some Academy literature (presumably its Pronunciation is also [vé:], as in Kaghani Gojri);

(4) وے, which is written without any tone marking so as to match the second syllable of the Eastern form (giving the appearance of a contraction); and

(5) ہوے, in which choti he indicates low tone and the first two characters correspond to the spelling of the historic (and Eastern and Urdu) stem /hò-/ 'to be', albeit with a different phonetic interpretation.

In my opinion, maintenance of word shape is primary and tone marking is secondary. At some point a body of literate Western stake-holders can commit to a solution that best accords with their own objectives, but perhaps adopting whatever form is standardized for the homophonous Eastern contracted form would be best (I

believe that the third and fourth spellings are presently in use).

## Treatment of Loan Words

All Persian and Arabic roots that retain some resemblance to their basic phonetic shape in spoken Gojri are written as per their spellings in Urdu, regardless of conformity to Gojri conventions (the same is true of English loans, regardless of their phonetic shape in Gojri). Two examples reflecting non-conformance to Gojri spelling patterns are شہاد /šād/ 'witness' (contra the pattern documented in 3.2.2.5.1) and بے عزتی/beztī/ 'insult' (cf. Urdu /be izatī/).

This practice is universal, to my knowledge, since such spellings are familiar towriters and make Gojri text readily accessible to Urdu-literate Gujjars. Unique Gojrispellings for loan vocabulary would significantly complicate the transitional literacy task,as students would be required to learn two spellings for every loan word.

A minor caveat to the above is the replacement of the choti he endings of masculine Perso-Arabic nouns (and Urdu, cf. Schmidt 1999:3) with Gojri AC and case-marking suffixes, regardless of homophony between Gojri plural and original singular forms. Thus, the Gojri spellings of the Perso-Arabic قاعدہ (/qāyda/ in Urdu) 'primer' are قاعدو /kāydɔ/ 'primer' and قاعدا/kāydā/ 'primers'. Similarly, the Gojri spellings of the Perso-Arabic قصّہ (/qissa/ in Urdu) 'story' are قصّو/kissɔ/ 'story' and قصّا/kissā/ 'stories'. The

replacement rule does not apply when the Urdu Pronunciation is retained in the Gojri nominative, for example, بادشاہ/bādšā/ (/bācā/) 'king'. This convention, while followed inconsistently at present, may reduce the potential for ambiguous interpretations.

## Concluding Reflections

When weighed in total, the linguistic and sociolinguistic obstacles to the standardization of Gojri are minimal, while the political barriers remain formidable. At present, printed Gojri materials do not even cross the Line of Control separating Indian side Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan-occopied Kashmir, and thus the goal of developing a literary standard seems of little consequence. But political situations change, and Gujjars will benefit by taking a long-term view. Meanwhile, the goal of universal literacy can be pursued aggressively on both sides. I have argued, in accord with the majority of Gujjar language developers, that an Urdu-based orthography for Gojri, one slightly favoring Western Pronunciation and Eastern grammar, is a key to achieving both of these goals.

It remains for all alternative orthographic solutions to be tested with new readers and Urdu-literates alike in representative locations. Ideally, such testing would be conducted by decision-makers who could translate their findings into sound proposals that will meet with acceptance. The prospects for coordinating this or any other effort between communities on both sides of the

Line of Control are bleak at the moment, as cross-border travel is banned and developers fear that cross-border correspondence might raise suspicions of collaboration with the enemy. New channels of communication could be developed over the Internet, however, between the elites of both areas. From the standpoint of both the standardization and literacy goals, the truly urgent communication matter is to promote Gojri writing among Urdu literates at the grass-roots level, not to fix spellings in the short term. My hope is that awareness of foreign interest in Gojri writing, rather than producing a paralyzing consciousness of incorrect spelling, will stimulate Gujjars to take a greater interest in writing their own language - an emerging literary language in South Asia.

# APPENDIX A

# ABBREVIATIONS AND DATA PRESENTATION

## 1. List of Abbreviations and Symbols

| | |
|---|---|
| Ø | null, no phonetic form |
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 2/3 | second and third person |
| 3 | third person |
| ABL | ablative |
| AC | adjectival concord |
| Adj P | adjective phrase |
| ADV | adverbial participle |
| Adv | adverb |
| AG, Ag, ag | agentive |
| Aux | auxiliary |
| C | consonant |
| CAUS | causative |
| CONT | continuous |
| CP | conjunctive participle |
| DAT, Dat, dat | dative |
| Dem | demonstrative |
| DIST, dist | distal |
| E | Eastern |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| F, fem | feminine |
| FUT, fut | future |
| GEN, Gen | genitive |
| Gen P | genitive phrase |
| H | high (pitch) |
| HON | honorific |
| IMPFV | imperfective |
| INDEF, indef | indefinite |
| IMPV | imperative |

| | |
|---|---|
| INF | infinitive |
| INFL | inflectional (marker) |
| interr | interrogative |
| intrans | intransitive |
| IPA | International Phonetic Alphabet |
| L | low (pitch) |
| lit. | literally |
| LOC, Loc | locative |
| μ | mora |
| M, masc | masculine |
| N | noun |
| NEG, Neg | negative |
| NOM, Nom | nominative |
| NP | noun phrase |
| OBL | oblique |
| PASS | passive |
| PC | personal concord |
| PERF | perfective |
| PFP | perfective participle |
| PL, pl | plural |
| PRES | present |
| PROX, prox | proximate |
| Quant | quantifier |
| REFL | reflexive |
| REL | relative |
| SG, sg | singular |
| QUOT | verbal quotation marker |
| σ | syllable |
| trans | transitive |
| V | verb |
| V | vowel |
| VOC | vocative case marker |
| VP | verb phrase |
| vd | voiced |
| W | Western |
| w/ | with |

## Data Presentation

Throughout this work, unique Western-dialect lexical and morphological data are shown in parentheses

to the right of Eastern forms. Wherever a single form is given, it is illustrative of both dialects. All grammatical examples not specifically identified with either the Eastern (E.) or Western (W.) dialect are illustrative of both dialects. I have tried to use such examples wherever possible. This has resulted, however, in a disproportionate number of examples with masculine subjects, due to dialect variation in the feminine agreement suffixes. Where an example is identified with one of the dialects, it varies from an equivalent utterance in the other dialect only in ways that have been described in this work, or in the choice of particular lexical items. The absence of an Eastern or Western example for any claim made for the language as a whole, therefore, reflects primarily on the limitations of space and time, not on the actual linguistic situation.

For the most part I have used the 'Standard Orientalist' transcriptional conventions for all Gojri and Urdu examples, as these conventions are predominant in the literature on Indo-Aryan (Masica 1991:xv). For phonetic transcriptions of vowels, however, I have followed the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

# APPENDIX B

## 'BAKARWAL' GOJRI PHONETIC WORD LISTS

Sub-Group Abbreviations (with respondents' seasonal locations):

ABK Allaiwal Bakarwal (respondents winter near Haripur, summer near Naran)
AMJ Allaiwal Muhajar Bakarwal (respondents winter near Khanpur, summer in Deosai)
KBK Kaghani Bakarwal (respondents winter near Kawai, summer near Besal above Naran)
KMJ Kunhari Muhajar Bakarwal (respondents winter near Jhelum, summer in Murree)

| | 1. body | 2. head | 3. hair |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | but / ˈjusəm | sɪr | baːl̩ |
| AMJ | ˈbʌdən | sɪr | bal̩ |
| KBK | but / ˈjusəm | sɪr | baːl̩ |
| KMJ | ˈbʌdən | sɪr | baːl̩ |

| | 4. face | 5. eye | 6. ear |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | mû˜ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| AMJ | mû˜ | ʌkʰ | kʌn̩ |
| KBK | mû˜ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| KMJ | mû˜ | ʌkʰ | kʌn̩ |

| | 7.nose | 8. mouth | 9. teeth |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | nʌk | mû˜ | dʌnd |
| AMJ | nʌk | mû˜ | dʌnd |
| KBK | nʌk | mû˜ | dʌnd |
| KMJ | nʌk | mû˜ | dʌnd |

| | 10. tongue | 11. breast (~chest) | 12. belly |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ǰíb | ˈsinɔ̃ | ḍĕḍ |
| AMJ | ǰíb | ˈsinɔ̃ | ḍĕḍ |
| KBK | ǰíb | ˈsinɔ̃ | ṭĕḍ |
| KMJ | ǰíb | ˈsinɔ̃ | ṭĭḍ |
| | 13. arm | 14. elbow | 15. palm |
| ABK | bẫ | ˈkuṇi̇̃ | ˈtʌḷi |
| AMJ | bẫ | ˈkuṇi̇̃ | ˈtʌḷi |
| KBK | bẫ | ˈkuṇi̇̃ | ˈtʌḷi |
| KMJ | bẫ | ˈkuṇi̇̃ | ˈtʌḷi |
| | 16. finger | 17. fingernail | 18. leg |
| ABK | ˈʌŋgəḷi | nôɔ̃ | ṭʌŋg |
| AMJ | ˈʌŋgəḷi | nỗ | ṭʌŋg / lʌt |
| KBK | ˈʌŋgəḷi | nôɔ̃ | ṭʌŋg |
| KMJ | ˈʌŋgəḷi | nû̃ | ǰâŋg |
| | 19. skin | 20. bone | 21. heart |
| ABK | ˈčʌməṛi | hàḍí | dıl |
| AMJ | ˈčaməṛi | hàḍí | dıl |
| KBK | ˈčʌməṛi | hàḍí | dıl |
| KMJ | ˈčʌməṛɔ | hàḍí | dıl |
| | 22. blood | 23. urine | 24. feces |
| ABK | rʌt | nıkɔ mut | bʌṛɔ mut |
| AMJ | rʌt | nıkɔ mut | hàgáṇ / gı |
| KBK | rʌt | nıkɔ mut | bʌṛɔ mut |
| KMJ | rʌt | nıkɔ mut | gû̃ |

| | 25. village | 26. house | 27. roof |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | gra~ | ˈḍerɔ | čʰʌt |
| AMJ | gra~ | ˈḍerɔ | čʰʌt |
| KBK | gra~ | ˈḍerɔ | čʰʌt |
| KMJ | gra~ | ˈḍerɔ | čʰʌt |

| | 28. door | 29. firewood | 30. broom |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | bûɔ | ˈlʌkəṛi | bàrí |
| AMJ | bûɔ | ˈlʌkəṛi | bàrí |
| KBK | bûɔ | ˈlʌkəṛi | bàrí |
| KMJ | bûɔ | ˈlʌkəṛi | bàrí |

| | 31. mortar | 32. pestle (stone/wood) | 33. hammer |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈlʌŋgəri | sɪlˈaṭɔ / ˈmolɔ | sʌṭʌˈkiɔ / ʌ̀ˈtʰòṛí |
| AMJ | ˈlʌŋgəri | sɪlˈaṭɔ / ˈmuŋglɔ / ˈmolɔ | ʌ̀ˈtʰòṛí |
| KBK | ˈlʌŋgəri | sɪlˈaṭɔ / ˈmulɔ | tʰòṛí |
| KMJ | ˈlʌŋgəri | sɪlˈaṭɔ / ˈmuŋglɔ | tʰòṛí |

| | 34. knife (pocket/generic) | 35. axe | 36. rope (generic/of hair) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈkaču / ˈčʰuři | gwàṛí | ˈrʌsi / ˈseli |
| AMJ | ˈčākū / ˈčʰuři | gwàṛí | ˈrʌsi / ˈseli |
| KBK | ˈkaču / ˈčʰuři | kwàṛí | ˈrʌsi / ˈseli |
| KMJ | ˈkaču / ˈčʰuři | kwàṛí | ˈrʌsi / ˈseli |

| | 37. thread (singular) | 38. needle | 39. cloth (cloth/clothing) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | dàgɔ́ | ˈsui | ˈkʌpəṛɔ / ˈčiṛʌ |
| AMJ | dàgɔ́ | ˈsui | ˈkʌpəṛɔ / ˈčiṛʌ |
| KBK | tàgɔ́ | ˈsui | ˈkʌpəṛɔ / ˈčiṛʌ |
| KMJ | tàgɔ́ | ˈsui | ˈkʌpəṛɔ / ˈčiṛʌ |

| | 40. ring | 41. sun | 42. moon |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ʌŋˈguṭʰi | dî~ | čʌn |
| AMJ | ʌŋˈguṭʰi | dî~ | čʌn |
| KBK | ʌŋˈguṭʰi | dî~ | čʌn |
| KMJ | ˈguṭʰi | dî~ | čʌn |

| | 43. sky | 44. star (singular) | 45. rain |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ʌsˈmaṇ | ˈtarɔ | ˈbarəš / mî~ |
| AMJ | ʌsˈmaṇ | ˈtarɔ | ˈbʌdəl |
| KBK | ʌsˈmaṇ | ˈtarɔ | ˈbʌdəl |
| KMJ | ʌsˈmaṇ | ˈtarɔ | ˈbʌdəl |

| | 46. water | 47. river (medium-sized) | 48. cloud |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈpaṇi~ | ˈnʌdi | jǎṛ |
| AMJ | ˈpaṇi~ | ˈnʌdi | jǎṛ |
| KBK | ˈpaṇi~ | ˈnʌdi | čǎṛ |
| KMJ | ˈpaṇi~ | ˈnʌdi | čǎṛ |

| | 49. lightning | 50. rainbow | 51. wind (generic/strong) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈčaṛək / ˈlʌskɛ | pîm | ʌ̀ˈvă / ˈčʰʌṭi / jʌ̀kʰóṛ |
| AMJ | ˈčaṛək / ˈbɪj̃li / ˈlʌskɛ | pîm | ʌ̀ˈvă / ˈčʰʌṭi / jʌ̀kʰóṛ |
| KBK | ˈčaṛək / ˈlʌškɛ | pîŋg | ʌ̀ˈvă / ˈčʰʌṭi / čʌ̀kʰóṛ |
| KMJ | ˈbɪj̃li / bɪj̃ / ˈlʌškɛ | pîŋg | ɔ̀ˈvă / ˈčʰʌṭi |

| | 52. stone | 53. path | 54. sand |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈgaṭi | râ | ret |
| AMJ | ˈgaṭi | râ | ret |
| KBK | ˈbʌṭi | râ | ret |
| KMJ | ˈgaṭi / ˈbʌṭi | râ | ret |

| | 55. fire | 56. smoke | 57. ash |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ʌg | dù~ɔ́ | swàgɔ́ |
| AMJ | ʌg | dù~ɔ́ | swàgɔ́ |
| KBK | ʌg | tù~ɔ́ | swàgɔ́ / čʰʌi |
| KMJ | ʌg | tù~ɔ́ | swàgɔ́ |

| | 58. mud | 59. dust (dust/dirt) | 60. gold |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈčɪkəɽɔ / ˈgarɔ | dùɽ / ˈmɪṭi | ˈsɔnɔ~ |
| AMJ | ˈčɪkəɽɔ | dùɽ / ˈmɪṭi | ˈsɔnɔ~ |
| KBK | ˈgarɔ | tùɽ / ˈmɪṭi | ˈsɔnɔ~ |
| KMJ | ˈgarɔ | tùɽ / ˈmɪṭi | ˈsɔnɔ~ |

| | 61. tree (generic/big) | 62. leaf | 63. root |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈbuṭɔ / rʊkʰ | ˈpʌtər | ǰâɽ |
| AMJ | ˈbuṭɔ / rʊkʰ | ˈpʌtər | ǰâɽ |
| KBK | ˈbuṭɔ / rʊkʰ | ˈpʌtər | ǰâɽ |
| KMJ | ˈbuṭɔ / rʊkʰ | ˈpʌtər | ǰâɽ |

| | 64. thorn | 65. flower | 66. fruit (generic/berries) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈkʌɳḍɔ | pʰʊl | pʰʌl / ˈme~vɔ |
| AMJ | ˈkʌɳḍɔ | pʰʊl | pʰʌl / ˈme~vɔ |
| KBK | ˈkʌɳḍɔ | pʰʊl | pʰʌḷ / ˈme~vɔ |
| KMJ | ˈkʌɳḍɔ | pʰʊl | fruṭ / ˈme~vɔ |

| | 67. mango | 68. banana | 69. wheat (huske |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ʌm | ˈkelɔ | ˈkaɳək |
| AMJ | ʌm | ˈkelɔ | ˈkaɳək |
| KBK | ʌm | ˈkelɔ | ˈkaɳək |
| KMJ | ʌm | ˈkelɔ | ˈkaɳək |

| | 70. millet (husked) *unfamiliar to respondents | 71. rice (husked) | 72. potato |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈbajərɔ | ˈčawʊl̩ | ˈʌlu |
| AMJ | ˈbajərɔ | ˈčavʌl | ˈʌlu |
| KBK | ˈbajərɔ | ˈčawl̩ | ˈalu |
| KMJ | ˈbajərɔ | ˈčavʊl | ˈalu |

| | 73. eggplant *unfamiliar to respondents | 74. groundnut | 75. chili |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈbɛŋgʊn̩ | mo~ˈpʰʌli | ˈmʌrəč |
| AMJ | ˈbɛŋgən̩ | moŋg ˈpʰʌli | ˈmʌrč |
| KBK | ˈbɛŋgʊn̩ | mo~ˈpʰʌli | ˈmʌrəč |
| KMJ | ˈpʌʈʰʌ | mʊŋg ˈpʰʌli | ˈmʌrəč |

| | 76. turmeric | 77. garlic | 78. onion |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | hx̆ld | tʰum | piaz / piaj̆ |
| AMJ | hx̆ld | tʰum | piaj̆ |
| KBK | hx̆ld | tʰuːm | peaz |
| KMJ | hx̆ld | tʰuːm | piaz / ˈgʌn̩ɖɔ |

| | 79. cauliflower | 80. tomato | 81. cabbage |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | pʰʊl ˈgopi | ʈoˈmaʈər | bʌnd ˈgopi |
| AMJ | ˈgobi | ʈoˈmaʈər | bʌnd ˈgobi |
| KBK | pʰʊl ˈgobi | ʈoˈmaʈər | bʌnd ˈgobi |
| KMJ | ˈgobi | ʈoˈmaʈər | bʌnd ˈgobi |

| | 82. oil | 83. salt | 84. meat |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | tel | luɳ | mas |
| AMJ | tel | luɳ | mas |
| KBK | tel | luɳ | mas |
| KMJ | tel | luɳ | mas |

| | 85. fat | 86. fish | 87. chicken (generic) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈčʌrbi | ˈmʌčʰi | ˈkʊkʊṛ |
| AMJ | ˈčʌrbi | ˈmʌčʰi | ˈkʊkʊṛ |
| KBK | ˈčʌrəbi / mînǰ | ˈmʌčʰi | ˈkʊkʊṛ |
| KMJ | ˈčʌrəbi | ˈmʌčʰi | ˈkʊkʊṛ |

| | 88. egg | 89. cow | 90. buffalo |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈʌṇṭəṛɔ | ga~ | mĕs |
| AMJ | ˈʌṇṭəṛɔ | ga~ | mĕs |
| KBK | ˈaṇṭəṛɔ | ga~ | mĕs |
| KMJ | ˈaṇṭəṛɔ | ga~ | mĕs |

| | 91. milk | 92. horns | 93. tail (generic/of sheep) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | dûd | sɛŋg | ˈdʊmʊṛ |
| AMJ | dûd | sɛŋg | ˈdʊmʊṛ |
| KBK | dûd | sɪŋg | ˈdʊmʊṛ / ˈpʊčʰəṛi |
| KMJ | dûd | sɛŋg | ˈdʊmʊṛ |

| | 94. goat | 95. dog | 96. snake |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈbʌkəri | ˈkʊtɔ | sʌp |
| AMJ | ˈbʌkəri | ˈkʊtɔ | sʌp |
| KBK | ˈbʌkəri | ˈkʊtɔ | sʌp |
| KMJ | ˈbʌkʰə̄ri | ˈkʊtɔ | sʌp |

| | 97. monkey | 98. mosquito | 99. ant |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈbuǰəṇɔ~ | ˈmʌčʰər | píḷɔ̀ |
| AMJ | ˈbuǰəṇɔ~ | ˈmʌčʰər | píḷɔ̀ |
| KBK | ˈbuǰəṇɔ~ | ˈmʌčʰər | píḷɔ̀ |
| KMJ | ˈbuǰəṇɔ~ | ˈmʌčʰər | píḷɔ̀ |

| | 100. spider | 101. name | 102. man (man/person) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ǰuˈlâ | na~ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ / ˈadmi~ |
| AMJ | ǰuˈlâ | na~ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ / ˈadəmi~ |
| KBK | bʌˈbîɔ | na~ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ / ˈaǰmi~ |
| KMJ | bʌˈbûɔ | na~ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ / ˈadəmi~ |

| | 103. woman | 104. child | 105. father |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | dèɳí~ | ˈǰatuk / ˈbʌčɔ | bap |
| AMJ | deàɳí~ | ˈǰatuk / ˈbʌčɔ | bap |
| KBK | teàɳí~ | ˈǰʌtk / ˈbʌčɔ | ba:p |
| KMJ | ˈbeṭki | ˈǰatuk / ˈbʌčɔ | ba:p |

| | 106. mother | 107. older brother (not for address) | 108. younger brother (not for address) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ma~ | bʌɽɔ bǎi | nɪkɔ bǎi |
| AMJ | ma~ | bʌɽɔ bǎi | nɪkɔ bǎi |
| KBK | ma~ | bʌɽɔ pǎi | nɪkɔ pǎi |
| KMJ | ma~ | bʌɽɔ pǎi | nɪkɔ pǎi |

| | 109. older sister | 110. younger sister | 111. son |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | bʌɽi béɳ | nɪki bêɳ | put |
| AMJ | bʌɽi béɳ / ˈɪdi | nɪki bêɳ | put |
| KBK | bʌɽi béɳ | nɪki bêɳ | pu:t |
| KMJ | bʌɽi béɳ | nɪki bêɳ | pu:t |

| | 112. daughter | 113. husband | 114. wife |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | dǐ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ / ˈḍerʌ àḷɔ́ | ˈḍerʌ àḷí / dèɳí |
| AMJ | dǐ / ˈbeṭki | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ | deàɳí /ˈḍerʌ àḷí/ ˈtʌbri |
| KBK | tǐ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ / ˈḍerʌ aḷɔ | ˈḍerʌ aḷi / teàɳí~ |
| KMJ | tǐ | ˈǰʌɳɔ~ | zʌˈnani~ / ˈtʌbri |

| | 115. boy | 116. girl | 117. day (daytime) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈlʊɽɔ | ˈbeʈki | diàɽí |
| AMJ | ˈlʊɽɔ | ˈbeʈki | diàɽí |
| KBK | ˈlʊɽɔ | ˈbeʈki | deàɽí |
| KMJ | ˈlʊɽɔ | ˈbeʈki | teàɽí |

| | 118. night | 119. morning | 120. noon |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | rat | ˈsʊba | dʊˈpâr |
| AMJ | rat | nɪki lɔ | dɔˈpâr |
| KBK | ra:t | ˈvʌxti | dɔˈpâɪr |
| KMJ | ra:t | nɪki lɔ | dʌˈpâr |

| | 121. evening | 122. yesterday | 123. today |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | noˈma~šʌ~ | kʌl | ʌǰ |
| AMJ | noˈma~šʌ~ | kʌl | ʌǰ |
| KBK | noˈma~šʌ~ | kʌl | ʌǰ |
| KMJ | šam | kʌl | ʌǰ |

| | 124. tomorrow | 125. week | 126. month |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈdinʌ~ | hʌ̀ftɔ́ | mìnɔ́~ |
| AMJ | ˈdinʌ~ | hʌ̀ftɔ́ | mìnɔ́~ |
| KBK | ˈdinʌ~ | hʌ̀ftɔ́ | mìnɔ́~ |
| KMJ | ˈdinʌ~ | ʌʈʰ teàɽʌ́ | mìnɔ́~ |

| | 127. year | 128. old | 129. new |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | sal / ˈsʌmɔ~ | pʊrˈaɳɔ | ˈno~ɔ |
| AMJ | sal | pʊrˈaɳɔ | ˈno~ɔ |
| KBK | sal | pʊrˈaɳɔ | ˈno~ɔ |
| KMJ | sal | pʊrˈaɳɔ | ˈno~ɔ |

| | 130. good | 131. bad | 132. wet |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | hʌ̀čʰɔ́ / ˈčʌŋgɔ / sɔ́ṇɔ̀~ | ˈmʌndɔ | bìǰíɔ |
| AMJ | hʌ̀čʰɔ́ / ˈčʌŋgɔ / sɔ́ṇɔ̀~ | ˈmʌndɔ | bìǰíɔ |
| KBK | hʌ̀čʰɔ́ / ˈčʌŋgɔ / sɔ́ṇɔ̀~ | ˈmʌndɔ | pìjéɔ |
| KMJ | hʌ̀čʰɔ́ / ˈčʌŋgɔ / sɔ́ṇɔ̀~ | ˈmʌndɔ | pìjéɔ |

| | 133. dry | 134. long | 135. short/little/low |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈsʊkɔ | ˈlʌmɔ~ | ˈčʰoṭɔ/ˈnɪkɔ/ˈmʌndrɔ |
| AMJ | ˈsʊkɔ | ˈlʌmɔ~ | ˈčʰoṭɔ/ˈnɪkɔ/ˈmʌndərɔ |
| KBK | ˈsʊkɔ | ˈlʌmɔ~ | ˈčʰoṭɔ/ˈnɪkɔ/ˈmʌndrɔ |
| KMJ | ˈsʊkɔ | ˈlʌmɔ~ | ˈnɪkɔ/ˈnɪkɔ/ˈmʌndrɔ |

| | 136. hot | 137. cold | 138. right |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈtʌpiɔ/ˈtʌtɔ/ˈgʌrəm | ˈṭʰʌṇḍɔ | ˈsʌǰɔ |
| AMJ | ˈtʌti | ˈṭʰʌṇḍɔ | ˈsʌǰɔ |
| KBK | ˈtʌpeɔ vɔ / ˈgʌrəm | ˈṭʰʌṇḍɔ | ˈsʌǰɔ |
| KMJ | ˈtʌpeɔ βɔ | ˈṭʰʌṇḍɔ | ˈsʌǰɔ |

| | 139. left | 140. near | 141. far |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈkʰʌbɔ | ˈneṛɛ | dur |
| AMJ | ˈkʰʌbɔ | ˈneṛɛ | dur |
| KBK | ˈkʰʌbɔ | ˈneṛɛ | dur |
| KMJ | ˈkʰʌbɔ | ˈneṛɛ | dur |

| | 142. big | 143. small | 144. heavy |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈbʌɾɔ | ˈnɪkɔ | bàrɔ́ |
| AMJ | ˈbʌɾɔ | ˈnɪkɔ | bàrɔ́ |
| KBK | ˈbʌɾɔ | ˈnɪkɔ | pàrɔ́ |
| KMJ | ˈbʌɾɔ | ˈnɪkɔ | pàrɔ́ |

| | 145. light | 146. above | 147. below |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | hòl̪ɔ́ / lô kɔ | ˈupʊr | tê / ˈtʌl̪ɛ / hĕt̪ʰ/ ˈtʌɳʌ~ |
| AMJ | hòlɔ́ | ˈupʊr | ˈtʌlɛ / hĕt̪ʰ/ ˈtʌɳʌ~ |
| KBK | hòl̪ɔ́ / lô kɔ | ˈʌpʊr | tê / ˈtʌl̪ɛ / hĕt̪ʰ/ ˈtʌɳʌ~ |
| KMJ | hòl̪ɔ́ | ˈʌpʊr | ˈtʌl̪ɛ / hèt̪ʰ/ ˈtʌɳʌ~ |

| | 148. white | 149. black | 150. red |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈčɪt̪ɔ | ˈkal̪ɔ | ˈrʌtɔ |
| AMJ | ˈčɪt̪ɔ | ˈkal̪ɔ | ˈrʌtɔ |
| KBK | ˈčɪt̪ɔ | ˈkal̪ɔ | ˈrʌtɔ |
| KMJ | ˈčɪt̪ɔ | ˈkal̪ɔ | ˈrʌtɔ |

| | 151. one (only the first variant used in counting) | 152. two | 153. three |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ek / ɪk | do | trɛ |
| AMJ | ek | do | trɛ |
| KBK | ek / ɪk | do | trɛ |
| KMJ | ek / ɪk | do | trɛ |

| | 154. four | 155. five | 156. six |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | čar | pʌnj̆ | č$^{h}$e |
| AMJ | čar | pʌnj̆ | č$^{h}$e |
| KBK | čar | pʌnj̆ | č$^{h}$e |
| KMJ | čar | pʌnj̆ | č$^{h}$e |

| | 157. seven | 158. eight | 159. nine |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | sʌt | ʌt̪$^{h}$ | no~ |
| AMJ | sʌt | ʌt̪$^{h}$ | no~ |
| KBK | sʌt | ʌt̪$^{h}$ | no~ |
| KMJ | sʌt | ʌt̪$^{h}$ | no~ |

| | 160. ten | 161. eleven | 162. twelve |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | dâ / dʌs | ˈyarʌ~ | ˈbarʌ~ |
| AMJ | dʌs | ˈyarʌ~ | ˈbarʌ~ |
| KBK | dʌs | ˈyarʌ~ | ˈbarʌ~ |
| KMJ | dʌs | ˈyarʌ~ | ˈbarʌ~ |

| | 163. twenty | 164. one hundred | 165. who |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | bî | sɔ | kɔṇ |
| AMJ | bî | sɔ | kɔṇ |
| KBK | bî | sɔ | kɔṇ |
| KMJ | bî | sɔ | kɔṇ |

| | 166. what | 167. where / to where | 168. when |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ke | kɪt / ˈkɪŋgʌ | kʌd |
| AMJ | ke | kɪt / ˈkɪŋgʌ | kʌd |
| KBK | ke | kɪt / ˈkɪŋgʌ / kî~ʌ | kʌd |
| KMJ | ke | kɪt / ˈkɪŋgʌ | kʌd |

| | 169. how many | 170. what thing | 171. this (fem./ masc.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈkɪtənʌ~ | ke šɛ | yʌ̂ / yô |
| AMJ | ˈkɪtənʌ~ | ke šɛ / ke čiz | yʌ̂ / yô |
| KBK | ˈkɪtənʌ~ | ke šɛ | yʌ̂ / yô |
| KMJ | ˈkɪtənʌ~ | ke čiz | yʌ̂ / yô |

| | 172. that (fem. / masc.) | 173. these | 174. those |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | vʌ̂ / βô (ô) | yê | vê |
| AMJ | vʌ̂ / βô | yê | vê |
| KBK | vʌ̂ / βô (ô) | yê | vê |
| KMJ | vʌ̂ / βô | yê | vê |

| | 175. same | 176. different | 177. whole (~entire) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ek rʌŋg / ˈbrabʊr | ˈkʌni~ ˈkʌni~ | ˈsarɔ/ˈsabʊt/ˈsalɪm/ˈpurɔ |
| AMJ | ek šan / ˈbrabʊr | bʌk bʌk | ˈsarɔ/ˈsabʊt/ˈsalɪm/ˈpurɔ |
| KBK | ek rʌŋg / ˈbrabʊr | ˈkʌni~ ˈkʌni~ | ˈsarɔ/ˈsalɪm/ˈpurɔ |
| KMJ | ek rʌŋg / ˈbrabʊr | ˈkʌni~ ˈkʌni~ | ˈsarɔ/ˈsabʊt/ˈpuro |

| | 178. broken | 179. few (~a little) | 180. many |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈpʰʊṭɔ | ˈtʰoṛɔ / gǎṭ | mʊč |
| AMJ | ˈpʰʊṭɔ | ˈtʰoṛɔ / gǎṭ | mʊč |
| KBK | ˈpʰʊṭɛɔ vɔ | ˈtʰoṛɔ / kǎṭ | mʊč |
| KMJ | ˈṭuṭɔ βɔ | ˈtʰoṛɔ / kǎṭ | mʊč |

| | 181. all | 182. eat! | 183. [the dog] bit |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | ˈsarʌ | kʰa | kʰa lɪɔ / lʌṛ gɪɔ |
| AMJ | ˈsarʌ | kʰa | kʰa lɪɔ |
| KBK | ˈsarʌ | kʰa | kʰa lɪɔ / lʌṛ gɪɔ |
| KMJ | ˈsarʌ | kʰa | kʰa lɪɔ |

| | 184. [he is] hungry | 185. drink! | 186. [he is] thirsty |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | bʊ̀kʰɔ́ | pi | tɪs lʌgɛ |
| AMJ | bʊ̀kʰɔ́ | pi | tɪs lʌgɛ / tʌˈsayɔ |
| KBK | pʊ̀kʰɔ́ | pi | tɪs lʌgɛ |
| KMJ | pʊ̀kʰɔ́ | pɪ | tɪs lʌgɛ |

| | 187. sleep! | 188. lay down! | 189. sit! |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | so | pɛ rɔ̂ / lʌmɔ~ hŏ | bɛs |
| AMJ | so rɔ̂ | pɛ rɔ̂ | bɛs rɔ̂ |
| KBK | so | lʌmɔ~ hŏ | bɛs |
| KMJ | so rɔ̂ | lʌmɔ~ hŏ | bɛs ja |

| | 190. give! | 191. burn [wood]! | 192. [the man] die |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | de | saṛ | mʌr giɔ |
| AMJ | de | saṛ / baḷ | mʌr giɔ |
| KBK | dê | saṛ | mʌr giɔ |
| KMJ | de | baḷ | mʌr giɔ |

| | 193. kill! | 194. fly! | 195. walk! |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | mar | ʊḍ | ṭʊr |
| AMJ | mar | ʊḍ | ṭʊr |
| KBK | mar | ʊḍ | ṭʊr |
| KMJ | mar | ʊḍ | ṭʊr |

| | 196. run! | 197. go! | 198. come! |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | dɔṛ | čʌl | a / a ja |
| AMJ | dɔṛ | čʌl | a |
| KBK | dɔṛ | čʌl | a / a ja |
| KMJ | dɔṛ | čʌl | ˈɪŋga a |

| | 199. speak! / say! | 200. listen! | 201. look! |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | bol / kô | suṇ | dek$^{h}$ / hĕr |
| AMJ | bol / kô | suṇ | dek$^{h}$ / hĕr |
| KBK | bol / kô | suṇ | hĕr / dek$^{h}$ |
| KMJ | bol / kô | suṇ | dek$^{h}$ |

| | 202. I | 203. you (informal) | 204. you (formal) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | hŭ~ | to | to |
| AMJ | hŭ~ | to | tʌm |
| KBK | hŭ~ | to~ | tʌm |
| KMJ | hŭ~ | tu | tʌm |

| | 205. he (dist/prox) | 206. she | 207. we (inclusive) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | βô / yô | vâ / yâ | hǎm |
| AMJ | βô / yô | vâ / yâ | hǎm |
| KBK | βô / yô ( ô ) | vâ / yâ | hǎm |
| KMJ | βô / yô | vâ / yâ | hǎm |

| | 208. we (exclusive) | 209. you (plural) | 210. they (dist / prox) |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABK | hǎm | tʌm | vê / yê |
| AMJ | hǎm | tʌm | vê / yê |
| KBK | hǎm | tʌm | vê / yê |
| KMJ | hǎm | tʌm | vê / yê |

## APPENDIX C

## GOJRI VERBAL PARADIGMS

Tables 35-50 present one complete verbal paradigm for each of the level-tone and high-tone long vowels in which a verb stem may end (ordered from close to open, with high-tone vowels following their level-tone counterparts): /ī/, /ɛ/, /o/, /ó/, /ɛ/, /ɛ́/, /ā/, and /ā/ (for /hò-/ ‘be’, the underlying tone is associated with /h/, not with the vowel). The inflections given for each verb are representative of the regular inflections of other verbs ending in the same vowel as that verb. The regular inflections for each level-tone and high-tone vowel pair are apparently identical, but for reference I have included paradigms for both members of each pair. Stem-final /ɛ/ is attested in my data only by the irregular verb /pɛ-/ ‘fall’ given in tables 43 and 44 .

Tables 51-58 present the high-frequency verbs give, be, do, and give, whose paradigms show irregular inflections.

For each of the paradigms, unique Western forms are given in parentheses.

Table 35. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɪ̄/: /pɪ̄-/ ‘drink’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | pī- | | -ū~ | pī ū~ |
| | 1pl. | pī- | | -ā~ | pīā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | pī- | | -ɛ | pīɛ |
| | 2pl. | pī- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | pīɔ (pīɛ) |
| | 3pl. | pī- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | pīɛ~ (pīɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | pī- | -s | -ū~ | pīsū~ |
| | 1pl. | pī- | -s | -ā~ | pīsā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | pī- | -s | -ɛ | pīsɛ |
| | 2pl. | pī- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | pīsɔ (pīsɛ) |
| | 3pl. | pī- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | pīsɛ~ (pīsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | pī- | | Ø | pī |
| | 2pl. | pī- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | pīɔ (pīɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | pī- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | pīe (pī~e) |
| | 2pl. | pī- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | pīɔ (pī~ɔ~) |

Table 36. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ī/: /pī-/ ‘drink’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | pī- | -t | -ɔ | pītɔ |
| | m.pl. | pī- | -t | -ā | pītā |
| | f.sg. | pī- | -t | -ī | pītī |
| | f.pl. | pī- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | pītī~ (pītī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | pī- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | pīɔ |
| | m.pl. | pī- | -e (-ī) | -ā | pīā |
| | f.sg. | pī- | -e (-ī) | -ī | pī |
| | f.pl. | pī- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | pī~ (pī) |

Table 37. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɛ/: /le/ ‘take’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | le- | | -ū~ | līū~ |
| | 1pl. | le- | | -ā~ | leā~ (līā~) |
| | 2/3sg. | le- | | -e | leɛ (līɛ) |
| | 2pl. | le- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | leɔ (līɛ) |
| | 3pl. | le- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | le~ (līɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | le- | -s | -ū~ | lesū~ |
| | 1pl. | le- | -s | -ā~ | lesā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | le- | -s | -e | lesɛ |
| | 2pl. | le- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | lesɔ (lesɛ) |
| | 3pl. | le- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | lesɛ~ (lesɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | le- | | Ø | le |
| | 2pl. | le- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | leɔ (līɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | le- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | laīe (laī~e) |
| | 2pl. | le- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | laīɔ (laī~ɔ~) |

Table 38: Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɛ/: /le-/ ‘take’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | le- | -t | -ɔ | letɔ |
| | m.pl. | le- | -t | -ā | letā |
| | f.sg. | le- | -t | -ī | letī |
| | f.pl. | le- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | letī~ (letī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | le- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | lītɔ |
| | m.pl. | le- | -e (-ī) | -ā | lītā |
| | f.sg. | le- | -e (-ī) | -ī | laī |
| | f.pl. | le- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | laī~ (laī) |

Table 39. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /o/: /kho-/ ‘pick’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | kho- | | -ū~ | khoū~ |
| | 1pl. | kho- | | -ā~ | khoā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | kho- | | -ɛ | khoɛ |
| | 2pl. | kho- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | khoɔ (khoɛ) |
| | 3pl. | kho- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | khoɛ~ (khoɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | kho- | -s | -ū~ | khosū~ |
| | 1pl. | kho- | -s | -ā~ | khosā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | kho- | -s | -ɛ | khosɛ |
| | 2pl. | kho- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | khosɔ (khosɛ) |
| | 3pl. | kho- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | khosɛ~ (khosɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | kho- | | Ø | kho |
| | 2pl. | kho- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | khoɔ (kho~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | kho- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | khoīe (khoī~e) |
| | 2pl. | kho- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | khoīɔ (khoī~ɔ~) |

Table 40. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: Stem Ends in /o/: /kho-/ ‘pick’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | kho- | -t | -ɔ | khotɔ |
| | m.pl. | kho- | -t | -ā | khotā |
| | f.sg. | kho- | -t | -ī | khotī |
| | f.pl. | kho- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | khotī~ (khotī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | kho- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | khoeɔ |
| | m.pl. | kho- | -e (-ī) | -ā | khoeā |
| | f.sg. | kho- | -e (-ī) | -ī | khoī |
| | f.pl. | kho- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | khoī~ (khoī) |

The inflections shown for /kho-/ in tables 39 and 40 are identical to those for /rɔ-/'cry' and /so-/ 'sleep', except where they show irregular perfects; for example, /rūṇī/ 'she cried', /suttĪ/ 'she slept'.

Table 41. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ó/: /kó/ 'slaughter'

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | kó- | | -ū~ | kóū~ |
| | 1pl. | kó- | | -ā~ | kóā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | kó- | | -ɛ | kóɛ |
| | 2pl. | kó- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | kóɔ (kóɛ) |
| | 3pl. | kó- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | kóɛ~ (kóɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | kó- | -s | -ū~ | kósū~ |
| | 1pl. | kó- | -s | -ā~ | kósā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | kó- | -s | -ɛ | kósɛ |
| | 2pl. | kó- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | kósɔ (kósɛ) |
| | 3pl. | kó- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | kósɛ~ (kósɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | kó- | | Ø | kó |
| | 2pl. | kó- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | kóɔ (kó~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | kó- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | kóīe (kóī~e) |
| | 2pl. | kó- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | kóīɔ (kóī~ɔ~) |

Table 42. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ó/: /kó-/ ‘slaughter’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | kó- | -t | -ɔ | kótɔ |
| | m.pl. | kó- | -t | -ā | kótā |
| | f.sg. | kó- | -t | -ī | kótī |
| | f.pl. | kó- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | kótī~ (kótī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | kó- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | kóeɔ |
| | m.pl. | kó- | -e (-ī) | -ā | kóeā |
| | f.sg. | kó- | -e (-ī) | -ī | kóī |
| | f.pl. | kó- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | kóī~ (kóī) |

Table 43. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɛ/: /pɛ-/ ‘fall’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | pɛ- | | -ū~ | --- |
| | 1pl. | pɛ- | | -ā~ | --- |
| | 2/3sg. | pɛ- | | -ɛ | poɛ (pɛ) |
| | 2pl. | pɛ- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | --- |
| | 3pl. | pɛ- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | poɛ~ (pɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | pɛ- | -s | -ū~ | --- |
| | 1pl. | pɛ- | -s | -ā~ | --- |
| | 2/3sg. | pɛ- | -s | -e | pɛsɛ |
| | 2pl. | pɛ- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | --- |
| | 3pl. | pɛ- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | pɛsɛ~ (pɛsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | pɛ- | | Ø | --- |
| | 2pl. | pɛ- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | --- |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | pɛ- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | --- |
| | 2pl. | pɛ- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | --- |

The Eastern Unspecified Habitual forms shown in Table 43 are identical to those for /po-/ ‘bead.’

Table 44. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɛ/: /pɛ-/ ‘fall’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | pɛ- | -t | -ɔ | pɛtɔ |
| | m.pl. | pɛ- | -t | -ā | pɛtā |
| | f.sg. | pɛ- | -t | -ī | pɛtī |
| | f.pl. | pɛ- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | pɛtī~ (pɛtī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | pɛ- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | peɔ (pīɔ) |
| | m.pl. | pɛ- | -e (-ī) | -ā | peā (pīā) |
| | f.sg. | pɛ- | -e (-ī) | -ī | páī |
| | f.pl. | pɛ- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | páī~ (páī) |

The Western masculine perfects shown in Table 44 are identical to those for /pī-/ ‘drink.’

Table 45. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɛ́/: /rɛ́-/ ‘stay’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | rɛ́- | | -ū~ | rɛ́ū~ |
| | 1pl. | rɛ́- | | -ā~ | rɛ́ā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | rɛ́- | | -ɛ | rɛ́ |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | rɔ́ (rɛ́) |
| | 3pl. | rɛ́- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | rɛ́~ (rɛ́) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | rɛ́- | -s | -ū~ | rɛ́sū~ |
| | 1pl. | rɛ́- | -s | -ā~ | rɛ́sā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | rɛ́- | -s | -ɛ | rɛ́sɛ |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | rɛ́sɔ (rɛ́sɛ) |
| | 3pl. | rɛ́- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | rɛ́sɛ~ (rɛ́sɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | rɔ́- | | Ø | rɔ́ |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | rɔ́ (rɔ́~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | rɛ́- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | rɛ́īe (rɛ́ī~e) |
| | 2pl. | rɛ́- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | rɛ́īɔ (rɛ́ī~ɔ~) |

Table 46. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ɛ́/: /rɛ́-/ ‘stay’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | ré- | -t | -ɔ | rétɔ |
| | m.pl. | ré- | -t | -ā | rétā |
| | f.sg. | ré- | -t | -ī | rétī |
| | f.pl. | ré- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | rétī~ (rétī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | ré- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | réɔ (rḗɔ) |
| | m.pl. | ré- | -e (-ī) | -ā | réā (rḗā) |
| | f.sg. | ré- | -e (-ī) | -ī | ráī |
| | f.pl. | ré- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | ráī~ (ráī) |

The inflections shown above for /ré-/ are identical to those for /ké-/ ‘say’ and /lé-/ ‘get down’ except where the latter shows irregular perfects, e.g. /latthɔ/ ‘(he) got down.’

Table 47. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ā/: /ā-/ ‘come’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | ā- | | -ū~ | āū~ |
| | 1pl. | ā- | | -ā~ | āwā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | ā- | | -ɛ | āwɛ (āɛ) |
| | 2pl. | ā- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | āwɔ (āɛ) |
| | 3pl. | ā- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | āwɛ~ (āɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | ā- | -s | -ū~ | āsū~ |
| | 1pl. | ā- | -s | -ā~ | āsā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | ā- | -s | -ɛ | āsɛ |
| | 2pl. | ā- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | āsɔ (āsɛ) |
| | 3pl. | ā- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | āsɛ~ (āsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | ā- | | ∅ | ā |
| | 2pl. | ā- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | āwɔ (āɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | ā- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | āīe (āī~e) |
| | 2pl. | ā- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | āīɔ (āī~ɔ~) |

Table 48. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ā/: /ā-/ ‘come’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | ā- | -t | -ɔ | ātɔ |
| | m.pl. | ā- | -t | -ā | ātā |
| | f.sg. | ā- | -t | -ī | ātī |
| | f.pl. | ā- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | ātī~ (ātī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | ā- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | āeɔ |
| | m.pl. | ā- | -e (-ī) | -ā | āeā |
| | f.sg. | ā- | -e (-ī) | -ī | āī |
| | f.pl. | ā- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | āī~ (āī) |

The inflections shown for /ā-/ in tables 47 and 48 are identical to those for /čā-/ ‘lift’ and the defective verb /jā-/ ‘go’ (which is never a main verb in my data).

Table 49. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ā/: /lā-/ 'take off'

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | lā́- | | -ū~ | lā́ū~ |
| | 1pl. | lā́- | | -ā~ | lā́wā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | lā́- | | -ɛ | lā́wɛ |
| | 2pl. | lā́- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | lā́wɔ (lā́ɛ) |
| | 3pl. | lā́- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | lā́wɛ~ (lā́ɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | lā́- | -s | -ū~ | lā́sū~ |
| | 1pl. | lā́- | -s | -ā~ | lā́sā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | lā́- | -s | -ɛ | lā́sɛ |
| | 2pl. | lā́- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | lā́sɔ (lā́sɛ) |
| | 3pl. | lā́- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | lā́sɛ~ (lā́sɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | lā́- | | Ø | lā́ |
| | 2pl. | lā́- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | lā́wɔ (lā́ɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | lā́- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | lā́īe (lā́ī~e) |
| | 2pl. | lā́- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | lā́īɔ (lā́ī~ɔ~) |

Table 50. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ā/: /lā-/ 'take off'

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | lā́- | -t | -ɔ | lā́tɔ |
| | m.pl. | lā́- | -t | -ā | lā́tā |
| | f.sg. | lā́- | -t | -ī | lā́tī |
| | f.pl. | lā́- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | lā́tī~ (lā́tī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | lā́- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | lā́eɔ |
| | m.pl. | lā́- | -e (-ī) | -ā | lā́eā |
| | f.sg. | lā́- | -e (-ī) | -ī | lā́ī |
| | f.pl. | lā́- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | lā́ī~ (lā́ī) |

Table 51. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /de-/ ‘give’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | de- | | -ū~ | dī ū~ |
| | 1pl. | de- | | -ā~ | deā~ (dīā~) |
| | 2/3sg. | de- | | -ɛ | deɛ (dīɛ) |
| | 2pl. | de- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | déɔ (dīɛ) |
| | 3pl. | de- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | dé~ (dīɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | de- | -s | -ū~ | desū~ |
| | 1pl. | de- | -s | -ā~ | desā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | de- | -s | -ɛ | desɛ |
| | 2pl. | de- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | desɔ (desɛ) |
| | 3pl. | de- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | desɛ~ (desɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | de- | | Ø | dé |
| | 2pl. | de- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | déɔ (dīɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | de- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɛ | dáīe (dáī~e) |
| | 2pl. | de- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | dáīɔ (dáī~ɔ~) |

All high tone markings shown in Table 51 are tentative. High tone cannot be lexical for this verb since it never occurs in the bare-stem conjunctive participle (see 5.3.1).

Table 52. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /de-/ ‘give’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | de- | -t | -ɔ | detɔ |
| | m.pl. | de- | -t | -ā | detā |
| | f.sg. | de- | -t | -ī | detī |
| | f.pl. | de- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | detī~ (detī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | de- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | dittɔ (dīttɔ) |
| | m.pl. | de- | -e (-ī) | -ā | dittā (dīttā) |
| | f.sg. | de- | -e (-ī) | -ī | dittī |
| | f.pl. | de- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | dittī~ (dittī) |

Table 53. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /hò-/ ‘be’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | hò- | | -ū~ | hòū~ |
| | 1pl. | hò- | | -ā~ | hòwā~ (wã̀~) |
| | 2/3sg. | hò- | | -ɛ | hòwɛ (wè) |
| | 2pl. | hò- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | hòwɔ (wè) |
| | 3pl. | hò- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | hòwɛ~ (wè) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | hò- | -s | -ū~ | hòsū~ |
| | 1pl. | hò- | -s | -ā~ | hòsā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | hò- | -s | -ɛ | hòsɛ |
| | 2pl. | hò- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | hòsɔ (hòsɛ) |
| | 3pl. | hò- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | hòsɛ~ (hòsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | hò- | | ∅ | hò |
| | 2pl. | hò- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | hòwɔ (hò~w) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | hò- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | hòīe (hòī~e) |
| | 2pl. | hò- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | hòīɔ (hòī~ɔ~) |

Table 54. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /hò-/ ‘be’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | hò- | -t | -ɔ | hòtɔ |
| | m.pl. | hò- | -t | -ā | hòtā |
| | f.sg. | hò- | -t | -ī | hòtī |
| | f.pl. | hò- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | hòtī~ (hòtī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | hò- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | hòeɔ / hūɔ |
| | m.pl. | hò- | -e (-ī) | -ā | hòeā / hu̍ā |
| | f.sg. | hò- | -e (-ī) | -ī | hòī / hu̍ī |
| | f.pl. | hò- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | hòī~ (hòī) |

In Table 54, the right-most perfective variants which are not in parentheses occur only in Eastern speech varieties.

Table 55. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /kar/ 'do'

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | kar- | | -ū~ | karū~ |
| | 1pl. | kar- | | -ā~ | karā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | kar- | | -ɛ | karɛ |
| | 2pl. | kar- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | karɔ (karɛ) |
| | 3pl. | kar- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | karɛ~ (karɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | kar- | -s | -ū~ | karsū~ |
| | 1pl. | kar- | -s | -ā~ | karsā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | kar- | -s | -ɛ | karsɛ |
| | 2pl. | kar- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | karsɔ (karsɛ) |
| | 3pl. | kar- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | karsɛ~ (karsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | kar- | | Ø | kar |
| | 2pl. | kar- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | karɔ (karɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | kar- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | karīe (karī~e) |
| | 2pl. | kar- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | karīɔ (karī~ɔ~) |

Table 56. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /kar-/ ‘do’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | kar- | -t | -ɔ | kartɔ |
| | m.pl. | kar- | -t | -ā | kartā |
| | f.sg. | kar- | -t | -ī | kartī |
| | f.pl. | kar- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | kartī~ (kartī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | kar- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | kareɔ (karīɔ) / kīɔ |
| | m.pl. | kar- | -e (-ī) | -ā | kareā (karīā) / kīā |
| | f.sg. | kar- | -e (-ī) | -ī | karī / kī (kaī) |
| | f.pl. | kar- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | karī~ (karī) / kī~ (kī) (kaī) |

Table 57. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /čal-/ ‘go’

| | | Stem | (Tense) | PC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unspecified Habitual | 1sg. | čal- | | -ū~ | čalū~ |
| | 1pl. | čal- | | -ā~ | čalā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | čal- | | -ɛ | čalɛ |
| | 2pl. | čal- | | -ɔ (-ɛ) | čalɔ (čalɛ) |
| | 3pl. | čal- | | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | čalɛ~ (čalɛ) |
| Negated Future | 1sg. | čal- | -s | -ū~ | čalsū~ |
| | 1pl. | čal- | -s | -ā~ | čalsā~ |
| | 2/3sg. | čal- | -s | -ɛ | čalsɛ |
| | 2pl. | čal- | -s | -ɔ (-ɛ) | čalsɔ (čalsɛ) |
| | 3pl. | čal- | -s | -ɛ~ (-ɛ) | čalsɛ~ (čalsɛ) |
| Present Imperative | 2sg. | čal- | | Ø | čal |
| | 2pl. | čal- | | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | čalɔ (čalɔ~) |
| Future Imperative | 2sg. | čal- | -ī (-ī~) | -e | čalīe (čalī~e) |
| | 2pl. | čal- | -ī (-ī~) | -ɔ (-ɔ~) | čalīɔ (čalī~ɔ~) |

Table 58. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /čal-/ ‘go’

| | | Stem | Aspect | AC | Full form |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Habitual (Negated) | m.sg. | čal- | -t | -ɔ | čaltɔ |
| | m.pl. | čal- | -t | -ā | čaltā |
| | f.sg. | čal- | -t | -ī | čaltī |
| | f.pl. | čal- | -t | -ī~ (-ī) | čaltī~ (čaltī) |
| Unspecified Perfective | m.sg. | ------- | -e (-ī) | -ɔ | gīɔ (gīɔ) |
| | m.pl. | ------- | -e (-ī) | -ā | gīā |
| | f.sg. | ------- | -e (-ī) | -ī | gaī |
| | f.pl. | ------- | -e (-ī) | -ī~ (-ī) | gaī~ (gaī) |

## NOTES

1. The transliteration *Gojri* reflects the Eastern Pronunciation /gojarī/ of Gujjar language developers (and so Sharma 1979, 1982) while *Gojri* reflects the Western Pronunciation /gujarī/ (so Grierson 1973 (c1903); most other writers).

2. For example, compare the discussion and references in Hallberg and O'Leary (1992:94-96) to Khatana's conclusions (1992:52-53).

3. My source for this information and Gojri data from the Muzaffarabad area is Professor Sabir Afaqi, Ph.D, whom I interviewed in Abbottabad December 13-15, 2000.

4. Weber (1994) reviews the relevant literature while building a strong case for a Hispanic (Spanish-based) orthography for Quechua. The quotes by Walker and D'Emilio in this section are taken from pages 97 and 96 of the English version of his book, respectively.

5. That the major division within the nomadic Bakarwal community might correlate with a linguistic division that mirrors the East-West dialect division among settled Gujjars is a hypothesis suggested when a passage in Kathana is read in light of the sociolinguistic survey conclusions:

> ... the Gujjar Bakarwals distinguish themselves also as *Kunhari Gujjar Bakarwals* and *Illahiwal Gujjar*

> *Bakarwals*. They derive these epithets from the name of the areas to which their ancestors belonged before they migrated to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The *Kunhari* Gujjar Bakarwals claim that their ancestors came from the valley of Kunhar. The Kunhar valley lies in the region of Kagan consisting of the tributaries of the Kunhar, the Bogarmang, the Konash, and the Saran river valleys ... The *Illahiwal* Gujjar Bakarwals claim that their ancestors came from the region of Illahiwal, consisting of the tributaries of the Nandhar, the Rajawari, the Kaladhaka, the Kohistan and the Swat (Pakistan) valleys (1992:52; italics and spellings his).

The linguistic evidence supporting this hypothesis includes the fact that the historicvoiced aspirates (see 3.1.2.4) remain voiced in the *Allaiwal Bakarwal* subdialect, the*Allaiwal Bakarwal Muhajar* subdialect, and in the Western varieties reported in Hallbergand O'Leary (1992); while these segments are voiceless in the *Kaghani Bakarwal*subdialect, the *Kunhari Bakarwal Muhajar* subdialect, and in the Eastern varietiesreported in Hallberg and O'Leary. See the lexical data given in Appendix B for wordnumbers 12, 35, 37, 48, 56, 59, 107-108, 112, 117, 132, 144, and 179. Words 51 and 103provide further evidence, albeit by means of partial data sets.

6. In November 2000, this assistant administered a written morphological questionnaire (eliciting translations of select Eastern sentences) to twelve Gujjar men in various

parts of Swat, the results of which, together with Grierson's data, confirm that Allaiwal morphology is indeed representative of the broader Western dialect.

Interestingly, however, some Gojri words containing /ɔ/ like /pćč/ 'arrive!' have an /a/ + /u/ Urdu cognate, i.e. /pahunč/.

1. The labels 'low tone', 'high tone', and 'mid tone' are used at points in the present work, per usage by Sharma, Masica (r.e. Punjabi; 1991:118), and those he cites. These tones are marked in my phonemic transcriptions according to the orientalist transcription of Punjabi tone (Masica 1991:205).

2. The analysis here is with reference to the concepts and apparatus of Autosegmental Phonology (for an introduction to this theory, see Goldsmith (1990) and Gussenhoven & Jacobs (1998)).

3. One possible strategy for solving the ambiguities noted here would involve placing a vowel diacritic on *choti he* in the case of words with low-rising pitch, and on the consonant preceding *choti he* in the case of words with high-falling pitch. Even so, the result would be a tone orthography that does not work for the Western dialect, and one that deviates drastically from the 'iconic'

orthography that most Eastern writers are actually using (further explored in 3.2.2.4).

4. This spelling is partially motivated by a desire for symmetry with تہارو/thārɔ/ pl. 'your'.

1. I do not discuss the structure of relative clauses in this paper.

2. Compare (201) with the use of the present auxiliary /h-/ in (339) to indicate that a particular state of affairs holds at the time of speaking:

(339)E. aǰ hữ~ padār hữ~
today 1sg.NOM busy 1sg.PRES
'Today I am busy.'

Compare (202) with the use of the past auxiliary /th-/ in (340) to indicate that a particular state of affairs held at some time prior to the time of speaking:

(340) kal hữ~ padār th-ɔ
yesterday 1sg.NOM busy PAST-NOM.M.SG
'Yesterday I was busy.'

3. As explained in 4.2.1.7, the /w-/ formative occurs with the perfective form of the verb (primarily in Eastern) to form perfective adjectival participles. For example, /(tamū) lagɔ wɔ (hɛ́)/ (/(tamū) lagɔ (ɛ)/) '[The] (tent is) pitched'. The 'continuous auxiliary' /lag-/, together with /w-/

inEastern, therefore comprises a perfective adjectival participle modifying the subject. Originally, this participle probably denoted that the subject was ‘engaged’ or ‘started’ (to use English participles) with respect to the verbal action (cf. the inceptive use of /lag-/ in 4.2.2.3).

4. The meaning of /pɛ-/ ‘fall’ in this construction is stronger than that conveyed when the copula is used in the same construction, as the latter expresses the agent’s *internal* compulsion to act. For example, consider the Eastern /minnā čalṇɔ hɛ́/ ‘I have to go.’

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# GOJRI AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH RAJASTHANI

J. C. Sharma

## 1. AN OVERVIEW

Grierson classifies Gojri as a dialect of Rajasthani and observes that it is closer to Mewati and that it shows resemblance to Mewari. This paper briefly attempts to reconsider this classification. The paper examines some of the shared innovations and retentions of the linguistic features between Gojri and other Indo-Aryan languages. The paper suggests that the geographical contiguity and borrowing from the neighboring languages affect the phonological change, leading to the shared phonological development. This reinforces the commonly held view that phonological features change faster than the morphological features.

Gojri is spoken in an area socio-culturally dominated by Urdu and is surrounded by the speakers of Western Pahari dialects such as Poonchi (a dialect of Lahndi), Dogri, Panjabi, Kashmiri (a language of Dardic group), etc., and cannot be free from their influence. The language shares many phonological features with Panjabi and other related dialects, but, on the other hand, it also shares some morphological features exclusively with the Rajasthani dialects. Therefore, it is suggested that the classification based on a single criterion, so far followed by many scholars in cluding Grierson, is misleading and hence

cannot be justified. For a better classification of this language we need to take into account all the grammatical features of the language.

## 2. Introduction

According to the 1971 Census, Gojri is spoken by 3,30,485 speakers in the Jammu and Kashmir state of India. It is the third largest spoken language in the state after Kashmiri and Dogri. According to the local sources, however, people claim that this language is spoken by a larger group of people in the state. Besides, this language is also spoken by several thousands of people in Himachal Pradesh as well as by a section of people in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Gujjars, the native speakers of Gojri, are semi-nomad people and are found in all the districts of Jammu and Kashmir except Ladakh. The Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) of Grierson has been the basis for the classification of Gojri as a dialect of Rajasthani in the census reports.

It is quite interesting to note that a large number of inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir speak a variety of languages claimed to be closer to Rajasthani, even though these languages are spoken in areas geographically far away from Rajasthan. This seems to be true to a great extent. This makes one believe that at some point of time these people must have been in contact with the Rajasthani speakers. It is, therefore, necessary for us to

understand the historical context of the Gujjars, before we examine their linguistic details.

The earliest known reference to these people occurs in *Sriharshacharita*, a work of the early part of the seventh century A.D. According to Grierson (1916):

Gurjars, the ancestors of the present Gujjars, probably entered India together with Hunas and other marauding tribes in about the sixth century A.D. and that some of their fighting men became recognized as Rajputs. As may be expected, Gujjar herdsmen (as distinct from the fighting Gujjars who became Rajputs) are found in greatest number in the North-West of India from the Indus to Ganges. Wherever they settled in the plains they have abandoned their own language but as we enter the lower hills, we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujjari. The further we go into these sparsely populated hills, the more independent do we find this Gujjari and less influenced by its surroundings. At length when we get into the wild hill country of Swat and Kashmir, we find the nomad Gujjars, here called Gujurs (i.e. cowherds), or Ajirs (i.e. shepherds) still pursuing their original pastoral avocations and still speaking the descendant of the language that their ancestors brought with them from Mewat. But this shows traces of its long journey. It contains old phrases and idioms of the Hindustani of the Jamna Valley, which were picked up en route and carried to the distant hills of Dardistan.

T. Burrow (1955) also holds the view that Gurjars do not appear in Indian history before the sixth century A.D. and they play a dominant role in the north up to the tenth century A.D. Tessitori, along with Grierson, further claims a close relationship between Marwari and Gujjarati. He states:

Rajputana and Gujjarata were populated by the same Aryan tribe, i.e., the Gujjars, who migrated from Sapadalaksha in the northwest of India into the northeastern Rajasthan and thence gradually spread westwards into Gujjarat imposing their language over the whole tract covered by their immigration. The same theory also accounts for the agreement between Rajasthani and languages of the Himalayas, which Grierson has grouped together under the general name of Pahari.

Thus, some similarities of Rajasthani with Pahari languages may be ascribed to the influence of the language of the Gujjars on their speech.

Earlier, Graham Bailey (1908) has also pointed out some similarities between Pahari languages and Rajasthani:

It is in Chameali and Kului and Simla dialects and also in Gujjari and the Sasi dialects that we notice that interesting similarity to Rajasthani which points to some very close historical connection in bygone centuries. There is a need to explore the connection of Rajasthani with the

languages scattered in the Himalayan regions, to know whether it is due to migration or by accident.

The discussion above clearly establishes that the Gujjars are immigrants to this place and they had lived with the Rajasthani speakers at some point of time in history. Besides, it may be noted that there is intermixture of features/elements in the various languages due to the contact established between them which makes it difficult to distinguish between the native elements and the borrowed ones. In this regard, some information about the pre-history of these people becomes essential. This may help in establishing the features retained by the language in comparison to their roots and the later innovations shared with the neighboring languages. In case of the lack of retention of features, either the view held about their immigration may be doubtful, or it may indicate a case of complete loss of the older forms of the language with which they had moved to their new place. For instance, the language of the Gujjars in the plain areas, such as Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, is not different from those surrounding them. Rather the Gjjars in these states share the language of the region of their present day habitat. The comparison of Gojri with the neighboring languages can provide a clue to its heritage and also help to determine the elements it shares with other languages.

By a detailed investigation in this regard we can know the features conserved and innovated in course of

time in Gojri. This can also throw light on the extent of the influence of the neighboring languages and answer the question: can the influence of the neighboring languages be so great that the immigrant language changes so much that it may be grouped with the neighboring languages?

## 3. SHARED FEATURES

Gojri has a lot of linguistic peculiarities that it shares with other languages such as Urdu, Kashmiri, Dogri, and Pahari languages. The fact that all these languages belong to the Indo-Aryan family makes it difficult to determine the extent of the borrowed elements in the language. For the purpose of comparison, we take Panjabi, Kangri (a Western Pahari language), Rajasthani, and Hindi. We examine some of the major phonological and morphological features of these languages below.

## 3.1 SOME PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

To examine the phonological similarities and differences of Gojri in relation to Rajasthani, Kangri, and Panjabi, we provide the phonemic inventories of these languages below.

## 3.1.2 CONSONANTS

**Gojri**

| | Labial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | p | t | T | c | k | (q) | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vl. Unasp. | | | | | | | |
| Stops Vl. Asp. | ph | th | Th | ch | kh | | |
| Stops Vd. Unasp. | b | d | D | j | g | | |
| Fricatives Vl. | | | s | S | x | | h |
| Fricatives Vd. | | | z | | G | | |
| Nasal | m | n | N | | | | |
| Flap | | r | R | | | | |
| Lateral | | l | L | | | | |
| Continuant | w | y | | | | | |

## Rajasthani

| | Labial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | p | t | T | c | k | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vl. Unasp. | | | | | | | |
| Stops Vl. Asp. | ph | th | Th | ch | kh | | |
| Stops Vd. Unasp. | b | d | D | j | g | | |
| Stops Vd. Asp. | bh | dh | Dh | jh | gh | | |
| Nasals | m | n | N | | | | |
| Fricatives Vl. | | s | | | | | |
| Fricatives Vd. | v | z | | | | | h |
| Flap | | r | R | | | | |
| Lateral | | l | L | | | | |

## Panjabi

| | Labial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops Vl. Unasp. | p | t | T | c | k | (q) |
| Stops Vl. Asp. | ph | th | Th | ch | kh | |
| Stops Vd. Unasp. | b | d | D | j | g | |
| Nasals | m | n | N[ n ] | | | |
| Fricatives Vl. | f | s | S[x ] | | | |
| Fricatives Vd. | | (z) | | | | |
| Flap | | r | R | | | |
| Lateral | | l | L | | | |
| Continuant | w | y | | | | |

## Kangri

| | Labial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops Vl. unasp. | p | t | T | c | k |
| Stops Vl. asp. | ph | th | Th | ch | kh |
| Stops Vd. unasp. | b | d | D | j | g |
| Nasals | m | n | N | | |
| Fricatives | | s | | | |
| Flap | | r | R | | |
| Laterals | | l | L | | |

### 3.1.3 Vowels

**Gojri**

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | ii | | uu |
| Lower High | i | | u |
| Higher Mid | e | | o |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lower Mid | E | a | O |
| Low | | aa | |

**Rajasthani**

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | ii | | uu |
| Lower High | i | | u |
| Higher Mid | e | | o |
| Lower Mid | E | a | O |
| Low | | aa | |

**Panjabi**

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | ii | | uu |
| Lower High | i | | u |
| Higher Mid | e | | o |
| Lower Mid | E | a | O |
| Low | | aa | |

**Kangri**

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | ii | | uu |
| Lower High | i | | u |
| Higher Mid | e | | o |
| Lower Mid | E | a | O |
| Low | | aa | |

### 3.1.4 Suprasegmental sounds

#### 3.1.4.1 Nasalization

All the four languages: Gojri, Rajasthani, Panjabi, and Kangri have vowel nasalization /~/.

#### 3.1.4.2 Tones

Gojri, Panjabi, and Kangri have high tone/´/, mid tone (unmarked) and low tone /` /, and Rajasthani has stress accent.

The phonemic inventories of these languages clearly show that Gojri shares more phonological features with Kangri and Panjabi than with Rajasthani.

## 3.2 Shared Phonological Innovations, Etc.

### 3.2.1 Short vowels

Gojri, along with Panjabi and Kangri, has preserved MIA (Middle Indo-Aryan) short vowels followed by double or long consonants, whereas, in many New-Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi and Rajasthani, the consonants have been simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel. The examples in Table 1 are illustrative. (Note: Sanskrit has been taken as the representative of OIA for the present purpose).

**Table 1**

| Sanskrit | Gojri | Rajasthani | Panjabi | Kangri | Hindi | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| karma | kamm | kaam | kamm | kamm | kaam | work |
| karna | kann | kaan | kann | kann | kaan | ear |
| masta | matthо | matho | mattha | mattha | maathaa | forehead |
| tapta | tatto | taatoZ | tatta | tatta | taataa | hot |
| aksi | akkhã | ãkhy | ãkkh | akkhã | ãkh | eye |
| misTha | miTTho | miiTo | miTTha | miTTha | miiThaa | sweet |
| sapta | satt | saat | satt | satt | saat | seven |

### 3.2.2 Consonant Change

In Gojri, as in most of the Indo-Aryan languages **w** of OIA changes to **b** in the initial position. This, however, has been retained in Panjabi. The examples in Table 2 are illustrative of this phenomenon.

**Table 2**

| Sanskrit | Gojri | Rajasthani | Panjabi | Kangri | Hindi | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| vimsat | ibi | ãibiiã | sviiã | biiã | ãbiis | twenty |
| vrhad | baRo | baRo | vaDDaa | baRaa | baRaa | big |
| vair | bEr | vEr | vEr | bEr | bEr/vEr | enmity |
| vatsa | baccho | vach | vacchaa | bacchaa | bachaa | calf |
| vasati | basNo | basNo | vasnaa | basNaa | basnaa | live/stay |

### 3.2.3 Vowel Nasalisation

Another feature that Gojri and Panjabi share along with some other Eastern languages is that OIA long vowels followed by a nasal are realized as

nasalized vowel in the final position with the subsequent loss of the OIA word final vowel. In Hindi, Rajasthani, etc. either the nasal is retained or the vowel is nasalized and followed by v.

The examples in Table 3 illustrate this point.

**Table 3**

| Sanskrit | Gojri | Rajasthani | Panjabi | Kangri | Hindi | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| graam | agrã | gaam/gã | vgirã | gau | gaam/gaw | village |
| naam | anã | naam | naã | nãu | naam | name |
| sthaan | athã | thaan | thaã | thãu | sthaan | place |

### 3.2.4 Consonant Voicing

In a sequence of vowel-nasal-consonant (VNC) the voiceless consonant following the nasal has changed to voiced consonants, i.e., OIA VNC (vl.) > VNC (vd.) in Gojri along with Panjabi, Kangri and other Western Pahari dialects whereas in other Indo- Aryan dialects such as Rajasthani and Hindi it has remained voiceless. The examples in Table 4 are illustrative.

**Table 4**

| Sanskrit | Gojri | Rajasthani | Panjabi | Kangri | Hindi | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| panca | panj | paãc | panj | panj | paãc | five |
| danta | dand | daãt | dand | dand | daãt | tooth |
| kaNTka | kaNDo | kaNTo | kaNDaa | kaNdaa | kaãTaat | horn |
| manca | manjo | maaco | manjaa | manjo | maacaa | stage/bed |

### 3.2.5 Tone

Both in Gojri and Panjabi along with some related dialects the OIA and intermediate stage h in the medial and final position has been mostly changed to some tone and usually to high tone if follows a vowel. The examples in Table 5 are illustrative.

**Table 5**

| Sanskrit | Gojri | Rajasthani | Panjabi | Kangri | Hindi | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| baah | uhbaã | baãh | baã | baã | baã | harm |
| bahira | baãr | baahr | baãr | baãr | baahar | outside |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lauha | lo | lo | Rolo | lo | lohaa | iron |
| swasa | sa | aãhaa | saã | (saã | saãs | breath |
| prathama | pElo | pElo | pEla | pella | pahlaa | first |

### 3.2.6 The Next Part

In the concluding part of this paper, to be published in the next issue (May 2002) of***Language in India***, I discuss the absence of voiced aspirates, the consonant clusters with the retention of oral vowels, etc., and the presence and absence of certain morphological and syntactic features that shed light on the possible classification of Gojri. Gojri is an interesting Indian linguistic phenomenon. The traces of a distant age, and the adoption of the features from the languages presently surrounding it, make it an interesting object of study in historical linguistics and sociolinguistics.

# A Comparative Study of Gojri Double Verb Constructions

Nadeem Bukhari

The double verb construction is a common phenomenon in South Asian languages and has been studied since long. However, there has been always controversy over the status of these constructions. The south Asian languages belong to four different families namely; Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic. Masica (1991, 1976) reports that these families share certain syntactic-semantic features, though they show their own individualities. The Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages have received more attention regarding this issue than their counterparts. Among other Indo-Aryan languages, Hindi-Urdu (Nespital 1997, Butt 1997 &1995, Arora 1979, Hook 1974), Bengali (Singh 1998, Ramchand 1990, Dasgupta 1977), Punjabi (Akhtar 2000 &1998, Bhatia 1993) and Marathi (Panndharipande 1990) were frequently reported.

Gojri is one of the Indo-Aryan languages which has not yet been studied from this perspective. Most of its sister languages, such as Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, have been restricted to the complex predicate formation that is one of the forms of VV construction. However, Gojri displays another very common and well studied formation of verb complexes that is commonly known as the serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions are a hall-

mark of many African languages and creoles. Jayaseelan (2004) claims that the serial verb construction is very common in Dravidian languages including Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. It seems that this construction is more common in Dravidian than the Indo-Aryan Languages of South Asia.

However, it is strange that no clear cut distinction has yet been made between complex predicates and the serial verb construction. The V-V construction is so complicated that no single definition has been put forward to capture the nature of these constructions. Unfortunately, some linguists interchange these terms and take one for the other, especially in South Asian languages as well as some other serial African languages.

Without going into the details of the history of these constructions, I will put forward different arguments that would draw a distinction between the V-V complex Predicates and V-V serial verb constructions. Consider the following examples:

1 Serial verb construction

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | kaloo-nɛ | seb | chillii | khayo |
| | kaloo-ERG | apple-NOM | peel.PF.F | eat.PF.M |
| | 'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.' | | | |

Complex predicate

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | kaloo-nɛ | seb | chil | diyo |
| | kaloo-ERG | apple-NOM | peel | give.PF.M |
| | 'Kaloo peeled the apple (for someone else). | | | |

The above examples illustrate the difference between the serial verb construction and complex predicates in Gojri. (1a) is one of the structures for the serial verb construction (SVCs) that indicates that there are two different events described by two serial verbs which come together in a sequence. It means that two different events have their own individuality in the course of action. However, (1b) describes just one action. The second verb *diyo* 'give' in the sequence is a light verb. The light verb does not have its full lexical meaning but contributes some aspectual meanings of 'completiveness' and beneficiary meaning to the meanings of the first verb *chil* 'peel' in sentence. It indicates that the agent performed the action for someone else. Akhtar (2000) and Butt (1995) reports that there is a general agreement that $V_2$ in a complex predicate is the bleached forms of verb and therefore lose some of its semantic content. However it can be used as a main verb, in which case it has its lexical meanings. The only preferred position for the main verb in complex predicates is V1 in V+V sequences.

Another sharp difference can be noted between the above examples. In SVC construction, the non-final verbs display the *–ii* inflection which I label as Serial Verb Inflection (SVI). The last verb agrees with the highest nominative case in gender and number. On the other hand, in complex predicates, V1 appears either in the root or infinitive form. But here too, V2 shows agreement with the highest nominative case in gender and number.

It is also very important to note that neither SVCs nor complex predicate structure permits any embedding structures. They are mono-clausal in nature and share a single tense /aspect. If the verbs are treated as predicates of different clauses, they lose the status of double verb construction. It is quite significant to note that the complex predicates never allow more than two verbs (main verb and the light verb) in a clause. On the other hand, the serial verb construction may have more than two verbs. Consider the example:

2. a. kaloo-nɛ seb kepii khayo
kaloo-ERG apple-NOM.Mcut.SVI eat-PF.M
'Kaloo cut and ate the apple.'

b. kaloo-nɛ seb chillii kepii khayo
kaloo-ERG apple-NOM.M peel.SVI cut.SVI eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled, cut and ate the apple.'

c. kaloo-nɛ gajer xariidii chillii kutterii khaii
kaloo-ERG carrot-NOM.F bought.SVI peel.SVI cut.SVI eat-PF.F
'Kaloo bought, peeled, cut and ate the carrot.'

(2a) shows that there are only two verbs involved in the structure. On the other hand, (2b) displays three and (2c) four verbs respectively which show different individual actions. These examples also confirm the fact that it is the final verb that is always inflected for tense and agrees with the highest nominative case in person, number and gender. The non-final verbs have nothing to do with any type of agreement. This is a general phenomenon in Gojri. Consider the following examples:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. | a. | kaloo-nɛ | ka | kəppii | bədyo | (SVCs) |
| | | kaloo-ERG | grass-NOM | cut-SVI | tie-PF.M | |
| | | 'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.' | | | | |
| | b. | kaloo-nɛ | macchi | pakkaii | wertii | |
| | | kaloo-ERG | fish-NOM | cut-SVI | tie-PF.F | |
| | | 'Kaloo cooked the fish and served it.' | | | | |
| 4. | a. | kaloo-nɛ | ka | kəp | liyo | (CPs) |
| | | kaloo-ERG | grass-NOM.M | cut | take-PF.M | |
| | | 'Kaloo cut the grass.' | | | | |
| | b. | kaloo-nɛ | macchi | xariid | lii | |
| | | kaloo-ERG | fish-NOM.F | buy | take-PF.F | |
| | | 'Kaloo bought fish.' | | | | |

Examples (3-4) clearly illustrate that the agreement pattern is not affected by different types of V-V constructions in Gojri.

Malayalam is a well studied Dravidian language. Jayaseelan (2004:67) presents the following example:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | naan | oru | maanga | poTTiccu | kazhuki | muRiccu |
| | I | a | mango | pluck | wash | cut |
| | upp-il-iTTu | | kaDiccu | cavaccu | tinn-u | |
| | salt-in-put | | bite | chew | eat-Past | |
| | 'I plucked, washed, cut, pickled, bit, chewed and ate a mango.' | | | | | |

Consider the following Gojri example:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. | kiren-nɛ | saag | kəppi | tottii | kuttri | pakaii | khayo |
| | kiren-ERG | spinach. M-NOM | cut | wash | cut | cook | eat-PF.M |
| | 'Kiren cut, washed, chopped, cooked and ate the spinach.' | | | | | | |

Like Malayalam, there are no conjunctions involved in this type of construction and it is the last verb that is marked for Tense and aspect. It is also important to note that all the verbs preceding the last verb are invariant and identical in Gojri with the –ii inflection. This form is known

as “the frozen” past tense in Malayalam (Jayaseelan 2004:68). However, these frozen verbs do not affect the status of the final finite verb in the construction both in Gojri and Malayalam.

## 2. The structure of SVCs

The pattern of serialization or serial verbs has been the focus of much research yet no definition has won authenticity and prestige in literature. It was Westermann (1930:26) who first introduced the term verb serialization as “a row of verbs one after another….[in which] the verbs stand next to each other without being connected.” Collins (1993:91) defines serialization in more detailed way. However, more recently, Collins (1997:462) refines it as: “A serial verb construction is a succession of verbs and their complements (if any) with one subject and one tense value that are not separated by any overt marker of coordination or subordination.”

## 2.1 Scrambling

The constituents of the serial verb construction or the complex predicate cannot be scrambled in any way. The following sentence shows the phenomenon:

7. A simple Gojri sentence

a. kaloo-nɛ səntro [khayo ɛ]
kaloo-ERG orange-M.NOM eat-PF.M.Sg be.PRES.3.Sg
'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

b. kaloo-nɛ [khayo ɛ] səntro
kaloo-ERG eat-PF.M.Sg be.PRES.3.Sg orange.M-NOM
'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

c. *kaloo-nɛ səntro ɛ khayo
kaloo-ERG orange-M.NOM be.PRES.3.Sg eat-PF.M.Sg
'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

d. *kaloo-nɛ ɛ səntro khayo
kaloo-ERG be.PRES.3.Sg orange-M.NOM eat-PF.M.Sg
'Kaloo has eaten an orange.'

It is clear from the above example that Gojri does not allow verb combinations to be separated. Any attempt to separate the verbs in these constructions results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Both SVCs and CPs behave the same way in this respect. Consider the following examples:

8. Serial verb construction

a. kaloo-nɛ səntro [kəppii khayo]
kaloo-ERG orange-M.NOM cut eat-PF.M
'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

b. *kaloo-nɛ kəppii səntro khayo
kaloo-ERG cut orange-M.NOM eat-PF.M
'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

c. *kaloo-nɛ khayo səntro kəppii
kaloo-ERG eat-PF.M orange-M.NOM cut
'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

9. Complex Predicates

a. kaloo-nɛ səntro [kəp diyo]
kaloo-ERG orange-M.NOM cut give-PF.M
'Kaloo cut an orange.'

b. *kaloo-nɛ kəp səntro diyo
kaloo-ERG cut orange-M.NOM give-PF.M
'Kaloo cut an orange.'

c. *kaloo-nɛ diyo səntro kəp
kaloo-ERG give-PF.M orange-M.NOM cut
'Kaloo cut an orange.'

The examples in (8) and (9) show that the double verbs in both the constructions cannot be separated. (8a) and (9a) both are fine because there is no violation of rule. However, (8b-c) as well as (9b-c) are ill-formed structure because of the violation of the general rule. Unlike the simple sentences and complex predicates, the verbs in serial verb construction cannot be scrambled even as a unit. Consider the following examples:

10. a. Serial verb construction
*kaloo-nɛ [kəppii khayo] səntro
kaloo-ERG cut eat-PF.M orange-M.NOM
'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'
b. Complex Predicates
kaloo-nɛ [kəp diyo] səntro
kaloo-ERG cut give-PF.M orange-M.NOM
'Kaloo cut an orange.'

The serial verb constructions in Gojri always follow the canonical SOV word order. The above example illustrates clearly that the scrambling of two or more verbs in serial verb construction in Gojri is not allowed. Their position is fixed in the structure. On the other hand, (10b) shows that this type of scrambling is allowed in complex predicates. I assume that this phenomenon is allowed in complex predicates because they describe only one event while the serial verb constructions involve more than one action in a sentence. It may be concluded from this that the serial verb construction behaves differently with respect to scrambling. Contrary to this, complex predicates follow the same pattern of simple sentences in Gojri. This is one of the evidences that the serial verb construction is different from complex predicates which are interchangeably used in many languages.

## 2.2 Coordination

Coordination is another test that makes a clear distinction between serial verb constructions and complex predicates in Gojri. The following examples illustrate that the two verbs in a serial verb construction in Gojri cannot be coordinated by inserting any conjunction. On the other

hand, two actions in the complex predicate formation can only be described by introducing two complex predicates.

11. a. serial verb construction
*kaloo-nɛ səntro kəppii hor khayo
kaloo-ERG orange-M.NOM cut and eat-PF.M
'Kaloo cut an orange and eat it.'

b. Complex Predicates
kaloo-nɛ səntro [kəp diyo] hor [bənd□ choryo]

kaloo-ERG orange cut give-PF.M and distribute leave-PF
'Kaloo cut an orange and distributed it.'

c. *kaloo-nɛ səntro [kəp hor bənd□ ] chor□ yo
kaloo-ERG orange cut and distribute leave-PF
'Kaloo cut an orange and distributed it.'

The examples above again confirm that the serial verb construction behaves in sharp contrast to complex predicates. It is interesting to note that any attempt to separate the two verbs in complex predicates results in poor grammatical structure. The series of actions which are described with different complex predicates can easily be shown in one serial verb structure in Gojri:

12. kaloo-nɛ səntro [kəppii bənd□ ii khayo]
kaloo-ERG orange cut distribute eat-PF
'Kaloo cut an orange, distributed and ate it.'

This means that a serial verb construction accommodates a wide range of events in Gojri. The example above also illustrates that there is no need to insert any conjunction in the Gojri SVCs. This rules out the possibility of the coordination analysis presented by

Larsen (1991) for serial verb construction if applied to the serial verb construction in Gojri.

## 3. V2 is Head

Gojri is a head final language. In both the serial verb construction and complex predicates, one of the verbs selects a VP headed by the other verb. I assume that $V_2$ functions as a head in Gojri complex verb formations for a number of reasons. There have been introduced different tests for different languages. Dechaine (1993) argues that $V_1$ in Yoruba SVCs is the head because it can be repeated in the structure. Similarly, Baker and Stewart (2002) and George (1975) claim the same for Nupe. On the other hand, Nishiyama (1996:12) claims that $V_2$ is head in Japanese and Korean SVCs because it is repeated in these structures. It is noteworthy that in many languages this verb doubling has some semantic effects:

13. a. musa le le kata o
Musa sleep sleep house LOC
'Musa actually slept in the house.'(Nupe, Baker & Stewart 2002:12)

b. john-wa bill-o osi-taosi-ta koto-wa osi-taosi-ta kedo
john-TOP bill-ACC push-topple-PF fact-TOP push-topple-PF but
'John did push and toppled Bill, but...'(Japanese, Nishiyama 1996:12)

This is not the case for Gojri. No verb can be repeated in one clause at any level. So this test does not work in Gojri. However, there are some other tests available in Gojri that may help to establish that the V2 is head in these structures. Consider the following example:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14. | kaloo-nɛ | xat | likhii | pejyo |
| | kaloo-ERG | letter-NOM | write | send-PF.M |
| | 'Kaloo wrote a letter and sent (it).' | | | |

(14) illustrates that it is V2 that is marked for tense and agreement. The verb *pej* „send" agrees with the highest nominative argument which is *xat* „letter" in the structure. V1 plays no role in this regard because it has invariant inflection. The same is true for complex predicate formations as they display either root form or infinitive form in the V1 position.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15. | a. | kaloo-nɛ | xat | likh | liyo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | letter-NOM | write | take-PF.M |
| | | 'Kaloo wrote a letter.' ( self-beneficiary) | | | |
| | b. | kaloo-nɛ | xat | likha~R | diyo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | letter-NOM | write.INF | give-PF.M |
| | | 'Kaloo let the letter be written.'(Permissive) | | | |

In Gojri complex predicates, the non-final verb either takes the root form of the verb or it appears in the infinitive form. The use of the different forms of the main verbs in the Gojri complex predicates depend upon the meaning of the sentence as illustrated in (15) above. So it can be concluded that neither the root form nor the infinitive form contributes any significant role in agreement. This also supports the idea that it is the $V_2$ that is the head in such formations.

There is another test available for the serial verb constructions that suggests the claim that the V2 is the head in these constructions in Gojri. If the negation marker

or an adverb in Gojri serial verb constructions is placed before the first verb, it affects both the verbs. On the other hand, if any of these elements precedes $V_2$ only, its effect is restricted to the second verb. This means that the second verb is always influenced by these insertions whether it is placed before the first or the second verb. This suggests that $V_2$ in Gojri serial verb constructions stands as the head.

As discussed before, there has been disagreement in the literature concerning what a serial verb actually is and what sort of unified phenomenon it represents. Many attempts have been made to define serial verbs but nothing has successfully captured the status and grammatical nature of the category. It seems that this is because of different characteristics of serial verbs present in different languages. Recently, Aikhenvald (2003:1) has tried to summarize the defining properties of the serial verbs and their construction as: „ a serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verbs describe what can be conceptualized as a single event. They are mono-clausal; their into national properties are those of a mono verbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value.‟ However, it seems that there are different components in her definition that are controversial for the linguists who are working on serial verb constructions. For example the

notions like „conceptualizing a single event, or „acting as a single predicate", etc are vague and cannot help in differentiating serial verbs from other categories of verbs. The literature review of the serial verb construction brings some very conflicting and contrasting views about their properties cross-linguistically. Seuren (1990:29) argues that the vast majority of serializing languages have basic SVO order. On the other hand, Crowley (2002:11) claims that OV is the order of most serializing languages.

Collins (1997) argues that it the argument sharing that distinguishes a serial verb from non serial verb formations. He supports his claim with the following examples from Ewe:

16. a. me fo kadɛgbɛ gba
I hit lamp break
'I hit the lamp and broke its glass.'

b. me fo kadɛgbɛ gba (yɛme) tsimini
I hit lamp break its glass
'I hit the lamp and broke its glass.'

Collins claims that (16a) is an example of a serial verb construction while (16b) is not. He justifies his argument by putting both the above examples into the future. He argues that the true serial verb construction allows only one future marker as shown in (17a) below while the coordination in (17b) demands that both the verbs should bear their own future marking:

17. a. me a fo kadɛgbɛ gba
I FUT hit lamp break
'I will hit the lamp and break its glass.'

b. me a fo kadɛgbɛ a gba (yɛme) tsimini
I FUT hit lamp FUT break its glass
'I will hit the lamp and break its glass.'

Aikhenvald (2003) argues that serial verb constructions are "a prototype construction, where in an individual language what is called a 'serial verb' would be expected to have most, but not necessarily all, of the defining properties." On the other hand, scholars like Delpanque (1998:248) argues that there is nothing that can be found in what is called the serial verb construction that does not turn up in non-serializing languages. He calls it nothing but a „myth" because of their variant nature.

## 5. Functional and formal properties of serial verb constructions

Different question are frequently raised regarding the functional and formal principles of the serial verb constructions. For example, why do we have serial verbs constructions in a very small number of languages and what different functions do these constructions perform?

Newmeyer (2004:5) presents that there are economy – and iconicity based reasons for the existence of the SVCs. This means that in serial verb constructions, conceptual dependencies exist and the chances of different propositions are reduced. Similarly, these constructions are helpful in generating meanings such as

comparison and preference, which are not possible with other structures. For example Byrne (1987:225) quotes the following example from Saramaccan to express comparison:

18. a bigi pasa di mii
3sg tall surpass the child
'He is taller than the child.'

Contrary to functional principles, formal principles apply to abstract structures. Baker (2001:142) argues that serial verb constructions are only available in those languages which have no tense marking or which express tense as an independent word. This is not true. There exist some languages that have serial verbs that bear tense markers. Foley and Olson (1985:21) introduce the following example from Yimas that refutes Baker's claim.

19. namarawt tikir-gat ya-na-pay-pu-t˘
man chair-pl 3plO-3sgS-lie-go-perf
'The man carried the chair away.'

Similarly, Baker denies the possibility of serial verb constructions in VSO languages. Consider the example from Ravua by Schiller (1990) that rejects Baker's claim:

20. ti me ho taw lik me pin ke-en
take you go send letter you accompany to-here
'Go, take the letter and come back.'

Baker (1989) further argues that verb serialization is not possible in cases where two verbs follow each other directly. According to his claim, 'V-V adjacency is

impossible in the serial verb construction.' He supports his claim by introducing example from Sranan:

21. kofi naki amba kiri

Kofi hit Amba kill
'Kofi struck Amba dead.'

This can be disconfirmed here by showing that there are several serial languages which allow V-V adjacency. Gojri is one of those languages. Consider the following examples from different languages:

22. a. kaloo-nɛ ka kəppii bədyo
Kaloo-ERG grass.NOM cut-SVI tie-PF.M
'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.'

b. naan oru maanga poTTiccu tinn-u
I a mango pluck eat-Past
'I plucked and ate a mango.'(Malayalam, Jayaseelan 2004: 67)

c. john-i sakwa-lul kkakke mek-ess-ta
john-N apple-ACC peel eat-Pst-Dec
'John peeled an apple and ate it.' (Korean, Chung 1993:24)

The above examples from three different languages confirm the fact that there is no restriction on the serial verbs preventing them from immediately following each other. It seems that Baker and Collins have just focused on the African languages which allow the object to intervene between the serial verbs. The whole discussion suggests that it is hard to fix a criterion for SVCs because of the variant nature of the languages in which they exist.

## 6. Argument Sharing

Since the emergence of the study of serial verb construction cross-linguistically, the phenomenon of object sharing has been a focal point. Baker (1989), Lefebvre (1991), Collins (1993, 1994, 1997), Baker and Stewart (2002), Stewart (2001) Carstens (2002), Choi (2003) are leading figures among others.

Unlike the majority of languages which have a serial verb construction, the object is not sandwiched between the two verbs in Gojri. Consider the following examples:

23. a. kaloo-nɛ seb chilii khayo
kaloo-ERG apple peeled ate
'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

b. wo à fufu ù
they cooked fufu eat
'They cooked fufu and ate it.'(Ewe, Collins 1993: 91)

c. di uman kuk rɛs sɛl
The woman cook rice sell
'The woman cooked some rice and sold it.' (Krio, Johnson 2002: 41)

d. bola se dran ta
bola cooked meat sell
'Bola cooked some meat and sold it.' (Yoruba, Lord 1974)

e. mi fringi a batra broko
i throw the bottle break
'I threw the bottle and broke it.' (Sranan, Crowley 2002:10)

(23a) confirms the fact that the Gojri object in serial verb construction does not occur between the two verbs but instead always precedes the first verb. In all other examples (23b-e), it appears between the two serial verbs.

In many languages, it can be hard to distinguish serial verb construction from coordination structures. However, the following sections will clearly illustrate that the Gojri serial constructions are real SVCs.

## 6.1 The shared tense marker test

Collin (1997) observes that only one tense marker is allowed in serial verb constructions. This is also the case in the Gojri serial verb construction. Consider the following examples:

24. a. kaloo-nɛ seb chillii khayo
kaloo-ERG apple-NOM peel- SVI eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

b. *kaloo-nɛ seb chillyo khayo
kaloo-ERG apple-NOM peel-PF eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it.'

c. kaloo-nɛ seb chillyo fer khayo
kaloo-ERG apple-NOM peel-PF then eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled the apple first and then (he) ate it.'

Sharing of a single tense marker in (24a) confirms that Gojri displays the genuine serial verb construction. The non-final verb as shown in (24a) is inflected for the serial verb inflection viz –ii which has nothing to do with tense and is the same for all numbers and gender in Gojri. (24b) is ungrammatical because it violates the single tense marker condition on serial verb constructions. On the other hand, (24c) is fine because it has been split into two clauses and each verb in its respective clause needs its own tense marker.

## 6.2 The shared adverb test

Like many other Indo-Aryan, adverbs in Gojri generally follow the serial verbs. When an adverb is placed before the serial verbs, it affects both the verbs as shown in (25a) below.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25. | a. | kaloo-nɛ | seb | tawli tawli | chillii | khayo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | apple-NOM | quickly | peel- SVI | eat-PF.M |
| | | 'Kaloo peeled and ate the apple quickly.' | | | | |
| | b. | kaloo-nɛ | seb | chillii | tawli tawli | khayo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | apple-NOM | peel- SVI | quickly | eat-PF.M |
| | | 'Kaloo peeled the apple and ate it quickly.' | | | | |

This evidence confirms that the Gojri serial verbs share an adverb in general. Sometimes, however there is a need to focus the second verb only in such constructions. In such cases, where the adverb is inserted between the serial verbs, it will only affect the following verb. This does not change the status of the serial verb construction in Gojri.

## 6.3 The shared negation marker

Like adverbs, the negation marker is also shared by the serial verbs when it precedes the two serial verbs in Gojri. Again if it is inserted between the two verbs, it affects the second verb only without changing the status of the serial verb construction. It is quite obvious from these tests that the morphological structure of both verbs does not change if we insert either the negation marker or an adverb between them. This confirms that Gojri display genuine serial verb construction:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. | a. | kaloo-nɛ | seb | ni~ | chillii | khayo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | apple-NOM | NEG | peel- SVI | eat-PF.M |
| | | 'Kaloo didn't peel and eat the apple.' | | | | |
| | b. | kaloo-nɛ | seb | chilli | ni~ | khayo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | apple-NOM | peel- SVI | NEG | eat-PF.M |
| | | 'After peeling the apple, Kaloo didn't eat it.' | | | | |

## 6.4 The empty category test

The empty category test is also important evidence that justifies the claim that serial verbs in Gojri share an object and never allow any pronoun to occupy that position. Consider the following example:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27. | a. | kaloo-nɛ | ka | kəppii | bədyo | |
| | | kaloo-ERG | grass-NOM | cut.SVI | tie-PF.M | |
| | | 'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.' | | | | |
| | b. | *kaloo-nɛ | ka | kəppii | issa~ | bədyo |
| | | kaloo-ERG | grass-NOM | cut.SVI | it | tie-PF.M |
| | | 'Kaloo cut the grass and tied it up.' | | | | |

The ungrammaticality of (27b) suggests that Gojri does not allow any pronoun to be inserted between the two serial verbs. This means that both the serial verbs share the same object, which always precedes the first serial verb in Gojri.

## 7. PRO vs. pro

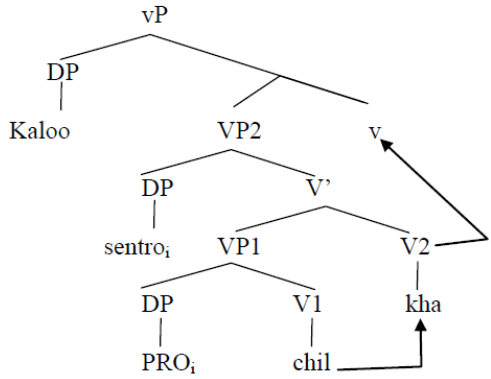
A difference between the status of empty categories is remarkable in serial verb constructions cross-linguistically. Collin (1994:47, 1997:474) assumes it *pro* for Ewe while Nishiyama (1996:12) views it as PRO for Japanese. Other linguists favour the notion that these

empty categories are either A-trace or A'-trace. So, in all we have four different possibilities for these empty categories. I assume that the empty category cannot be either A-trace or A'-trace. It cannot be an A-trace because of Chomsky and Lasnik's (1993) Chain Condition which says that the tail of an A-chain cannot be assigned Case. Also, as its antecedent is in a ɵ-position, hence violates the ɵ- criterion on one hand and the Projection Principle of Chomsky (1981) on the other hand. Similarly, it cannot be A'-trace as it is not in a position of Case assignment.

This leaves two strong candidates for these categories. As indicated above, Collins (1994, 1997) argues that the empty category is pro in Ewe because it can be assigned a Case by the postposition *yi*. I assume that the empty category in Gojri serial verb constructions is PRO. This is the same phenomenon that exists in Japanese and Korean. Consider the following examples again for illustration:

28. a. kaloo-nɛ sentro chillii khayo
kaloo-ERG orange. NOM peel.SVI eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled the orange and eat it.'

b.




At first glance, the structure (28b) raises a very general question about the position of the PRO. In other words, the question arises as to how PRO can occur in a position which is governed by V and assigned Case under government of V. Following Nishiyama (1996:9) and Bouchard (1993), I argue that the notion of government discarded in Chomsky (1995), Chomsky's (1981) PRO theorem should be modified in terms of Case rather than government. He illustrates the distribution of PRO in the following way:

## 29. PRO appears in a non-Case position.

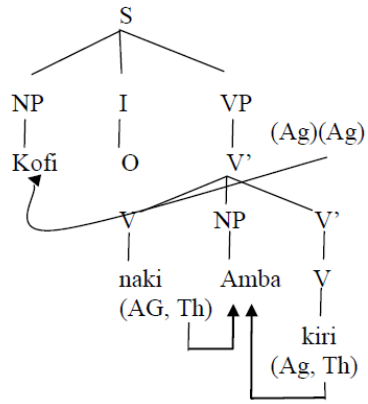
Referring to Burzio's generalization, I argue that the verb governing PRO has no external argument in (28b), therefore the position of PRO is not assigned case.

## 7.1 Internal argument sharing

Internal argument sharing (object sharing) has been recognized as one of the main features of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically. This property of SVCs plays a significant role in distinguishing them from other similar structures. Collins (1993: 93) argues that in a serial verb construction, V1 and V2 must share an internal argument. Baker (1989:517) argues that "object sharing" can be well described in syntax and to support his claim he gives the following Sranan example and its underlying structure.

30. a. kofi naki amba kiri
kofi hit amba kill
'Kofi struck Amba dead.'

b.




Baker is of the opinion that SVCs are dual headed. He assumes that the V and V' count as heads and are dominated by upper V'; therefore they jointly constitute a single predicate. As shown in the structure, there are two

competing candidates for the head i.e. [v naki] and [v'kiri]. Both these two verbs assign a Ɵ-role to Amba and share the direct object.

Collins (1994:31) points out some problems with the Baker's analysis. He argues that Baker's analysis does not account for any empty category within the VP headed by V2. Secondly, the proposed structure by Baker does not satisfy the binary branching constraint (Kayne 1984 and Larson 1988). More importantly, it clashes with Collins structure (1993, 1994, 1997) of SVCs which offers two separate heads byV1 and V2 where V1 is a head selecting VP2 as its complement. Consider the following examples from Gojri:

31. a. kiren-nɛ looter pakkaii werteyo
kiren-ERG curry-NOM cook-PF serve-PF
'Kiren cooked the curry and served it.'

b. kaloo-nɛ kiren-na~ soTii chaaii kuTTyo
kaloo-ERG kiren-NOM stick pick-PF beat-PF
'Kaloo picked a stick and beat Kiren with it.'

c. kaloo- nɛ piilo məllii maaryo
kaloo-ERG antNOM grind-PF kill-PF.M
'Kaloo killed the ant by grinding it.'

Unlike in Ewe, the Gojri example (31a) illustrates that there is an internal argument that is overtly shared by both the serial verbs *pak* 'cook' and *wert* 'serve'. However, the instrument of V2 in (31b) is considered as the direct object of V1. Ewe displays the same in such structures. This shows that there are some similarities as well as

differences in SVCs across the languages that display this formation.

32. kaloo-nɛ sentro chillii khayo
kaloo-ERG orange. NOM peel.SVI eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled the orange and eat it.'

The above example shows that the two verbs behave as separate transitive verbs as both the arguments are involved in the events described by the verbs *chil* 'peel' and *kha* 'eat' respectively. So it may be concluded here that both the verbs are sharing the arguments. Apparently there arise two questions: a) how can the missing arguments in situation be handled? And b) what is the underlying structure for a single clause with two separate transitive verb?

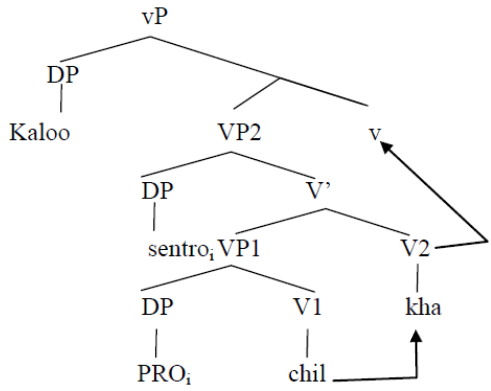
Regarding the first question, most of the discussions have focused on the shared /missing internal arguments. The external argument has not received much place in the discussions because it is thought that it has nothing to do with the sharing phenomenon. Chomsky (1995) assumes that the external argument is introduced by the little *v* which is above the VP level, but below TP. The little *v* here performs two functions. First it assigns the Agent theta role and secondly, it licenses the transitive verb form to check the Accusative case. Kratzer (1996) has a parallel idea regarding the external argument, however she introduces Voice instead of Chomsky's little *v* with same structural position in the structure. So far as the

second question is concerned, Baker and Stewart (2002) propose an articulated clause structure with an adjunction structure.

Following Collins (1993, 1994, 1997), I claim that V2 is head in the Gojri serial verb constructions and repeat (28b) as the underlying structure for the Gojri serial verbs:

33. a. kaloo-nɛ sentro chillii khayo
kaloo-ERG orange. NOM peel.SVI eat-PF.M
'Kaloo peeled the orange and eat it.'

b.




The structure of object sharing in Gojri serial verb is straightforward for many reasons. Firstly, the object does not intervene between the two verbs in Gojri serial verb construction contrary to the most other languages that display this phenomenon. Secondly, the verbs are generally adjacent to each other. Furthermore, the direct object always precedes the serial verbs in Gojri to satisfy

head final parameter. Hence, the proposed structure fulfils the requirement within the minimalist theory of Chomsky (2005) for the Gojri serial verb constructions.

## 8. Conclusion

The comparative study of different double verb formations in Gojri clearly indicates that they belong to different categories of structure. Though there are some superficial similarities, their semantics and syntax displays significant differences. I have also pointed out that Gojri does not allow *pro* in these constructions where as it is a hallmark of these constructions in African languages.

# SUBORDINATION, GROUNDING AND THE PACKAGING OF INFORMATION IN GOJRI

Kara Suzanne Fast

## Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to describe certain discourse features found in oral narratives in Gojri, first of all, in order to contribute to the Gojri Language Development Project in the Northwest Frontier Province in Pakistan, and, secondly, to add to the linguistic knowledge of discourse and syntax in the Indo-Aryan language family and SOV languages in general.

The corpus used for the analysis of this thesis consists of 24 oral narratives in the Eastern Gojri dialect of Pakistan. The average length of each narrative is 80 sentences. The majority of these narratives were recorded by me over a two month period, with 8 different female speakers. Two of the texts were recorded previously by the Gojri Language Development Project with a female story teller who is since deceased. Some of the stories were transcribed into Gojri script by one of my language assistants. The two texts 'Aslam' and 'Tug of War' appear in Appendices A and B respectively. 'Aslam' was transcribed by one of the Gojri Language Project employees, and 'Tug of War' was transcribed by the linguists working on the language projects. The rest were transcribed by me using the Indological transcription

described below, with the help of another language assistant.

The story tellers, as mentioned, are female. They have no formal education and are therefore uninfluenced by Urdu, Pakistan's language of education. The pure Eastern Gojri found in these texts will provide a standard by which educated Urdu speakers' decisions about Gojri can be tested. This has further practical application in the production of written materials, potential Gojri language learning, and teaching written Gojri for children in schools.

## 1.1 The Gojri People and Language

There are approximately 1.4 million speakers of Gojri in Nothern Pakistan and neighboring regions in India and Afghanistan. The Ethnologue uses the term 'Gujjari' and the language code *'gju'*. It indicates a number of variant pronunciations, including 'Gojri', which is favoured by Losey (2002) and will be used in this study. The people are called 'Gujjars'.

Gojri belongs to the Central zone of Indo-Aryan. According to Masica (1991:48), its closest related language is Mewati, a North Eastern Rajasthani language.

Losey (2002) identifies two dialects of Gojri: Allaiwal Bakarwal and Kaghani Bakarwal. These correspond to the Western and Eastern dialects, respectively, which are proposed by Hallberg and O'Leary (1992). This study concentrates on the Kaghani Bakarwal

dialect, or Eastern dialect, found in the North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) of Pakistan.

The Kaghani Bakarwal people are semi-nomadic and migrate between the Kaghan Valley and Abbottabad District, N.W.F.P. The language of wider communication in

Kaghan and Abbottabad is Hindko (see Losey 2002). Gujjar men are usually bilingual in Hindko. Women only speak their dialect of Gojri, unless their community is bilingual, in which case they grow up speaking both Gojri and Hindko. My primary language assistant, Shameem Tikri, grew up speaking Hindko and Gojri and married into a Hindko family. Her husband's family is also bilingual.

The Indological transcription used in this study is adopted from Losey (2002), who based his transcription on the 'Standard Orientalist' transcription described by Masica (1991:xv) and extended it with symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Retroflex consonants are represented with a subscript dot under the consonant symbol: ṭ, ḍ, ṛ, and ṇ. Aspiration is represented by an h (not a raised h, as in the IPA) following the aspirated consonant. For the alveopalatal fricatives and affricates, ʃ, tʃ, and dʒ, Losey (2002) uses Americanist symbols: š,č,ǰ, whereas for the two affricates, Masica uses the bare forms c and j .

When vowel length is differentiated, long vowels are indicated by a macron over the vowels ā,ū,ī, and their

short counterparts are represented by the bare vowels. Vowels o and e are closed-mid and their open counterparts are represented by the IPA symbols ɔ and ɛ . Losey (2002) follows Masica (1991) and Baart (1997) in his transcription of nasals, putting the tilde beside the vowel instead of over itɛIn this study, in contrast to the others, nasalization is indicated by a tilde above the vowel. In cases where the vowel is also long, the tilde is written above the macron, for example, ã̰, õ .

A final note about transcription is the marking of Gojri's tone. Losey uses a grave accent for low tone and an acute accent for high tone. Mid tone is unmarked. This study adopts this system. This produces the possibility of having three superscripts on one vowel segment, such as ṵ̃̀. For a more extensive description of the sounds of Gojri, the reader is referred to Losey (2002).

## 1.2 Previous Language Work on Gojri

Losey (2002) describes the history of Gojri language research, which began with Bailey in 1903. The most recent linguistic study mentioned by Losey is Sharma's work on the sound system (1979) and the grammar (1982) of Poonchi Gojri in Indian siode of Jammu and Kashmir. More recently, there have been sociolinguistic studies on Gojri conducted by Hallberg and O'Leary (1992) and Hugoniot and Polster (1997).

Losey (2002) is the most recent study on Gojri. It is an extensive description of Gojri's phonology and

morphology, as well as a preliminary description of its syntax and a sociolinguistic description of the Bakarwal people. The purpose of his study was to decide which features of the two major dialects should be used in developing an orthography that could benefit both. In his study of syntax, he described the verb phrase and identified four types of non-finite verbs: infinitives, perfective participles, imperfective participles, and conjunctive participles. In personal notes, Losey made some preliminary observations about relative clause structure and usage. This study has depended heavily on the information supplied by Losey (2002) as well as the dictionary he is developing and other personal notes (referred to henceforth as p.c.). In particular, it builds on his observations of the relative clause and his more extensive description of non-finite verbs.

## 1.3 Overview of Thesis

This thesis looks at subordination, grounding, and packaging of information in Gojri.

Chapter 2 sets the scene for chapter 3. It continues the study of Gojri syntax begun by Losey (2002) by describing the structure of subordinate clauses. It describes three different types of subordinate clauses found in Gojri: adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. Adverbial clauses include clauses of time, manner, purpose, and cause or reason. One special type of adverbial clause is the conjunctive participial clause, which

may occur singly or in chains before the main verb (it may also occur after the main verb, on occasion). Complement clauses include finite complements of verbs of speech and awareness and infinitive complements of other verbs. Relative clauses can be divided into two categories, the first with the relative pronoun preceding the head, the second with the head first.

The third chapter deals with the role of subordinate clauses in grounding. It describes the difference in grounding that is indicated by the position of the adverbial clause in a sentence. Then it describes the role of the relative clause in narrative discourse and finally the unique role of the conjunctive participle. The two most significant discoveries in this chapter relate to these two subordinate clause types. First, apart from the normal identifying use of the relative clause, a seemingly superfluous relative clause is used to give prominence to a participant or prop. Second, the conjunctive participle in Gojri, although a subordinate clause, often conveys information that is of equal storyline status with the main verb.

The fourth chapter deals with the role of connectives in the packaging of events. The chapter majors on four different connectives and their respective functions. It also looks at the function of juxtaposition in contrast to the presence of the default connective tɛ, which introduces distinct information and, under certain

circumstances, indicates the beginning of a new package of events.

Chapter five provides a brief conclusion of my study and suggestions for further research.

## 2 Subordinate Clause Structure in Gojri

Traditional grammar has posited three basic types of subordinate clauses: adverbial, complement, and relative (Whaley 1997:247). Gojri has all three. This chapter first deals with each of these types separately and then handles conjunctive participial clauses as a case on their own, since they behave differently from other subordinate clauses.

### 2.1 Adverbial Clauses

The adverbial clauses found in this corpus can be divided into at least four categories: time, manner, purpose, and cause or reason. Adverbial clauses can occur before the main clause, after the main clause, or between the subject and the verb of the main clause. The position in the sentence affects their grounding status, which will be addressed in the following chapter.

#### 2.1.1 Adverbial clauses of time

The time clauses of this corpus have four different structures. They can be introduced with the clause-initial subordinating conjunction ǰad. They can also be

introduced with a clause-initial relative phrase, involving the oblique relative pronoun ǰis. Thirdly, an infinitival clause followed by a postposition can indicate the relative time at which something happens. Finally, the non-specific relativizer ǰīya̰ can also introduce time clauses, though instances of this are almost exclusively found in only one of the texts used in this study. A fifth structure is also mentioned in this section which overlaps with and will be more fully handled in the discussion on adverbial clauses of manner (section 2.1.2).

The adverbial clause marker ǰad is associated in some way with a span of time. Three of the four examples that I have of this subordinator refer to a span of time during which another event happened. The fourth example introduces a point in time that occurs while an activity is going on.

In example (1) ǰad introduces the time period in which 'this brother ... was studying at school'. The imperfective form of the verb brings out the fact that the time indicated is a period and not a point.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | tɛ | yó | | mer-ɔ | pə̀y | | |
| | CC | 3S.PRX.N.M | | 1S.O-MS.N | brother | | |
| | ǰad | skūl | páṛ-ɛ | | hò-wɛ | th-ɔ | nə́ … |
| | when | school | read-HAB.2/3S | | be-HAB.2/3S | PST-MS.N | NEG |

'When this brother of mine was studying at school, okay ...' (Aslam 2)

Example (2) is the fourth instance of ǰad, where the adverbial clause introduced with ǰad is a point of time that occurs during a span of time that is encoded in the main clause.

(2) ǰad - šāzīā - zalzal-ɔ hò-e-ɔ tɛ andar
when Shazia earthquake-MS.N be-PRF-MS.N CC inside

baṛ-ī māḷ k-ɔ kam kar-ɛ
big-FS.N livestock GEN-MS.N work do-HAB.2/3s

th-ī.
PST-FS.N

'When – Shazia – the earthquake happened, (she) was inside doing the chores for the big livestock.' (Shazia 1)

The oblique relative pronoun ǰis introduces temporal clauses as part of a clause initial relative phrase such as ǰis ṭem 'time that' or ǰis waxt 'time that' or other variations that include more specific time words such as ǰis din 'day that'. Like other relative clauses (see section 2.3), relative clauses of time are restrictive. In example (3) below, the relative clause identifies the time when the boy was born, which will contrast with a later point in time, in which the situation was quite different:

(3) ó ǰis ṭem pɛdā hò-e-ɔ nā́
3S.DST.N REL.O time be.born.PRF be-PRF-MS.N NEG

tɛ ó muč hī̀ sóṇ-ɔ nā́?
CC 3S.DST.N much EMPH beautiful-MS.N NEG

'At the time he was born, right, he was very beautiful, wasn't he?' (Aftahad 2)

The third method of referring to time is with an infinitival clause and a postpositional expression. This construction presents an event by describing its relation to a prior or following activity. It concentrates on the relation of the described time to another time. In example (4), the storyline event of the speaker going (to visit relatives) is represented as occurring two days before the event of their leaving. The infinitive čaluṇ 'to go' is followed by the postposition te 'from' and the adverb pɛ́lã̃ 'before'.[1]

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (4) | fir | rāt - | do | dèāṛ-ā | čal-uṇ | te | pɛ́l-ã̄ |
| | then | night - | two | day-MP.N | go-INF.O | from | before-P.O |
| | hū̃ | ga-ī. | | | | | |
| | 1S.N | go.PRF-FS.N | | | | | |

'Then (one) night – two days before (their) leaving, I went.' (Aslam 11) This construction is not used very extensively in my corpus. In fact, this is the only example of it. More commonly, the combination of te and pɛ́ a͂ modifies a noun, such as īd 'Eid' in example (5), giving a time phrase rather than a time clause:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | tɛ | fir | īd | te | do | dèāṛ-ā | pɛ́l-ã̄ |
| | CC | then | Eid | from | two | day-MP.N | before-P.O |
| | muṛ | | kɛ | ḍer-ā | | ā-e-ɔ | tɛ. |
| | return.INTR | | CP | home-MS.O | | come-PRF-MS.N | CC |

'Then, two days before Eid, he came back home.' (Akram 48)

The non-specific relativizer j̃īya͂ is handled more fully in section 2.3 on relative clauses. As a relativizer it

sometimes has the meaning of 'whenever'. This creates a temporal adverbial clause, as in example (6):

(6) ɛnū kar-t-ɑ̃̃ kar-t-ɑ̃̃ jī
like.this do-IMPF-ADV do-IMPF-ADV LIM

jīyɑ̃̃ rāt hò gɑ-ī so rá-ī.
whenever night be go.PRF-FS.N sleep stay.PRF-FS.N

'So, (we) just (sat there) like that. Whenever night came, we slept.'
(EQ Short 43 - 44)

An imperfective participial clause can also present an activity that provides a backdrop against which the punctiliar event of the main verb occurs (see further in section 2.1.2 below.) Example (7) describes the situation in which the girls are cutting corn and, while they are cutting, the earthquake happens.

(7) makaī kap-t-ɑ̃̃ kap-t-ɑ̃̃
corn cut-IMPF-ADV cut- IMPF-ADV

zalzal-ɔ hò g-ī-ɔ.
earthquake-MS.N be go-PRF-MP.N

'We kept cutting and cutting corn (and then) the earthquake happened.'
(Sham 5)

## 2.1.2 Adverbial clauses of manner

Some adverbial clauses express the manner in which the main verbal activity is carried out. The manner can be given as a subordinated clause introduced with the oblique relative construction jis tarea͂ 'manner that',

which is comparable to the use of ǰis to give the time of an activity.

(8) tɛ bɛ́ā wī kar-ā-e-ɔ
CC marriage also do-CAUS-PRF-MS.N

ǰis **tareã̄** dukh dukh kar kar nā́
REL.O manner hurt hurt do do NEG

is tareã̄ ɣam.
3S.PRX.O manner worry

'But we made the wedding, in such a way that there was pain and pain we did it – right? – this way, with sorrow.' (Anwar 18)

Alternatively, the manner can be given as an imperfective participle, most often without any other clausal constituents. This presents an activity simultaneous to the activity expressed by the main verb and describes the manner in which it was enacted.[2]

In the following example, the imperfective participle dɔṛtā 'running' describes the manner in which the subject came:

(9) bas hàm dɔṛ-t-ā ā-e-ā.
well 1P.N run-IMPF-MP.N come-PRF-MP.N

'Well, we came running.' (Shazia 33)

The imperfective participle can be repeated in order to intensify the manner in which an activity takes place (for example, to indicate its duration or degree).

(10) wá dɔṛ-t-ī dɔṛ-t-ī
3S.DST.N.F run-IMPF-FS.N run-IMPF-FS.N

ā-e-ī.
come-PRF-FS.N

'She came, running and running (i.e. running hard).' (Shazia 8)

In the above two examples, (9) and (10), the imperfective participles immediately precede the main verb, so could be treated as part of the verb phrase rather than separate clauses. In the next example another constituent occurs between the participle and the main verb:

(11) tɛ bač-t-ɔ bač-t-ɔ
CC be.saved-IMPF-MS.N be.saved-IMPF-MS.N

yó ā g-ī-ɔ.
3S.PRX.N.M come go-PRF-MS.N

'And being saved, being saved, he came' (in other words: 'He came making his way safely (through the danger).') (Bibi 24)

Furthermore, participles can also follow the main verb. Example (12) shows the reduplicated imperfective in the post verb position.

(12) bɛ́ṇ mer-ī k-ɛ ḍer-ɛ g-ī-ā
sister 1S.O-FS.N GEN-LOC home-LOC go-PRF-MP.N

ṭ͡ūḍ-t-ā š͡ūḍtā.
search-IMPF-MP.N (rhyme)

'They came to my sister's house, looking and looking.' (Nephew 27)

A reduplicated imperfective participle which is uninflected for person, number, or gender can be used at the junction of two discourse units to indicate that the activity in the preceding unit keeps going on until the activity in the following unit begins. Because it has no agreement marker, it does not relate to any verb in its sentence as closely as other inflected forms of reduplication relate to the main verb in their sentence. In example (13), the action, given as a reduplicated imperfective participle kartã̃ kartã̃ 'doing doing', continued until the fifth day, when Rimzi brother came. The choice of words in the free translation, 'it went on and on like this', reflects the participle's independence of any other verb.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (13) | dekh | kis | | tareã̃ | hɛ̀ | hò | g-ī-ɔ. |
| | look | of.what.quality | | manner | PRS.2/3S | be | go-PRF-MS.N |
| | fir | ɛnū | kar-t-ã̃ | kar-t-ã̃ | | | |
| | then | like.this | do-IMPF-ADV | do-IMPF-ADV | | | |
| | jīyã̃ | panǰm-õ | din | th-ɔ | | | |
| | which | fifth-MS.N | day | PST-MS.N | | | |
| | tɛ | fir | rimzī | pə̀y | ā | rɛ́-ɔ. | |
| | and | then | Rimzi | brother | come | stay-PRF.MS.N | |

'Look how it happened; it is finished. Then, it went on and on like this, until it was the fifth day and then Rimzi Brother came.' (Jamila 47)

In the above example, the generic verb kar- 'do' is used to indicate that whatever the action was until this point, that is what continued until the next unit began. It is also possible to use a specific verb, such as ṭurtã̃ 'walking',

to describe more exactly the continuous action that is interrupted by the second action, as in the following example:

(14) tɛ ṭur-t-ɜ̃ ṭur-t-ɜ̃
CC walk-IMPF-ADV walk-IMPF-ADV

bālākoṭ ā ré-ā.
Balakot come stay-PRF.MP.N

'and walking and walking, they came to Balakot.' (Jamila 23)

## 2.1.3 Adverbial clauses of purpose

An adverbial clause of purpose consists of the oblique infinitive form of the verb plus one of the three postpositions: nā 'dative (DAT)., jûg- 'purpose (PURP)., or wāstɛ. 'PURP.. It may occur before the main clause, after the main clause, or between the subject and the main verb.

The infinitive + dative construction can be used in two ways. When it occurs with the main verb lag- 'start., it acts as the complement of its main verb. This construction will be handled in section 2.2 on complement clauses. With any other verb, the infinitive + dative combination either carries the meaning 'in order to V., where 'V. stands for the verb in the infinitive, or describes an activity that overlaps with that of the main verb. These two uses of the infinitive are consistent with the imperfective sense associated with an infinitive, since events in the imperfective are portrayed as not complete at the point of reference. The meaning 'start to V. that is associated with

complement clause formation with lag- and the infinitive is likewise consistent with an imperfective analysis of the infinitive.

In the following example, the mother is upset because her daughter has gone to cut grass. It is clear that she expects the intention of cutting grass to be fulfilled:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (15) | ɔ́xɔ́ɔ! | mer-ī | tī̀ | kā̀ | kap-uṇ | nā |
| | oh.no! | 1S.O-FS.N | daughter | grass | cut-INF.O | DAT |
| | gə-ī | th-ī! | | | | |
| | go.PRF-FS.N | PST-FS.N | | | | |

'Oh! no! My daughter went to cut grass!' (Sister 33)

It is possible to omit the dative postposition from this construction and keep the intentional meaning. In (16), the infinitival clause is at the end of the sentence and lacks nā .

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (16) | jəǰ | ā | gə-ī | jī | |
| | wedding.procession | come | go.PRF-FS.N | LIM | |
| | tɛ | bóṭ-ī | nā | le | čal-uṇ. |
| | CC | bride-FS.N | DAT | take | go-INF.O |

'the groom's men came just then, to take the bride away.' (Resh 27)

The next example illustrates the infinitive dative combination, kɛ́ṷ ṇ nā 'saying', used to express an overlapping activity. The combination is used to express what the husband said as he went:

| (17) | ḍer-ā | mer-ā | āḷ-ɔ | afrā̃ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | home-MS.O | 1S.O-MS.O | kind.of-MS.N | upwards |
| | g-ī-ɔ | th-ɔ | ādmī-ā̃ | kà̃ |
| | go-PRF-MS.N | PST-MS.N | person-P.O | grass |
| | k-ɔ | ké-uṇ | nā | ‘kà̃ | kapā-ṇ-ɔ | k-ɔ.’ |
| | GEN-MS.N | say-INF.O | DAT | grass | cut-INF-MS.N | GEN-MS.N |

‘My husband had gone to cut people’s grass, he’d said (saying) “to cut grass.”’ (Reshma 5)

The purpose clauses with wāstɛ and ǰug- have one common usage. Both postpositions are used in connection with clauses that specify the function of an object. The function is specific to the object and does not change, whether the object actually gets used for that function or not. The next example shows ǰug- in this context:

| (18) | roz-ā | khol-uṇ | ǰug-ī | kúǰ | čīz | nī́ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | fast-MS.O | open-INF.O | PURP-FS.N | some | thing | NEG |
| | th-ɔ | | | | | |
| | PST-MS.N | | | | | |

‘There was nothing to break the fast with’ (Arshad 21)

*wāstɛ* can be used in this same way:

| (19) | tɛ | hɔ̀r | tɛ | koe | šɛ | th-ī |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CC | more | CC | MS.INDEF | thing | PST-FS.N |
| | nī́ | th-ī | | khā-uṇ | wāstɛ | tɛ. |
| | NEG | PST-FS.N | | eat-INF.O | PURP | CC |

‘and otherwise there was not a single thing to eat.’ (Shazia 24)

In both of the above examples the adverbial clause involving ǰug- or wāstɛ modifies a head noun, indicating, specifically in these examples, the things to break the fast with or the things that are for eating. This is the only way that ǰug- is used in my set of stories. wāstɛ, on the other hand, can also be used to express the intent of a participant. The intention expressed is not necessarily fulfilled. In the following example, the woman got up with the intention of going out of the house, but before she got out, the house fell on top of her:

(20) tɛ bas uṭh-ī
CC well get.up-PRF.FS.N

bíṛ-ɛ nā ā-uṇ wāstɛ
outside-LOC DAT come-INF.O PURP

tɛ afr-ɰ̃ koṭh-ɔ čàṛ-e-ɔ
CC above-ABL house-MS.N fall-PRF-MS.N

tɛ bas ut-ɛ hèṭh ā ga-ī.
CC well there-LOC under come go.PRF-FS.N

'She got up to go outside, and from above, the house fell and right there she got caught underneath.' (Mother 11)

In all my textual examples of adverbial clauses of purpose with the dative and the infinitive, it appears that the purpose was fulfilled. It is clear, however, that purpose clauses with wāstɛ are left unspecified, and it is possible that what is expected did not happen, depending on the rest of the context.

### 2.1.4 Adverbial clauses of cause or reason

Adverbial clauses also describe the cause or reason of an action. The subordinator kyu ... e introduces the clause that gives the reason for an action in clause (b) of the following example:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (21)(a) | tɛ | mer-ī | mā̃ | ut-ũ̃ | muṛ | | |
| | CC | 1S.O-FS.N | mother | there-ABL | return.INTR | | |
| | kɛ | jā | rá-ī | | | | |
| | CP | go | stay.PRF-FS.N | | | | |
| (b) | kyũ̃je | mer-ī | mā̃ | apar | muč | mès | |
| | because | 1S.O-FS.N | mother | on | much | buffalo | |
| | mɛḷ-ɛ̃ | wɛ̃ | th-ī̃ | nā́. | | | |
| | milk-HAB.3P | be.HAB.3P | PST-FP.N | NEG | | | |

'And from there my mother went back because she had so many buffalos to milk, you know.' (Aslam 58)

A cause for an event can also be expressed with an infinitive plus the ablative postposition te.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (22) | sā́ | le-uṇ | te | is | k-ɔ | hàth |
| | breath | take-INF.O | from | 3S.PRX.O | GEN-MS.N | hand |
| | tɛl-ɛ | th-ɔ … | | | | |
| | shake-HAB.2/3S | PST-MS.N | | | | |

'Because it was taking a breath, her hand was moving ...' (Mother 19)

## 2.2 Complement Clauses

This section distinguishes the following complement clauses in Gojri: the complement of attributive verbs, the infinitival complement of the verb

la.- .start., as introduced in section 2.1.3 on adverbial clauses of purpose, and the infinitival complement of other verbs.

Verbs of attribution4 include the most common form, speech, as well as other verbs. There is only direct speech in Gojri narrative. The complement of the speech verb is given as a finite verb clause. Example (23) has two speech acts, both of which are introduced by the finite verb kɛ́ɔ ‘said’. No complementizer occurs in this example. The complement clauses consist of the finite verbs čalɔ kā (you) are going., in (b), and čalɔ kā ‘(we) are going’, in (c).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (23)(a) | tɛ | ín-ã̃ | nā | hũ̃ | hèr | kɛ | ā-e-ī |
| | CC | 3P.PRX.O-P.O | DAT | 1S.N | see | CP | come-PRF-FS.N |
| (b) | mɛ̃ | kɛ́-ɔ, | tam | čal-ɔ | | k-ā? | |
| | 1S.AG | say-PRF.MS.N | 2P.N | go-HAB.2P | | FUT-MP.N | |
| (c) | tɛ | ín-ã̃ | ne | kɛ́-ɔ, | | hàm | čal-ã̃ |
| | CC | 3P.PRX.O-P.O | AG | say-PRF.MS.N | | 1P.N | go-HAB.1P |
| | k-ā. | | | | | | |
| | FUT-MP.N | | | | | | |

‘I went to see them and I said, “You’re going?” And they answered, “(Yes,) we’re going.”’ (Aslam 13-14)

When news is given, even if the orienter is not a speech verb, the news itself isgiven as direct speech with a finite verb form. The following example describes the arrival of some important news. In this example, the news is introduced with the complementizer arā, which

commonly introduces speech, even though no speaker is identified here and no speech verb is employed.

(24) bas tīǰ-ɛ dèāṛ-ɛ hàmṇā xabar lag-ī
well third-LOC day-LOC 1P.DAT news hit-PRF.FS.N

arā, ter-ā pə̀y k-ɛ lag
COMP 2S.O-MS.O brother GEN-LOC hit

gá-ī, nə́?
go.PRF-FS.N NEG

'Well, on the third day we received the news, "Your brother has been hurt," didn't we?' (Aslam 29)

With verbs of perception, such as dekh- 'see, the complement is also given as a finite verb. With verbs of cognition, when the content of the cognition is a real is fact now known to the storyteller, the complement clause occurs as a final clause. The full form is the noun-verb combination patɛlag- 'fact hit.. Example (25) shows a full verb of cognition with real is content of the complement clause in final verb form:

(25) hàmṇā fir patɔ lag-ɔ jī
1P.DAT then fact hit-PRF.MS.N INTERP[5]

yó ḍākṭar hɛ̀.
3S.PRX.N.M doctor 2/3S.PRS

'So then we knew that he was a doctor.' (Doctor 8)

The verb of cognition is usually shortened to the noun patɛ'fact.. The verb need not be present, even in a negative construction.6 When the content of the cognition

is realis, the complement clause occurs as a final clause, and the negative is marked on the verb of cognition. Example (26) shows the shortened, negative form of the cognition orienter with realis content. The content is realis because the storyteller now knows that Shazia was caught under the window, even though ‘we., the characters in the story, were unaware of this fact at the time.

(26) tɛ hàmṇā nɨ́ patɔ
CC 1P.DAT NEG fact

šāzīā khiṛkī k-ɛ hèṭh
Shazia window GEN-LOC under

ā-e-ī w-ī hɛ̀.
come-PRF-FS.NPFP- FS.N 2/3S.PRS

‘We didn’t know that Shazia had come (got caught) under the window.’ (Shazia 12)

In contrast, when a verb of cognition is negated and the content of the complement clause is irrealis, the complement clause is given in the subjunctive. In example (27), the speaker is not sure about the details, whether or not tea was drunk on this occasion, so the complement is in the subjunctive and there is no complementizer:

(27) us dèāṛ-ā nɨ́ patɔ
3S.DST.O day-MS.O NEG fact

čɑ́ pī-ɛ ǰe nɨ́ pī.
tea drink-SBJV-2/3S or NEG drink

‘I don’t know if she drank tea or not that day.’ (Doctor 34)

Two types of complement constructions regularly take an infinitive form of the verb in the complement clause. The complement construction involving the main verb lag-'start' takes an oblique infinitival complement verb with a dative postposition (see section 2.1.3 above on adverbial clauses of purpose), to produce the meaning 'start to V', as in example (28):

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (28) | bas | lɔk | ā | kɛ | lag-ā | káḍ-uṇ | nā. |
| | well | people | come | CP | start-PRF.MP.N | remove-INF.O | DAT |

'So the people came and began to dig (her) out.' (Mother 14)

A second construction that takes the infinitive form of the complement clause verb is illustrated in the following example. The main verb kartɔ 'was doing' is generic and the specific actions that the participant was doing are given as infinitive verbs in complement clauses.

(29) hɔ̀r is k-ī sār-ɔ kúǰ
more 3S.PRX.O GEN-FS.N entire-MS.N some

is k-ɔ hàth tò-ā-ṇ-ɔ
3S.PRX.O GEN-MS.N hand wash-CAUS-INF-MS.N

is nā pešāb kar-ā-ṇ-ɔ
3S.PRX.O DAT urine do-CAUS-INF-MS.N

is nā khwāḷ-ṇ-ɔ
3S.PRX.O DAT feed-INF-MS.N

mer-ɔ pā̀y kar-t-ɔ ré-ɔ.
1S.O-MS.N brother do-IMPF-MS.N stay-PRF.MS.N

'Everything for him – washing his hands, helping him go to the bathroom, feeding him – my brother was doing it.' (Aslam 107-8)

## 2.3 Relative Clauses

In personal notes, Losey describes relative clauses in some detail. He notes a distinction, semantically though not formally, between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. However, in the corpus of Gojri narratives available to him and in the corpus of strictly oral texts that I have gathered, there are no instances of the nonrestrictive relative clause, so this paper does not consider them.

Losey (p.c.) notes further that restrictive relative clauses are used extensively to introduce a participant or prop into the narrative and as a retrieval device for something previously introduced. When introducing a participant or prop in the narrative, 'often the [relative clause] seems superfluous to English speakers' (Losey,

p.c.). This superfluous construction consists of the relative pronoun, ǰíṛ-, plus the copula (such as the present tense hɛ̃̄). It is possible to view ǰíṛɔ hɛ̃̄ as a semantically empty relative clause. Losey (p.c.) writes that it 'adds weight' to a participant being mentioned in a narrative. This section deals with each of these issues: the identification function of the relative clause in connection with introductions and further reference to activated participants (see below) as well as the superfluous use of certain relative clauses and their function of 'adding weight', or giving prominence, to a constituent (see section3.3).

Relative clauses always include a relative pronoun. There are two relativizers in Gojri, a relative pronoun ǰíṛ- and a non-specific relativizer ǰĩyã̄ which has an additional function as a related adverb (see the end of this section).

The relative pronoun stem ǰíṛ- is inflected for gender, number, and case. It has an interrogative counterpart kíṛ-, which is likewise inflected for gender, number, and case. The interrogative pronoun will not be handled in this paper.

Although the standard relative pronoun ǰíṛ- is inflected for gender, number, and case, a second variant of the relative pronoun, ǰis, also exists, used exclusively for the oblique case and only in specific situations. ǰis, with its interrogative counterpart kis, remains uninflected for gender or number. Losey (2002:133-134) calls this the 'oblique variant'. Because the standard relative pronoun

ǰíṛ- is inflected for nominative and oblique cases, this study will call ǰis the ‘second variant’ of the relative pronoun, rather than Losey’s term ‘oblique variant’.

Losey further writes that the second variant may be preferred for instances where the relative pronoun occurs on its own, with no accompanying noun, while the standard pronoun ǰíṛ- is used when a noun accompanies the pronoun. In my set of stories, I have found that the second variant is used specifically for expressions involving time, manner, or a possessor, whereas the standard inflected variant is used for relative clauses involving all other references to entities and locations, whether with a head noun or without one.

Urdu and Hindi distinguish between a nominative relative pronoun ǰo, defined by the Popular Oxford Practical Dictionary as ‘who; what; which; that’ and an oblique relative pronoun ǰis defined by the same dictionary as ‘whom; what; that; which; who’. The nominative pronoun ǰo does not inflect for gender, number, or case. This pronoun exists in the Gojri texts in this corpus as well, in the form ǰɔ. Losey (p.c.) defines it as ‘whatever’ as in the following examples:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (30) | tamṇā | ǰɔ | | gal | kar-ṇ-ī | hɛ̀ |
| | 2P.DAT | whatever | | matter | do-INF-FS.N | 2/3S.PRS |
| | mer-ɛ | nāḷ | kar-ɔ | | peā! | |
| | 1S.O-LOC | with | do-IMP.2S | | fall | |

'Whatever you have to say to me, go ahead and say it!' (Losey p.c.)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (31) | tɛ | andar | ǰɔ | kúǰ | th-ɔ | māḷ | šāḷ |
| | CC | inside | whatever | some | PST-MS.N | wealth | (rhyme) |
| | káḍ-uṇ | | lag | g-ī-ā | | | |
| | remove-INF.O | | start | go-PRF-MP.N | | | |

'and whatever was inside, wealth and such, they started to remove it' (Tug 18)

The relative pronoun ǰɔ is not used very extensively in my corpus. It acts more like the non-specific relativizer ǰĩyã̄ (see below) than the relative pronoun ǰíṛ-, which is the main focus in this section.

Losey (2002) does not go into the various constructions possible for the relative clause. In his (p.c.) notes, however, he points out the extreme flexibility in relative clause ordering. He says that the relative pronoun can, grammatically, occur in any position in the clause. The following sentence is taken from a story in my corpus which Losey had access to as well. The full sentence is given below in example (32) and the relative clause is repeated below in versions (A), (B), (C), and (D). Losey found that the relative pronoun could occur at the beginning of the clause, after the possessive (as it is in the text), after the demonstrative, or between the noun and

the verb. These possibilities are illustrated in (A) through (D).

(32) (a) mer-ī ǰíṛ-ī wé lakaṛ-ɪ̃̄ th-ɪ̃̄
1S.O-FS.N REL-FS.N 3P.DST.N wood-PF PST-PF

(b) tɛ wé tɛ rāt saṛ ga-ɪ̃̄!
CC 3P.DST.N CC night burn go.PRF-PF

'those which were my pieces of wood, they burned in the night! (That wood of mine, it *burned* in the night!)' (Seventh 101)

A. mer-ī **ǰíṛ-ī** wé lakaṛ-ɪ̃̄ th-ɪ̃̄

B. **ǰíṛ-ī** mer-ī wé lakaṛ-ɪ̃̄ th-ɪ̃̄

C. mer-ī wé **ǰíṛ-ī** lakaṛ-ɪ̃̄ th-ɪ̃̄

D. mer-ī wé lakaṛ-ɪ̃̄ **ǰíṛ-ī** th-ɪ̃̄

Structures similar to orders A, B, and D have been found in the corpus (see below).

This study has found that the relative clause occurs with a head noun phrase in the following two patterns. The difference between these two patterns is neutralized when there is no head.

1. REL (head) clause
2. (head) REL clause

Pattern 1 identifies an activated (or accessible) entity and is not used to introduce an entity for the first time. In contrast, Pattern 2 may be used to introduce a

new entity into the narrative. It can be divided into two further sub-groupings:

Pattern 2a '(Noun) REL clause'

Pattern 2b '(Demonstrative) (Possessive) REL clause'.

At least 16 out of the 18 relative clauses in the two narratives included in the appendices A and B are of Pattern 2. Of these, five are of Pattern 2a, nine are of Pattern 2b, and two are headless.

**Pattern 1.** Examples (33) and (34) below illustrate Pattern 1. In (33), the head noun l.k .people follows the relativizer and identifies the people as the ones that were seen.

| (33) | tɛ | jĭíṛ-ɔ | lɔk | hàmṇe | hèr-e-ɔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CC | REL-MS.N | people | 1P.AG | see-PRF-MS.N |

'and the people that we saw' (Bibi 67b)

In example (34), which is separated from (33) by one clause, there is no head, and the rest of the clause simply follows the relativizer and identifies the .ones. that were seen being carried away.

| (34) | jĭíṛ-ā | le | čal-t-ā | hèr-e-ā | hɛ̃̀ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | REL-MP.N | take | go-IMPF-MP.N | see-PRF-MP.N | PRS.3P |

'the ones that we saw being carried away' (Bibi 67d)

**Pattern 2.** This pattern is illustrated in example (35). The hearer knows from the previous part of the narrative that Jamila has an injured back, and now the narrator is

describing exactly what is wrong. In doing so, she introduces something new into the narrative: the bone in Jamila's back, which is the thing that is broken. Consequently, the reference to the .bone of her back precedes the relativizer.

| (35) | lak | k-ī | hàḍ-ī | jĭṛ-ī | th-ī | nấ? … |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | back | GEN-FS.N | bone-FS.N | REL-FS.N | PST-FS.N | NEG |

'The bone that is in her back, right? ...' (Jamila 26)

Example (35) is, more specifically, an example of Pattern 2a. The head that precedes the relative pronoun is a full noun phrase lak ki haḍ̃ ī 'the bone of the back'. Pattern 2a is used to activate a referent that fits the description given in the relative clause.

Pattern 2b, which is used for activated participants, is given below in example (36). Here the head modified by the relative clause is the demonstrative wá 'she' and the complement (the focus of the relative clause) is terī mã̃ 'your mother'.

| (36) | tɛ | wá | jĭṛ-ī | ter-ī | mã̃ | th-ī |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CC | 3S.DST.N.F | REL-FS.N | 2S.O-FS.N | mother | PST-FS.N |
| | tɛ | wá | wī ... | | | |
| | CC | 3S.DST.N.F | also | | | |

'And your *mother*, she also ... (literally: she who was your mother)' (Doctor 22)

In this example, the character 'your mother' is described as doing the same actions as a previous

character in the narrative. The context of example (36) sets up a scene with both 'your father' and 'your mother'. First the father 'came and greeted my brother and then came inside.' Then the mother did the same. This is an instance of 'expanding focus' (Dik et al 1981:60). The activity remains the same in each statement, but the focus on the character doing the activity which started with the father, expands to include the mother as well.

In the following example, a demonstrative is again the head, modified by the relative clause, but this time the relative clause consists of a verb phrase and no nominal complementɛ(pàrǰāi 'sister-in-law' is not part of the relative clause, but is in opposition to it.) The narrator is clarifying that the baby belongs to the woman who died, in contrast to the one who is taking care of it. In other words, this is an instance of selective focus (ibid.)

| (37) | wá | ǰíṛ-ī | mū-ī | w-ī, | pàrǰāI … |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3S.DST.N.F | REL-FS.N | die-PRF.FS.N | PFP-FS.N | brother's.wife |

'The (lit. 'that') one who had died, the sister-in-law ...' (Doctor 30)

In the default order of the relative clause, the complement follows the relative pronoun. In the following example of a headless relative clause, the complement is the noun phrase plus modifier terī mã̄ 'your mother' and the verb is the copula thī. These follow the relative pronoun ǰíṛī.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (38) | fir | jĭŗ-ī | ter-ī | mə̃ | th-ī … |
| | then | REL-FS.N | 2S.O-FS.N | mother | PST-FS.N |

'Then, she who was your mother ...' (Doctor 52)

However, one or more constituents in the complement may precede the relativizer to give prominence to a new or contrastive topic or to a constituent in narrow focus. For example, in (39) below, which is similar to (38), the possessive terī 'your' occurs to the left of the relativizer. The effect is to give prominence to the contrastive topic. In the preceding context, the story was dealing with the main character's family and Wahid, who came to give them some news. In this sentence 'your mother' is the new topic, in contrast to 'we' and 'Wahid Brother', and the following clauses deal with her actions.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (39) | tɛ | ter-ī | jĭŗ-ī | mə̃ | th-ī … |
| | CC | 2S.O-FS.N | REL-FS.N | mother | PST-FS.N |

'And she (as for her), who was your mother ...' (Doctor 48)

A reduced form of Pattern 2 consists of a head noun and a relative pronoun, but no remaining relative clause constituents. This subtype never introduces a new entity. Rather, the relativizer acts like a demonstrative, as can be seen in the free, English translation below in example (40):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (40) | gal | jĭŕ-ī | tɛ | wá | xatum | hò |
| | matter | REL-FS.N | CC | 3S.DST.N.F | finished | be |

ga-ī.
go.PRF-FS.N

'This matter, it is finished.' (Aftahad 83)

I now address the syntactic roles of the head noun in the relative clause. According to Andrews (2007:226) (following Keenan and Comrie 1977) there is a hierarchy of the possible syntactic roles, which includes:

subject> object > oblique > possessor > object of comparison

According to the data in this corpus, relative clauses with the pronoun ĵĺr modify subject, object and locative oblique head nouns. They thus conform with Keenan and Comrie's proposal that .a given relativization strategy will cover a contiguous portion of the hierarchy. (Whaley 1997:264). Similarly the second variant of the relative pronoun, *ĵis,* modifies the oblique head nouns, other than locative, and also possessors.

The first example shows the head noun hádī. 'bone' as the subject of the clause:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (41) | lak | k-ī | hàḍ-ī | jĭŕ-ī | th-ī | nấ? … |
| | back | GEN-FS.N | bone-FS.N | REL-FS.N | PST-FS.N | NEG |

'The bone that is in her back, right? ...' (Jamila 26)

Example (42) shows a direct object *lɔk* as the head noun:

| (42) | tɛ | jĭíṛ-ɔ | lɔk | hàmṇe | hèr-e-ɔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | and | REL-MS.N | people | 1P.AG | see-PRF-MS.N |

'and the people that we saw' (Bibi 67b)

Example (43) shows two locative obliques, afrɑ̃̀ 'upwards' and bastī mā 'in that town', as the head nouns of consecutive relative clauses:

| (43) | afrɑ̃̀ | jĭíṛ-ā | bast-ī | mā |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | upwards | REL-MS.O | neighborhood-FS.N | in |
| | jĭíṛ-ā | thɑ̃̀r-ɔ | xāndān hè | |
| | REL-MS.O | 2P.O-MS.N | family 2/3S.PRS | |

'Up there in that town where your family is' (Aslam 31)

Relative clauses introduced with the second variant jĭis modify head nouns that refer to time and manner. Example (44) shows the relative construction with time, *jĭis ṭem* 'time that':

| (44) | ó | jĭis | ṭem | pɛdā | hò-e-ɔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3S.DST.N | REL.O | time | bear.PRF | be-PRF-MS.N |

'At the time when he was born' (Mazar 2)

Example (45) shows the relative construction with manner, *jĭis tareɑ̃̀* 'manner that'.

(45) tɛ bɛ́ā wī kar-ā-e-ɔ
CC marriage also do-CAUS-PRF-MS.N

ǰis tareə̃ dukh dukh kar kar nā́
REL.O manner hurt hurt do do NEG

is tareə̃ ɣam.
3S.PRX.O manner worry

'But we made the wedding, in such a way that there was pain and pain we did it – right? – this way, with sorrow.' (Anwar 18)

The second variant of the relative pronoun also modifies a head noun that is in a possessive relationship to the relative clause. Example (46) shows the possessive construction *ǰis ki* 'whose' modifying the head noun us *ki ti* 'her daughter':

(46) us k-ī tĩ ǰíṛ-ī -
3S.DST.O GEN-FS.N daughter REL-FS.N -

ǰis k-ī is wār šād-ī
REL.O GEN-FS.N 3S.PRX.O time marriage-FS.N

hò-e-ɔ hɛ̀
be-PRF-MS.N 2/3S.PRS

'her daughter, the one who - whose wedding was just now' (EQ Long 14)

The **non-specific relativizer ǰīyə̃** can be used to introduce a headless relative clause whose referent is a non-specific participant, place, or time. In the following example, the referent of the relative clause is a non-specific participant:

(47) tɛ ó jĭyã̃ dāxal kar-e-ɔ w-ɔ
CC 3S.DST.N N.S.RELadmitted do-PRF-MS.N PFP-MS.N

th-ɔ us k-ɛ ḍarip
PST-MS.N 3S.DST.O GEN-LOC intervenous

lag-ī w-ī th-ī.
attach-PRF.FS.N PFP-FS.N PST-FS.N

'And whoever had admitted him, had put an IV in him.' (Aftahad 31)

The form *jĭya˜*can be used as what the Oxford English Dictionary calls a 'related adverb,' as in the following example. In (48), the adverbs *ura˜*and *para˜*, translated 'this direction' and 'that direction' respectively, already give the feeling that the direction they walked is not specific. The subsequent use of *jĭya˜*amplifies this non-specific meaning.

(48) urã̃ parã̃ sār-ɛ jĭyã̃ phir-e-ɔ
this.direction that.direction entire-LOC N.S.RELwalk-PRF-MS.N

'They walked this direction, that direction, everywhere ...' (Aftahad 29)

The non-specific relative pronoun can also be used for a non-specific time, see example (6) in section 2.1.1 above.

## 2.4 Conjunctive Participles

Gojri is a clause chaining language and can employ conjunctive participles (hereafter CP) to encode information of equal status to the main verb in the sentence. Therefore, although CPs might arguably fit under adverbial clauses of time, they will be treated

uniquely. The CP consists of a verb stem plus the particle kɛ.

The CP, as stated above, behaves differently than other subordinate clauses. It shares the tense, mood, and negation of its main verb, but is semantically more independent than any other subordinate clause (Whaley 1997:268). To reflect this independence, independent clauses, such as 'get up' in example (49), are used in the free translation instead of comparable participial clauses in English.

Example (49) illustrates the CP sharing the negative associated with the main clause, as well as the tense and mood. In this example, the narrator is explaining both that they 'didn't even get up (out of bed)' and that 'they didn't look':

| (49) | ún-ã̃ | ne | uṭh | kɛ | nī́ | hèr-e-ɔ | th-ɔ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3P.DST.O | AG | get.up | CP | NEG | see-PRF-MS.N | PST-MS.N |

'They didn't (even) get up and look' (Aslam 54)

A CP may occur directly adjacent to the main verb itself. As described by Losey (2002), it 'immediately precedes the main verb phrase and describes an action completed immediately prior to the main verb.' This is exemplified in (50):

| (50) | fir | mer-ɔ | pə̃y | wī | le | kɛ | ā-e-ɔ. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | then | 1S.O-MS.N | brother | also | take | CP | come-PRF-MS.N |

'So my brother took him and came.' (Aslam 57)

However, it is also possible to insert constituents between the conjunctive participle and the main verb. In example (51) there are two intervening constituents: us na 'him' is a right displaced object for the conjunctive participle and kalandarābād 'Qalandarabad' is the locative belonging to the main clause.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (51) | wé | le | kɛ | us | nā | kalandarābād |
| | 3P.DST.N | take | CP | 3S.DST.O | DAT | Qalandarabad |

ā-e-ā
come-PRF-MP.N

'... they took him and came to Qalandarabad' (Aslam 62)

There may be more than one conjunctive participle in a sentence. Example (52) illustrates this phenomenon. Clauses (a) . (d) contain conjunctive participles and all relate to the main verb ā rɛ́ in (e):

(52)(a) lakaṛ-ī le kɛ
wood-FS.N take CP

(b) tɛ gaḍ-ī de kɛ
CC bundle-FS.N give CP

(c) beč kɛ
sell CP

(d) tɛ rāt ǰug-ɔ apaṇ-ɔ xarč-ɔ
CC night PURP-MS.N one's.own-MS.N expense-MS.N

āṭ-ɔ šāṭɔ le kɛ
flour- MS.N (rhyme) take CP

(e) kúǰ ā ré
some come stay. HAB.2/3S

'He takes wood, gives a bundle (of wood), and sells it and brings his supplies, flour and such, for the night and comes.' (Seventh 64-65)

The significance of the conjunctive participle in Gojri for grounding is discussed below in chapter 3.

## 3 Subordinate Clauses, Grounding and Prominence

This chapter deals with Gojri's use of subordinate clauses in grounding and in giving prominence to information or participants in a narrative. It begins by evaluating conflicting theories of grounding. It then looks at adverbial clauses and describes how their position in the sentence affects grounding. Thirdly, it handles the unique role of relative clauses in giving prominence to participants and props in Gojri narrative.

Finally, it deals with conjunctive participial clauses and their grounding status with respect to the sentence's main verb, as has been alluded to in the previous chapter.

Adverbial clauses and relative clauses play a role in grounding differentiation, but the presence of a complement clause does not affect the grounding of a sentence. The storyline status of the sentence is determined by the main verb and if a clause is the complement of that verb, it just assumes its status. Therefore complement clauses do not feature in this chapter.

## 3.1 Analysis of Discourse/Grounding Theories

Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) define the terms 'background', 'foreground' and 'grounding' as follows:

> The part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, the material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known as FOREGROUND. Linguistic features associated with the distinction between foreground and background is referred to as GROUNDING.

This chapter is concerned with linguistic means of indicating the grounding status of subordinate clauses with respect to main clauses.

### 3.1.1 Definition of foreground

Hopper and Thompson's definition of foreground information, given above, emphasizes the 'main points' of the discourse. Callow (1974:52-53) uses the term 'thematic material' which 'carries the discourse forward, contributes to the progression of the narrative or argument [, and] ... develops the theme of the discourse.' She describes background information as 'non-thematic' material, which 'serves as a commentary on the theme, but does not itself contribute directly to the progression of the theme ... [it] fills out the theme but does not develop it.' Longacre (1990)'s definition of foreground is closely related to Callow's, in that the storyline, as he calls it, advances the narrative. Grimes (1975) distinguish events from non-events in narrative, stating that the events form the backbone of the narrative. These definitions work well together. They all have something to do with the main point or the forward progression of a narrative, through the description of its events.

In contrast to the works mentioned above, Heimerdinger (1999:222) does not use the term 'foreground' to refer to the main event line of a narrative. Instead of foreground being the backbone or indispensible part of a narrative, he defines it as the unexpected or extra

things in a narrative. Heimerdinger uses the term 'foreground' as an action that can be done to events or to non-events to set them apart or highlight them in a narrative. In conjunction with this, he discusses the manipulation of linguistic structures to achieve a certain effect on the hearer. Heimerdinger's term allows both events and non-events to be fore-grounded, or, as stated above, manipulated for a certain effect. Such a definition of 'foreground' is quite different from the description of main event material supported by the other linguists mentioned above.

This thesis follows Hopper and Thompson's approach. The term foreground is used for the main events of the theme line that contribute to the forward progression of the narrative.

### 3.1.2 Overview of different approaches to grounding status of main clause

Grimes (1975) not only differentiates between events and non-events, but further divides non-events into setting, background, evaluation, and collateral information. He distinguishes between background and setting information according to what he calls the primary and secondary components of the narrative. Setting and event information are classified as primary information, whereas other non-event information, including background, is secondary, because it clarifies the narrative.

Longacre (1990) differentiates between a storyline band and six or more nonstory line bands that occur at increasing distances from the storyline: back-grounded events, back grounded activities, setting, irrealis, author intrusions, and cohesive information. The different aspects of the verb in a particular language correspond to the different bands in the storyline scheme. Certain discourse markers may move information up from one band to another. Subordination moves information down to a lower band.

Heimerdinger (1999:77) objects to Longacre's storyline scheme. According to Longacre a particular verb form constitutes the storyline band. For example, he claims that the storyline band in Hebrew consists of vayyiqtol verbs (1990:59). Heimerdinger disagrees, pointing out that vayyiqtol verbs in Hebrew encode not only foreground events, but also events that are not on the main line of the narrative.

Levinsohn's solution is to define a particular verb form, such as the vayyiqtol verb in Hebrew, as the default verb for narrative events (2002:128). If such a verb form is default, instead of viewed as a form specific to the storyline, it is not necessary to explain why events of apparently differing importance are encoded with the same form.

Heimerdinger also has a problem with Longacre.s use of the term 'background'. According to Longacre,

'background' refers to information that is preliminary to the storyline. This information may occur right before the event information and be important to the event, but not itself be event line. Longacre assigns all instances of imperfective or habitual aspect to the background event or background activity bands. Again using examples from Hebrew, Heimerdinger argues that information that is important to the development of the story is often encoded in the imperfective aspect and so should not be classified as background.

In response to this difference, Levinsohn objects that Heimerdinger does not understand Longacre's use of 'background'. Longacre uses 'background' as an action that categorizes events as preliminary to the story line, which may be preliminary to or lead up to the climax and therefore be important to the storyline, even though they are not on the storyline themselves. He writes, 'I do not think that Heimerdinger has understood what Longacre means by back-grounded. The point about such events is that they may be viewed as 'preliminary to the main events of the story' (Levinsohn1991:150) or as resulting events of a secondary nature.' (Levinsohn 2002:128)

In summary, Longacre and Levinsohn make a fundamental distinction between events and non-events, but allow either to be highlighted in a narrative. This contrasts with Heimerdinger's use of the 'fore-grounded' instead of 'highlighted'. This thesis takes the position of

Longacre and Levinsohn. It will refer to the main event line, or backbone of the story, as the foreground, and refer to information that gets extra attention as 'highlighted'.

### 3.1.3 Grounding status of subordinate clauses with respect to main clauses

Although Longacre's scheme is primarily concerned with classifying independent verbs in main clauses, he does claim that 'adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and most verbals are demoted. Thus a verb which, if independent, would have been on the storyline may be demoted to [band] (2) when it occurs in an adverbial clause, relative clause, or is a verbal.' (Longacre 1990:3)

Hwang (1990:69) corrects Longacre's assumption that subordinate clauses never contain event line information, using English examples. She claims that post-nuclear subordinate clauses do often contain event line information. Levinsohn (2008:75) quotes an example from 'The Three Little Pigs': He was picking apples when the wolf arrived. In this sentence, the new and crucial information, given here in bold, is that the wolf arrived, and is encoded in an adverbial clause.

Adverbial clauses in Gojri behave according to Hwang's description of subordinate clauses and grounding. They convey back-grounded information if they are in prenuclear position, but event line information in other positions (see section 3.2 below).

For OV languages, Longacre (1990) posits three types of clause chain ranking. In type A languages, the final verb is on the storyline and preceding verbs, or gerunds, constitute back grounded activities or something still lower on the rank scheme. In type B languages, the final verb is a routinely added element that is grammaticalized or almost grammaticalized and the preceding gerunds are storyline. In type C languages, both the final verb and the preceding gerunds may be on the storyline. For each type, the above observations hold if the whole sentence is on the storyline. If the main verb, in language type C, is off the storyline, the gerunds will be off the storyline as well.

Gojri is a clause chaining OV language. This study finds that Gojri's conjunctive participial clauses behave in the same way as the gerunds in Longacre's description of type C languages.

## 3.2 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses can occur before the nucleus of the sentence, between the subject and the verb, or after the verb. The grounding status of an adverbial clause with respect to the main clause depends on its position in a sentence.

If an adverbial clause comes before the nucleus of the sentence, it contains or relates to established information, and is back grounded with respect to the rest of the sentence. In example (53), I elicited the text by asking the narrator to tell me what happened to Shazia in

the earthquake. Therefore, the first clause, 'when the earthquake happened', is established information and is encoded as a prenuclear adverbial clause introduced by *ǰad* (see section 2.1.1). Thus it is back-grounded with respect to the following main clause, which conveys the new information that the narrator wants the hearer to know.

(53) ǰad - šāzīā - zalzal-ɔ hò-e-ɔ tɛ andar
when Shazia earthquake- MS.N be-PRF-MS.N CC inside

baṛ-ī māḷ k-ɔ kam kar-ɛ
big-FS.N livestock GEN-MS.N work do-HAB.2/3S

th-ī.
PST-FS.N

'When – Shazia – the earthquake happened, (she) was inside doing chores for the big livestock.' (Shazia 1)

One interesting deviation from this pattern is the case where an adverbial clause occurs before the main clause, but carries new information. This phenomenon is related to Gojri's use of connectives as spacers, so will be handled in section 4.5.

If an adverbial clause occurs inside the sentence nucleus, between the subject and the verb, the status of the adverbial clause will be the same as that of the main clause since it falls within the focal domain of the main clause (Lambrecht 1994:222). The information in these clauses is new and often important for the development of the story. In the example below, the compound subject, *yó*

*tɛ ek merɔ duǰɔ pay̆̀* 'he and another brother of mine', occurs a number of clauses previous to the main clause, as shown by the dots in between. Then the purpose clause, *skūl páṛuṇ wāstɛ*'to attend school', occurs just before the main clause, it *rɛ́ gīā* 'would stay behind here'. The purpose clause is focal because it is part of the comment about .this brother of mine'.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (54) | ek | yó | tɛ | ek | mer-ɔ | duǰ-ɔ | pa̅̀y … |
| | one | 3S.PRX.N.M | CC | one | 1S.O-MS.N | second-MS.N | brother |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| skūl | páṛ-uṇ | wāstɛ | it | rɛ́ | g-ī-ā |
| school | read-INF.O | PURP | here | stay | go-PRF-MP.N |

'(when) he and another brother of mine ... they would stay behind here to attend school' (Aslam 2c-4)

Example (55) illustrates the same phenomenon but it occurs in speech rather than in the narrative. The instructions that they should 'see him' are given as an adverbial clause of purpose. This instruction and the instruction to 'come', which is given as the main imperative verb, are equally important for the hortatory discourse in which it occurs.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (55) | tɛ | tam | wī | hèr-uṇ | wāstɛ | ā-ī-ɔ |
| | CC | 2P.N | also | see-INF.O | PURP | come-IMP.FUT-IMP.2P |

| | |
|---|---|
| us | nā. |
| 3S.DST.O | DAT |

'You come too and see him.' (Aslam 33)

If an adverbial clause comes after the main verb, it may again fall within the focal domain of the main clause. The adverbial clause *usnā hèruṇ wā stɛ* '(lit.) in order to see him' in example (56) follows the main verb *čalũ kī*'will go' in this way:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (56) | nā́ | hū̀̃ | āp | čal-ū̃ | k-ī |
| | NEG | 1S.N | self | go-HAB.1s | FUT-FS.N |
| | us | | nā | hèr-uṇ | wāstɛ |
| | 3S.DST.O | | DAT | see-INF.O | PURP |

'No, I will go to see him myself' (Aslam 71)

Alternatively, post-nuclear adverbial clauses may convey information that supports the main clause, rather than being part of the focal domain. The next example shows an adverbial clause of reason, (b), occurring after the main clause, (a). Clause (b) introduces new information into the story: the many buffalos that the mother has at home to milk. This new information appears to support the information in clause (a) by providing a reason for it, rather than being as important as the main verb *ǰā ráī* 'went.'

(57)(a) tɛ mer-ī mɑ̃ ut-ũ muṛ
CC 1S.O-FS.N mother there-ABL return.INTR

kɛ ǰā rá-ī
CP go stay.PRF-FS.N

(b) kyũǰe mer-ī mɑ̃ apar muč mès
because 1S.O-FS.N mother on much buffalo

meḷ-ɛ̃ wɛ̃ th-ĩ
milk-HAB.3P be.HAB.3P PST-FP.N

'And from there my mother went back because she had so many buffalos to milk' (Aslam 58)

## 3.3 Relative Clauses and Prominence

We have seen that relative clauses in Gojri are typically restrictive, whether their referent is new or activated. We have also noted that some relative clauses seem to be .superfluous. (Losey 2002). This section looks at the use of the superfluous relative clause to give its referent thematic prominence.

The head noun phrase may follow the relative pronoun (see Pattern 1) and the relative clause serve to identify a referent who is already activated, or, at least, accessible. Such a construction does not seem to give prominence to the referent. Example (58) demonstrates this. The girl, *beṭkī*, is identified as the one who 'was engaged to my sister's son'. The 'sister's son' has already been introduced, and although the fiancée is a new character, she is treated as accessible because of her relationship to the son. She is not prominent at this point.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (58) | jĭŗ-ī | beṭk-ī | mer-ī | bɛ́ṇ | k-ā | pūt |
| | REL-FS.N | girl-FS.N | 1S.O-FS.N | sister | GEN-MS.O | son |
| | nā | mang-ī | w-ī | th-ī | | |
| | DAT | request-PRF.FS.N | PFP-FS.N | PST-FS.N | | |

'The girl who was engaged to my sister's son' (Nephew 3a)

When the contents of a relative clause do not identify a referent, however, but are apparently superfluous, such a construction marks the referent as salient. The following example repeats the above extract and adds the rest of the sentence. Clause (b) introduces a character *uskī bɛṇ́*'her sister', who is related to the girl in (a), and who will feature as a temporary center of attention in the next part of the story. The nephew's fiancée is identified by a relative clause in (a). In clause (b), the older sister of the fiancée is given prominence with a superfluous relative clause. Finally in (c) a comment is made about the older sister, who is now the temporary centre of attention.

(59)(a) ǰíṛ-ī beṭk-ī mer-ī bɛ́ṇ k-ā pūt
REL-FS.N girl-FS.N 1S.O-FS.N sister GEN-MS.O son

nā mang-ī w-ī th-ī
DAT request-PRF.FS.N PFP-FS.N PST-FS.N

(b) tɛ us k-ī ǰíṛ-ī baṛ-ī bɛ́ṇ
CC 3S.DST.O GEN-FS.N REL-FS.N big-FS.N sister

th-ī
PST-FS.N

(c) tɛ wá zalzal-ā mā mar ga-ī
CC 3S.DST.N.F earthquake-MS.O in die go.PRF-FS.N

th-ī nấ?
PST-FS.N NEG

'The girl who was engaged to my sister's son, her older sister (who was) had died in the earthquake, right?' (Nephew 3)

Secondly, when the head noun or demonstrative precedes the relative pronoun (see Pattern 2), the relative clause, in left-dislocated position, modifies a referent which has been previously activated and gives the referent thematic prominence.

In example (60), the brother has just been brought to the hospital and now the narrator makes a comment on the standard of the care in the hospital. Here, the doctors, ḍākṭar, are introduced as new participants in the story, but ones which the hearers have access to through their knowledge of the concept 'hospital'. They appear as a left dislocated noun phrase that includes a superfluous relative clause, ǰíṛā thā 'who were'. Preceding the head noun and

relative clause is the locative adverb ut ‘there’, which is not part of the relative clause, but has been proposed because it is established information. Their actions occupy six sentences (Appendix A 51-56), after which they disappear from the story.

| (60) | tɛ | ut | ḍākṭar | ǰíṛ-ā | th-ā | wé | muč |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CC | there | doctor | REL-MP.N | PST-MP.N | 3P.DST.N | much |
| | sóṇ-ɔ | | ilāǰ | nī́ | kar-ɛ̃ | th-ā | nā́. |
| | beautiful-MS.N | | treatment | NEG | do-HAB.3p | PST-MP.N | NEG |

‘The doctors there didn’t do very good treatment, you know. (The doctors there weren’t particularly competent, you know. )’ (Aslam 51)

Example (61) is a further example of a superfluous relative clause giving a participant salience. This is a relative clause of type 2b, with a demonstrative as the head preceding the relative pronoun. The doctor has already been introduced into the story and the contents of the relative clause, *ǰíṛ-ɔ ḍākṭar th-ɔ* ‘who was a doctor’, serve to activate him as a referent who fits this description and to mark him as thematically prominentɛ Indeed, the doctor does become the centre of attention for the next section of the narrative.

| (61) | fir | kúǰ | dèāṛ-ā | fir | ó | ǰíṛ-ɔ | dākṭar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | then | some | day-MP.N | then | 3S.DST.N | REL-MS.N | doctor |
| | th-ɔ | | tɛ | wó … | | | |
| | PST-MS.N | | CC | 3S.DST.N.M | | | |

‘So some days went by, then that doctor (the one who was a doctor), he …’ (Doctor 42)

In (61) above, the relative pronoun is preceded by a distal demonstrative o, which is the head of the relative clause. A demonstrative can also act as the modifier of a noun. In the following example, ó 'that' is a demonstrative that modifies musāfar 'traveler'.

| (62) | ó | musāfar | tɛ | lakaṛ-ī | wī | āṇ | kɛ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3S.DST.N | traveler | CC | wood-FS.N | also | bring | CP |

beč-ɛ.
sell-HAB.2/3S

'That traveler also brings wood and sells it.' (Seventh 83)

In summary, relative clauses, depending on their structure, can introduce a new participant into the narrative or identify an already active participant. This study shows that, when a relative clause of either type is superfluous, it marks the referent as salient, which in practice means that it becomes the temporary centre of attention.

To conclude this section, I give a summary outline of the first episode of Tug of War (see Appendix B sentences 1-47 for the text in Gojri) to illustrate the use of superfluous relative clause to mark participants as salient. Section (a) is a general summary of the beginning of the story. Sections (b) – (e) show the literal translations, in bold, of the superfluous relative clauses that mark each participant as temporarily salient. These relative clauses are given with an English word choice that reflects the Gojri wording to emphasize the super fluousness of the

relative clauses. The non-bold type in these sentences are again general summaries.

(63) (a)Two thieves are introduced. A singer is introduced, who is looking for work. The singer joins the thieves. They go off together and come to a house.

(b) They who were thieves started stealing things.

(c) They who were residents of that house were sleeping. The singer went and looked around.

(d) She who was an old lady was sleeping. There was yogurt beside her. The singer ate the yogurt. The old lady heard a noise and woke up.

(e) They who were residents woke up as well. The singer tried to run away, but the residents pulled him back in. The thieves came back and pulled him from the other side. They all pulled. The thieves were stronger. They took the singer and the things they had stolen and left.

In the above extract, the singer is the VIP, and when he reappears, in (c), (d), and (e), no relative clause is necessary to introduce him. In contrast, reference to other characters by means of a superfluous relative clause signals that they are temporarily the centre of attention. In (b), the thieves, introduced with a superfluous relative clause, take over center stage for a short time while they

begin robbing the house. In (c), a superfluous relative clause refers to the residents of the house to show that they will have a significant part to play in the story. In (d), an old lady is introduced with a superfluous relative clause as she is about to play a short, but significant, part in the narrative. In (e), the residents of the house join in the action and are similarly marked. The reentry of the thieves in (e), however, does not require a relative clause as they have a major role to play throughout the rest of the episode.

## 3.4 Clause Chaining

Longacre (1990) recognizes three types of clause chaining for SOV languages, as we saw in section 3.1.3. His three language types are summarized again here and related to Gojri's use of clause chaining.

Languages of type A have a chain of subordinate medial clauses which convey background information followed by a main clause which conveys foreground information. Languages of type B have a final verb which is a routinely added, grammaticalised element and a preceding chain of subordinate clauses which convey foreground information. Languages of type C have a final verb and a preceding chain of subordinate clauses, both or either of which may convey foreground information. I now propose that Gojri belongs to language type C since both the final verb and the preceding chain of CPs (conjunctive participles) may convey foreground information.

In the preceding sentences, the word ‘may’ is significant, because CPs share the storyline status of the main verb to which they relate only if certain conditions hold. Longacre’s description of type C languages does not indicate the conditions that must be met for both the final verb and the preceding subordinate clauses to convey foreground information. In the case of Gojri, the information in the CP clause and the main clause must be equally active or equally new in order for them to be on the same level of grounding.[13] If the CP contains established information and the main clause contains new information, only the final clause will convey foreground information. Conversely, if the CP contains new information and the main clause only contains established information, only the CP will convey foreground information. Further, it is possible for the content of the CP and the content of the final verb to merge, giving a compound meaning, in which case both verbs are automatically in the same storyline rank. The following examples illustrate these possibilities.

Example (64) illustrates the case where the CP has the same grounding status as the main clause. It presents a list of activities that describe to the hearer what the woodsman’s occupation is. The information in this extract is of a background nature as far as the overall story is concerned, that is, it describes regular activities which occur all the time and do not advance the story. Nevertheless, the CPs that occurs in the chain prior to the

main verb convey information that is at least as important as that of the main verb itself, in that it is they that primarily answer the question .What does he do?'

(64)(a) ó ke kar-ɛ?
3S.DST.N what? do-HAB.2/3S

(b) lakaṛ-ī le kɛ
wood-FS.N take CP

(c) beč kɛ
sell CP

(d) tɛ gaḍ-ī de kɛ
CC bundle-FS.N give CP

(e) tɛ rāt ǰug-ɔ apaṇ-ɔ xarč-ɔ
CC night PURP-MS.N one's.own-MS.N expense-MS.N

āṭ-ɔ šāṭɔ le kɛ kúǰ
flour-MS.N (rhyme) take CP some

(f) ā ré.
come stay.HAB.2/3S

'What does he do? He takes wood, gives a bundle (of wood), and sells it and brings his supplies, flour and such, for the night and comes.'
(Seventh 64-65)

Example (65) demonstrates that the CP can also have the same grounding status as the main clause when the main verb is on the storyline. The first CP, (65b), conveys accessible information that has been established in the immediately preceding clause. The two remaining clauses both convey events that are important to the story line:(65c), the girl washing, and (65d), giving the clothes to her brothers. The first of these two events, tò kɛ 'having

washed' (65c), is a CP, and the second, ditā 'gave' (65d), is a main verb, but they are both storyline events.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (65)(a) | fir | rāt - | do | dèāṛ-ā | čal-uṇ | te | pél-ã̃ |
| | then | night - two | | day-MP.N | go-INF.O | from | before-P.O |
| | hũ̃ | ga-ī. | | | | | |
| | 1S.N | go.PRF-FS.N | | | | | |
| (b) | tɛ | mẽ̃ | čal | kɛ | | | |
| | CC | 1S.AG | go | CP | | | |
| (c) | ín-ã̃ | k-ā | | čīṛ-ā | tò | kɛ | |
| | 3P.PRX.O-P.O | GEN-MP.N | | clothes-MP.N | wash | CP | |
| (d) | dit-ā. | | | | | | |
| | give.PRF-MP.N | | | | | | |

'Then (one) night – two days before (their) leaving, I went. I went and washed their clothes for (and gave them to) them.' (Aslam 11-12)

CPs have the same grounding status as the main verbs only if they contain new information or information that is as established as the information in the main clause. CPs may contain established information, especially in tail-head constructions, like the first CP in example (65b) above. In this case, only the information in the second participle and the main clause is foreground.

Example (66) illustrates a case in which the CP, (66b), conveys non-established information and the main clause, (66c), conveys information that is established in the preceding sentence, given in (66a).

(66) (a) tɛ yé - wé ǰā ré-ā.
CC 3P.PRX.N - 3P.DST.N go stay-PRF.MP.N

(b) mer-ā te bideā hò kɛ
1S.O-MS.O from farewell be CP

(c) ǰā ré-ā.
go stay-PRF.MP.N

'they ... they left. They said good-bye to me and left.' (Aslam 22b-23)

(67c) illustrates the combining of meanings that sometimes happens when a CP and a main verb come together in a sentence (see discussion below).

(67) (a) 'Then the next day they said, "... You take him (somewhere else) – take him to Abbottabad or Qalandarabad."'

(b) fir mer-ɔ pə̃y wī le kɛ
then 1S.O-MS.N brother also take CP

ā-e-ɔ.
come-PRF-MS.N

(c) tɛ mer-ī mə̃ ut-ũ muṛ kɛ
CC 1S.O-FS.N mother there-ABL return.INTR CP

ǰā rá-ī …
go stay.PRF-FS.N

'So then my brother took him and came. And from there my mother went back ...' (Aslam 55-58)

Sentence (67a) contains the command 'you take him', so 'took' in (67b) is the response to that command and a separate activity from 'came'. In the sentence (67c), in contrast, the CP muṛ kɛ 'return' adds to the main verb ǰā

ráĩ ‘went/left’ the meaning of ‘back to where she originally was.’ This verb combination cannot be split into two different storyline events, or divided into background information and foreground information. Rather, the two verbs join their meanings to give a compound meaning encompassing both.

To summarize this chapter, firstly, adverbial clauses that occur before the main clause are back-grounded with respect to the main clause, whereas adverbial clauses in other positions may be part of the focal domain of the main clause. Secondly, although relative clauses normally identify a participant, seemingly superfluous relative clauses give a participant or prop thematic prominence, making it the temporary center of attention. Finally, CPs used in clause chains have a grounding status which corresponds with Longacre (1990)’s language type C. In other words, the pre-final CP clauses may have the same storyline status as the main verb.

## 4 Connectives and Packaging of Information

The default mode of coordination in Gojri narrative is with a connective. The default connective is tɛ (tein Punjabi—Bhatia 1993:103). For example, in ‘Aslam’ (Appendix A), there are 119 sentences. A connective begins 72 of them, whereas juxtaposition occurs in 47. Tɛ introduces 40 of the 72 sentences that begin with a connective. See below for the other Gojri connectives that occur in my corpus.

This study has found two different uses of tɛ : a coordinative and a non-coordinative use. It compares tɛ with juxtaposition and with two other common connectives. This chapter first looks at coordinative tɛ which marks distinct units of information. This is followed by two usages of juxtaposition: the first is complementary to tɛ and involves continuity, indicating that pieces of information belong to the same unit, and the second involves discontinuity. The chapter then looks at two other connectives, fir, which indicates that two events are in sequence, and bas, which acts as a reorienter, warning the hearer to expect a change in the narrative. Subsequently non-coordinative tɛ is discussed. The chapter closes with a discussion of jĩ and its two functions, first, limiting the interpretation of a clause, or indicating that exactly what is said is meant, with nothing extra added, and, second, speeding up the storyline.

The following table shows the various connectives that exist in Gojri:

Table 1: Gojri Connectives

| Confnective | Gloss | Combinations |
|---|---|---|
| *tɛ* | COORDINATOR | |
| *jī* | LIMITER | |
| *fir* | 'then' | *tɛ fir* |
| *bas* | 'well' | *tɛ bas, bas fir* |
| *ɛnū* | 'like that' | *tɛ ɛnū, bas ɛnū* |
| *hɔ̀r* | 'more' | |
| *hɔ̀ɲ* | 'now' | |
| *o* | 'so' | |
| *ɛ́* | 'well' | |
| *bāre* | 'but' | |
| *tā̄* | 'therefore' | |

## 4.1 Coordinative tɛ

Constituents of varying size are coordinated by tɛ to other constituents that belong to the same grammatical class, provided the coordinated constituents are distinct. In Urdu and Hindi the equivalent coordinating conjunction is *aur*. Urdu and Hindi's cognate to is not used as a coordinator, but only as a correlative or contrastive

conjunction, comparable to Gojri's non-coordinative tɛ, discussed in section 4.5 below.

Noun phrases, verb phrases, certain subordinate clauses, independent clauses, and sentences are all coordinated with their own class by tɛ. The following examples from Gojri narrative texts show, in (68), the coordination of noun phrases, in (69), the coordination of verb phrases, in (70), the coordination of subordinate clauses, in (71) the coordination of simple sentences, and, in (72), the coordination of sentences. In each case the constituents being coordinated are distinct from each other.

In (68), 'he' and 'another brother of mine' are distinct people.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (68) | ek | yó | tɛ | ek | mer-ɔ |
| | one | 3S.PRX.N.M | CC | one | 1S.O-MS.N |
| | dūǰ-ɔ | pə̀y | | | |
| | second-MS.N | brother | | | |

'... he and another brother of mine' (Aslam 2c)

In (69), 'removing', that is, drawing yogurt from a pot, and 'drinking' are distinct actions.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (69) | ó | jĩ | lag-ɔ | hɛ̀ | pī-uṇ | nā |
| | 3S.DST.N | LIM | start-PRF.MS.N | 2/3S.PRS | drink-INF.O | DAT |
| | glās-ɑ̃̄ | nāḷ | káḍ-t-ɔ | tɛ | pī-t-ɔ. | |
| | glass-P.O | with | remove-IMPF-MS.N | CC | drink-IMPF-MS.N | |

'Immediately he began drinking – by the glassful (he keeps) removing and drinking.' (Tug 25-26)

In (70), taking the clothing for the wedding and taking the possessions, which are part of the dowry, are distinct activities.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (70) | fir | ā | ré-ā | kapaṛ-ā | le-uṇ | nā |
| | then | come | stay-PRF.MP.N | clothes-MP.N | take-INF.O | DAT |
| | tɛ | samān | le-uṇ | nā. | | |
| | CC | possessions | take-INF.O | DAT | | |

'Then they came to take the clothes and to take the possessions.' (Naheed 5)

In (71), the three clauses describe distinct events or states. Sentences (a) and (c) are distinct activities and (b) makes a background statement that gives distinct information:

(a) 'came down to the Kawai bazaar', (b) 'there was a man there', and (c) 'he said'.

(71)(a)tɛ tɛ kwāy bazār mā ā-e-ɔ
CC down Kawai market in come-PRF-MS.N

(b)tɛ ut koe ǰaṇ-ɔ th-ɔ
CC there MS.INDEF man-MS.N PST-MS.N

(c) tɛ us ne kɛ́-ɔ …
CC 3S.DST.O AG say-PRF.MS.N

'(Someone) came down to the Kawai bazaar and there was a man there, and he said …' (Aslam 30)

In (72), sentences (a) and (b) describe distinct purposes for the speaker's visit.

(72)(a) tɛ mɛ̃ čal kɛ ín-ã̃ k-ā čīṛ-ā
CC 1S.AG go CP 3P.PRX.O-P.O GEN-MP.N clothes-MP.N

tò kɛ dit-ā.
wash CP give.PRF-MP.N

(b)tɛ ín-ã̃ nā hṹ̀ hèr kɛ ā-e-ī …
CC 3P.PRX.O-P.O DAT 1S.N see CP come-PRF-FS.N

'I went and washed their clothes for them. I went to see them …' (Aslam 12-13)

The above observations also apply to occasions when *tɛ* joins one conjunctive participial clause (hereafter, CP) to another CP and both convey new information. In such instances, the CPs are of equal status and each presents a distinct step in a procedure. This is particularly clear when there is a long chain of CPs before the final verb, as in the example below.

(73)(a) us ne fir ǰanāz-ɔ pāṇī āṇ kɛ
3S.DST.O AG then dead.body-MS.N water bring CP

(b) tɛ wó ǰanāz-ɔ pāṇī te káḍ kɛ
CC 3S.DST.N.M dead.body-MS.Nwater from remove CP

(c) tɛ fir xafanīr kɛ
CC then burial.shroud CP

(d) tɛ daf kɛ ā-e-ī tɛ.
CC bury CP come-PRF-FS.N CC

'she brought water and with the water she removed it and wrapped it in a burial shroud and buried it and came.' (Mother 37)

The connective tɛ can also occur at the end of a sentence (as in example (73d)), in which case it is often hardly more than a bare t at the end of the preceding word, with a little puff of air after it. After the t the speaker takes a breath and then continues with the next clause. If tɛ were actually at the beginning of the following clause, the speaker would take a breath before the tɛ and say it and the following word in the same breath.

At the end of a sentence, tɛ indicates that distinct information will come in the next sentence. For example the sentence after (73d) gives a new, distinct activity: 'then we came down' (not given here) and the tɛ at the end of (73d) points toward this distinct information.

Similarly, in the following example, the main character arrives on the momentous visit that she has been waiting for. The preceding sentences describe the process of leaving and now, in this example, the travelers

arrive, and they finally see their brother in the hospital. Clause (74a) describes them arriving, which is information that has been established in the preceding context. It is followed by tɛ, which directs the hearer forward to what is about to come. The second clause in fact begins with a repetition of their arrival, (74b), which is not distinct information, and another tɛ separates this old information from the distinct information in the third clause, (74c), which describes their brother's condition when they first see him.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (74) (a) | fir | hàm | ā-e-ā | | it | dèāṛ-ī | tɛ. |
| | then | 1P.N | come-PRF-MP.N | | here | day-FS.N | CC |
| (b) | hàm | it | ā-e-ā | | | | |
| | 1P.N | here | come-PRF-MP.N | | | | |
| (c) | tɛ | wó | ek | mašīn | mā | | |
| | CC | 3S.DST.N.M | one | machine | in | | |
| | tàr-e-ɔ | w-ɔ | | th-ɔ | nấ. | | |
| | set-PRF-MS.N | PFP-MS.N | | PST-MS.N | NEG | | |

'Then we arrived here, during the day (so ...). We came here and he had been put on a machine, you know.' (Aslam 75-76)

In summary, the default function of tɛis to coordinate constituents of the same grammatical class and indicate that the second constituent is distinct from the first.

## 4.2 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition occurs in two different situations. On the one hand, it complements tɛ in that it introduces

information that is NOT distinct from what has just been stated, so belongs to the same package of events. On the other hand, it occurs in connection with a break in the narrative.

Levinsohn (2000:118) describes this same phenomenon for Koiné Greek (he uses the word 'asyndeton' for 'juxtaposition').

'Asyndeton is found in two very different contexts in non-narrative text:

- when there is a close connection between the information concerned (i.e., the information belongs together in the same unit)
- when there is no direct connection between the information concerned (i.e., the information belongs to different units).'

The first use of juxtaposition, to introduce non-distinct events, is used in at least two different contexts in Gojri. One context in which juxtaposition occurs involves the restatement or paraphrase of preceding information in various ways, such as generic specific, negated antonym, and summary information. The second context involves simultaneous events which belong to the same package of events as others in their context. These contexts are illustrated below.

Juxtaposition introducing paraphrase with a synonym. In the following example, the quality of the doctors'

treatment is described with one adjective in (a) and another in (b).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (75)(a) | tɛ | ut | ḍākṭar | ǰíṛ-ā | th-ā | wé | muč |
| | CC | there | doctor | REL-MP.N | PST-MP.N | 3P.DST.N | much |
| | sóṇ-ɔ | | ilāǰ | nī́ | kar-ɛ̃ | th-ā | nā́. |
| | beautiful-MS.N | | treatment | NEG | do-HAB.3P | PST-MP.N | NEG |
| (b) | hàčh-ɔ | | ilāǰ | nī́ | kar-ɛ̃ | th-ā. | |
| | good-MS.N | | treatment | NEG | do-HAB.3P | PST-MP.N | |

'The doctors there didn't do very satisfactory treatment, you know (The doctors there weren't particularly competent, you know). They didn't do good treatment.' (Aslam 51-52)

Juxtaposition introducing a negated antonym. Example (76) follows directly after example (75) in 'Aslam'. The actions of the doctors are being described to illustrate how poor the care is at the hospital, as seen in example (75) above. In this next extract, sentence (a) gives a positive statement of what they did ('just slept') and sentence (b) restates their actions as a negative statement ('they didn't even get up'):

(76) (a) kyũjɛ rāt us nā pɛšāb čhoṭ-ā
because night 3S.DST.O DAT urine short-MS.O

k-ī itan-ī taklīf hò-e-ī
GEN-FS.N so.many-FS.N difficulty be-PRF-FS.N

tɛ wé - wé so ré-ā th-ā
CC 3P.DST.N 3P.DST.N sleep stay-PRF.MP.N PST-MP.N

(b) ún-ã̃ ne uṭh kɛ nī́ hèr-e-ɔ
3P.DST.O-P.O AG get.up CP NEG see-PRF-MS.N

th-ɔ nā́
PST-MS.N NEG

'(For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating and they just slept. They didn't (even) get up and look, did they?' (Aslam 53-54)

Juxtaposition introducing a summary. In example (77), the family has just received bad news about their brother. Their reaction is first given as a speech sentence (a). Then the content of the speech is summarized in sentence (b) and introduced without a connective:

(77) (a) tɛ hàmṇe ké-ɔ, ɔ́xɔ́ɔ us nā ke hò
CC 1P.AG say-PRF.MS.N oh!.no! 3S.DST.O DAT what? be

g-ī-ɔ? ...'
go-PRF-MS.N

(b) saxt dil saṛ-e-ɔ.
hard heart burn-PRF-MS.N

'And we said, "Oh! no! What has happened to him? ..." (Our) heart hurt badly.' (Aslam 37,40)

Juxtaposition introducing a simultaneous event .[15] In example (78), the narrator's other brothers have been

taking care of their sick brother. They have just had him admitted at a better hospital. Sentence (a) describes what happened after he was admitted, 'he stayed'. Sentence (b) is simultaneous to the first, describing what the other brothers did while the first brother stayed, and requires no connective, because the events concerned simply conclude a section.

(78) (a) fir ut ré-ɔ.
then there stay-PRF.MS.N

(b) wé muṛ kɛ g-ī-ā.
3P.DST.N return.INTR CP go-PRF-MP.N

'Then he stayed there. They (the other brothers) went back.' (Aslam 64-65)

The second use of juxtaposition, as described above, is at a complete break in the narrative, indicating that a new episode is beginning. Example (79), repeated from example (78) above, and expanded here, illustrates such a break or 'discontinuity' (Givón 1984:245). Between sentences (a) and (b), there is no connective, because the events are simultaneous. Between sentences (b) and (c), again, there is no connective, but in this case there is not only a switch of location from the hospital to the author's home, but also a switch from events involving the injured brother to a report of what had happened. The lack of a connective reflects this discontinuity.

(79) (a) fir ut ré-ɔ.
then there stay-PRF.MS.N

(b) wé muṛ kɛ g-ī-ā.
3P.DST.N return.INTR CP go-PRF-MP.N

(c) ún-ã̄ ne hàmṇā das-e-ɔ ...
3P.DST.O-P.O AG 1P.DAT tell-PRF-MS.N

'Then he (Aslam) stayed there. They (the other brothers) went back. They told us …' (Aslam 64-66a)

The existence of discontinuity between sentences (b) and (c) is confirmed by the presence of the pronoun úna͂ 'they' at the beginning of (c). It follows from Givon's Iconicity Principle (1983:18) that, when a subject remains unchanged in successive sentences, the default way of referring to him or her in a pro-drop language is zero (see Levinsohn (2008) for the same phenomenon in Koiné Greek and in Hebrew.) Sentence (a) illustrates this: the sick brother is the main participant in the preceding sentences, so he is understood as the subject in this sentence. In sentence (b), a pronoun is necessary because the subject changes from Aslam to the other brothers. In sentence (c), however, the pronoun should not be necessary, according to the Iconicity Principle, because the subject remains the same as that of (b). The pronoun is used in this context to reflect the break in the narrative.

In summary, juxtaposition is the norm when used to introduce sentences conveying non-distinct

information, such as restatements. Juxtaposition can also be used at breaks in the narrative.

## 4.3 fir and tɛ fir

Fir indicates a relationship of chronological sequence between propositions or groups of propositions when the new event follows naturally from the previous one(s). In the following example, fir marks sentence (b) as being in sequential progression with (a).

(80)(a) '(For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating and they just slept. They didn't (even) get up and look, did they?'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (b) **fir** | dūǰ-ɛ | dèāṛ-ɛ | ún-ã̃ | ne | kɛ́-ɔ, |
| then | second-LOC | day-LOC | 3P.DST.O-P.O | AG | say-PRF.MS.N |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| yó | mə̀r-ā | te | is | k-ɔ |
| 3S.PRX.N.M | 1P.O-MS.O | from | 3S.PRX.O | GEN-MS.N |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ilāǰ | nī́ | hò-t-ɔ. |
| treatment | NEG | be-IMPF-MS.N |

'Then the next day they said, "We aren't able to do anything for him."' (Aslam 53-55)

In certain contexts, the event in sequential progression is the result of what preceded. In the following example, 'they' (the doctors) tell the addressee to take his sick brother away, and, as a result, he does so.

(81)(a) fir dūǰ-ɛ dèāṛ-ɛ ún-ã̀ ne kɛ́-ɔ,
then second-LOC day-LOC 3P.DST.O-P.O AG say-PRF.MS.N

yó mà̀r-ā te is k-ɔ
3S.PRX.N.M 1P.O-MS.O from 3S.PRX.O GEN-MS.N

ilāǰ nī́ hò-t-ɔ tɛ tam is nā
treatment NEG be-IMPF-MS.N CC 2P.N 3S.PRX.O DAT

le čal-ɔ ...
take go- IMP.2P

(b) **fir** mer-ɔ pà̀y wī le kɛ ā-e-ɔ.
then 1S.O-MS.N brother also take CP come-PRF-MS.N

'Then the next day they said, "We aren't able to do anything for him. You take him (somewhere else) ..." So my brother took him and came.' (Aslam 55-57)

The difference between fir and tɛ can be thought of in terms of the way in which the information is packaged. When propositions are connected with fir, A fir B fir C, they constitute a single package of events in sequence. In contrast to fir, when tɛ accompanies some indicator of 'discontinuity' (Givón 1984:245), it marks the beginning of a new package of events, variously described as a 'group of events' (Levinsohn2000:75), a 'development unit' (Levinsohn 2008:105), 'a new burst of closely related actions' (Heimerdinger 1999:124), the 'introduction of a new phase in the action of the narrative' (Revell 1996:61), and a 'distinct step' (De Regt 1999:20).

The next example shows the division into packages of events of the portion of the Aslam narrative from which examples (75), (76), and (81) were taken (see Appendix A:

Aslam 50-58) for the extract in Gojri). The example is given in English, for simplicity, with the relevant Gojri connectives at the beginning of their sentences.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (82) | 50 | ∅ | They got to Balakot, in the Balakot hospital and said, 'This is my brother we brought in the night.' |
| | 51 | tɛ | The doctors there weren't particularly competent, you know. |
| | 52 | ∅ | They didn't do good treatment. |
| | 53f | ∅ | (For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating, and they just slept ... |
| | 55f | fir | Then the next day they said, 'We aren't able to do anything for him. You take him (somewhere else) ...' |
| | 57 | fir | So my brother took him and came. |
| | 58 | tɛ | And from there my mother went back, because she had so many buffalos to milk ... |

In the above example tɛ starts two sentences, 51 and 58. These two sentences each begin a new package of events: the first, what transpired at the hospital (51-57) and the second, the mother's return home (58ff). Sentence 51 begins with a left-dislocated relative clause translated 'the doctors there', which indicates a switch of attention from the participants in the preceding sentence. Three sentences begin with juxtaposition, marked by Ø: 50 is part of the same event of the previous sentences, and 52 and 53f are amplifications of the new information given in 51. Finally, sentences 55f and 57 are introduced with fir. They are both in chronological sequence with respect to the information in the preceding sentence (see above on the logical relation between 56 and 57). However, they

belong in the same package of events because they make a single point, namely, that the patient could not be looked after in the hospital, so was taken elsewhere. Sentence 58 starts a new topic with a spatial point of departure by renewal[16] 'from there', and thus begins a new package of events.

Another extract from 'Aslam' (see Appendix A 83-91), given in example (83) below, shows the same phenomenon. Tɛ marks the first, short package of events in sentence 83. Sentence 84 is introduced with the combination tɛ fir, which marks a new package of events as well as the next in sequence from the previous sentence. The connectives in 84 are followed by a new starting point in time 'it was late afternoon', which contrasts with the time period 'the whole day' in the preceding sentence. Sentences 85-87 are introduced with no connective. Each of them is a restatement of 84and so part of the same package of events. 88 is introduced with fir, which indicates that it is the next event in sequence but still part of the same package as the previous sentence. Sentence 89 is the same, also introduced with fir. Then a new package of events begins in 90, with tɛ and a switch of participants from 'I' to 'my uncle'. 91belongs to the same package as 90 and is connected with the preceding sentence by juxta position.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (83) | 83 | tɛ | And we stayed with him the whole day. |
| | 84 | tɛ fir | Then it was late afternoon, and we left and went back (home). |
| | 85 | ∅ | We left ... that ... (my) heart was upset by this, very upset. |
| | 86 | ∅ | We left. |
| | 87 | ∅ | We went back home. |
| | 88 | fir | Then we stayed there. |
| | 89 | fir | And I didn't come again. |
| | 90 | tɛ | And my uncle stayed with him ... |
| | 91 | ∅ | Other people come too. |

When fir occurs together with tɛ, as in sentence 84 of the above example, the relationship expressed between the preceding and following events involves both chronological sequence and distinctiveness. Example (84) is another instance of this combination. Sentence (84b) is the last in a sequence of questions that the father asks his daughters. The question is always the same and the answers do not change. However, the father keeps asking because he wants a different answer from his youngest daughter. The third time that he asks is the climax in this sequence, because the daughter still gives the wrong answer and finally he reacts and punishes her. For this reason, although it has become customary for him to ask this question, this time it is marked as distinct information, because it is the last time and a reaction is imminent. Tɛ marks (84b) as the beginning of a new package of reported speeches.

(84)(a) fir ā-e-ɔ.
then come-PRF-MS.N

(b) tɛ fir us ne puč̌h-e-ɔ ún-ɑ̃̃
CC then 3S.DST.O AG ask-PRF-MS.N 3P.DST.O-P.O

tɨ̀-ɑ̃̃ č̌he-ɑ̃̃ te
daughter-P.O six-P.O from

'then came. And again he asked those six daughters' (Seventh 20)

In summary, fir signals a sequential relationship between the events described before and after the connective, but does not mark the second one as the beginning of a new package of events.

## 4.4 bas, bas fir and tɛ bas

Blakemore (2002:144) describes Carlson (1994).s interpretation of the function of English well as 'reorienting hearers for the purpose of achieving optimal relevance.' and cites numerous contexts in which it may be used. Reorientation signals a modification of the current situation which applies to the immediately preceding events. The Gojri connective bas also acts as a reorienter, letting the hearer know that some reorientation is needed but without completely changing the theme. It is typically used in two situations: one to move the hearer's attention away from the storyline events, the other to introduce unexpected developments.

Leading up to the following example, the narrator described the visit of the two brothers to their sister and

how they left after the visitɛ(85b) occurs in the same time frame as the events of (85a), but involves a change of orientation, as the narrator moves away from her description of their actions to her own reaction.

(85)(a) 'They came and said good-bye to me and then they left.'

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (b) | **bas** | dèāṛ-ī | hữ̃ | xafā | ṭik-ī |
| | well | day-FS.N | 1S.N | upset | stay-PRF.FS.N |

rá-ī.
stay.PRF-FS.N

'Well, I was upset all day.' (Aslam 17-18)

bas is also used to introduce an unexpected development into the narrative. In the following example there is a drastic change of orientation from things going well to things going wrong. The extract is taken from the end of the journey that the narrator's brothers went on. She explains that they traveled for two days and then stayed up in the mountains. Then, in the next sentence, bas introduces the bad news that they received about her brother:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (86) | **bas** | tīj̆-ɛ | dèāṛ-ɛ | hàmṇā xabar | lag-ī |
| | well | third-LOC | day-LOC | 1P.DAT news | hit-PRF.FS.N |
| | arā, | ter-ā | pā̀y | k-ɛ | lag |
| | COMP | 2S.O-MS.O | brother | GEN-LOC | hit |
| | ga-ī, | nā́? | | | |
| | go.PRF-FS.N | NEG | | | |

'Well, on the third day we received the news, "Your brother has been hurt," didn't we?' (Aslam 29)

The two connectives bas and fir can also occur together, as in the next example. The narrator has just finished describing how the brother stayed with his sister and now in this sentence, bas signals reorientation as the narrative moves from this event to a summary of what happened next. In turn, fir marks sequence. The sentence summarizes the brother's stay at his sister's house, which is a period of one month, sequentially following his initial removal to her house.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (87) | **bas** | **fir** | kar-t-ɛ̃ | kar-t-ɛ̃ | ek | mĩ̀n-ɔ |
| | well | then | do-IMPF-ADV | do-IMPF-ADV | one | month-MS.N |
| | pūr-ɔ | | mer-ɛ | ḍer-ɛ | ré-ɔ | |
| | entire-MS.N | | 1S.O-LOC | home-LOC | stay-PRF.MS.N | |

'Well, so it went on (like this); he stayed at my house for one whole month' (Aslam 112)

Although example (87) involves reorientation, the sentence still progresses forward in time, which is indicated not only by fir but also with the time phrase at

the beginning of the second clause, ek min̆̃ ɔ pūrɔ ‘(for) one whole month’. This contrasts with example (85), which also has a time phrase dèāṛī ‘day’, but no fir. This is because the departure of the brothers was not intended to cause the author to be upset. In other words, although ‘I was upset’ is the result of their departure, it is not in natural sequence with ‘they left.’ Instead, the bas in (85) simply introduces the feelings of them a in character right at the time when her brothers left.

When the two connectives tɛ bas are used together, tɛ indicates that a new package of events is starting and bas lets the hearer know that there has been a reorientation. This is illustrated in the following example. Sentence (a) is part of the preceding package of events and describes the author’s injured brother being removed from her home to her mother’s. Sentence (b) is introduced by tɛ bas. Tɛ introduces the next package of events. The new package begins with a reorientation to a description of how she feels, hence the use of bas. This description leads to the next event, in (c), introduced with fir, in which the narrator goes to visit her brother at their mother’s house, because she was upset.

(88)(a) apaṇ-ɛ ḍer-ɛ le g-ī-ā
one's.own-LOC home-LOC take go-PRF-MP.N

(b) **tɛ** **bas** mer-ɔ dil zarī xafā̃ hò-e-ɔ.
CC well 1S.O-MS.N heart a.little upset be-PRF-MS.N

(c) fir hữ wī rāt ín-ã̃ k-ɛ koḷ
then 1S.N also night 3P.PRX.O-P.O GEN-LOC near

ga-ī rá-ī.
go.PRF-FS.N stay.PRF-FS.N

'They took him to (their) home, and, well, my heart became a little upset. Then I went to visit them in the evening too and stayed there.' (Aslam 114-115)

At a climactic point in the narrative, tɛ bas can be used repeatedly to introduce unexpected new developments. The following example is the climax of the story of Shasta's mother's death in the earthquake. Three sentences contain tɛ bas. They introduce the three steps that occurred to bring about her death. The first, (b), is the actual earthquake, the second, (c), is the house falling when she gets up to escape, and the third, (d), is her being caught underneath.

(89)(a) mès k-ɛ hèṭh bɛṭh-ī
buffalo GEN-LOC under sit-PRF.FS.N

(b) tɛ bas zalzal-ɔ hò g-ī-ɔ.
CC well earthquake-MS.N be go-PRF-MS.N

(c) zalzal-ɔ hò-e-ɔ tɛ bas uṭh-ī
earthquake-MS.N be-PRF-MS.N CC well get.up-PRF.FS.N

bíṛ-ā nā ā-uṇ wāstɛ
outside-MS.O DAT come-INF.O PURP

tɛ afr-ũ̄ koṭh-ɔ čàṛ-e-ɔ
CC above-ABL house-MS.N fall-PRF-MS.N

(d) tɛ bas ut-ɛ hèṭh ā ga-ī.
CC well there-LOC under come go.PRF-FS.N

'[She] sat down under the buffalo and then the earthquake happened. The earthquake happened and then she got up to go outside and from above the house fell and then she came underneath it.' (Mother.1 10-11)

In summary, tɛ bas is normally used to start a new package of events and to signal reorientation in the storyline. In the climax of a story, however, as just illustrated with example (89), tɛ bas introduces unexpected new developments.

## 4.5 Non-coordinative tɛ

Section 4.1 discussed the coordinating conjunction tɛ, which links constituents of equal syntactic rank. This section discusses two further uses of tɛ, both of which separate constituents of unequal syntactic rank. These uses of tɛ are grouped together under the label 'non-coordinative tɛ'.

Previous studies of Indo-Aryan languages have noted a particle like tɛ which occurs between constituents of unequal status. For example, Phillips (2006)'s study on Hindi to describes the function of two when found between a temporal or a conditional clause and the main clause. Similarly, Baart (p.c.) states that Kalami to occurs between a subordinate clause and a main clause.

Non-coordinative tɛ in Gojri is defined as occurring between sentence constituents of unequal syntactic rank. It is used in two ways which correspond to two different morphemes in Kalami, tä and to: as a marker of contrastive emphasis (see also Schmidt 1999:210 on the contrastive emphatic particle to in Urdu) and as a linking element between a pre-nuclear subordinate clause and the rest of the sentence (corresponding to what Philips 2006 and some works cited there call a correlative conjunction). These will be referred to as contrastive tɛ and correlative tɛ, respectively.

Linguists such as Ramsey (1987:385) have recognized that pre-nuclear subordinate clauses, such as adverbial clauses of condition and time, behave like other topicalized constituents. Gojri places correlative tɛ after proposed adverbial clauses and relative clauses and contrastive tɛ after the sentence topic. In both cases the constituents set apart by tɛ are topicalized and can be called, more exactly, 'points of departure.'

'The term POINT OF DEPARTURE (Beneš 1962, cited in Garvin 1963:508) designates an initial element, often fronted or left-dislocated, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer's mental representation)' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:68).

In subject-initial languages, one way to show that a subject is also a point of departure is by placing a 'spacer' between the subject and the rest of the clause. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:73) define spacers as 'short expressions with little or no stress, whose lexical meaning has sentence scope ... They ... can be placed between constituents with distinct discourse-pragmatic roles.' Since non-coordinative tɛ is found after points of departure in both its environments, it functions as a 'spacer'.

The presence of contrastive tɛ in a clause indicates that something unexpected or surprising is about to be stated. In example (90), stored wood is not expected to burn up in the night, but that is what happened, and the unexpected event is announced by the contrastive tɛ that immediately precedes it.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (90) | mer-ī | ǰír-ī | wé | | lakaṛ-ī | th-ī |
| | 1S.O-FS.N | REL-FS.N | 3P.DST.N | | wood-FS.N | PST-FS.N |
| | tɛ | wé | tɛ | rāt | saṛ | ga-ī! |
| | CC | 3P.DST.N | CC | night | burn | go.PRF-FS.N |

'That wood of mine, it *burned* in the night!' (Seventh 101)

As shown in this example, contrastive tɛ prefers to occur after lighter constituents. Instead of occurring directly after the left-dislocated relative clause (see below),contrastive tɛ occurs after the lighter presumptive pronoun.

Baart (1999:159-160) describes the use of the contrastive emphatic particle tä in Kalami as follows:

> The particle tä occurs in sentence-medial positions and in this way divides a sentence into two parts: that which precedes it, and that which follows it. The parts are not necessarily grammatical constituents of the sentence, and they do not necessarily correspond to the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate of the sentence. However, the two parts do constitute units at the level of information structure. The part that precedes tä is the topic of the sentence (representing the entity or concept that the sentence is about), while the part that follows tä is the comment (representing the new information that is provided about the topic.)

Then he further states:

> While tä marks the boundary between topic and comment, it also serves to emphasize the comment, marking it as particularly newsworthy. In many contexts, the implication of emphasizing the

importance of the comment is that one of the listener's presuppositions is being contradicted.

The contrastive emphasis spacer tɛ in (90) above indicates that the comment given about the topicalized 'wood' is particularly unexpected and, as Baart stated above, that 'one of the listener's presuppositions is being contradicted.'

Similarly, Phillips (2006) describes the function of contrast to in Hindi comparing the proposition in its sentence to another proposition, or, in Baart's terminology a 'presupposition' that the hearer has. In Phillips' words, 'to indicates that the constituent preceding it should be compared with a corresponding constituent in another proposition' (2006:72).

Examples of contrastive emphasis in this corpus of personal historical narratives and folk stories are rare, whereas correlative tɛ is often found between subordinate clauses and main clauses, so I will concentrate on this second use from here on.

Correlative tɛ is a spacer, just as contrastive tɛ is, and it consequently has some similarities. When correlative tɛ separates a constituent from the rest of the clause or sentence, the narrative develops in connection with the switch of attention to that constituent. In other words, the comparison with a corresponding constituent in another proposition that was mentioned in regard to contrastive tɛ

is applicable to correlative tɛ because the story will develop in connection with this switch of attention.

I first describe correlative tɛ as a spacer separating an adverbial clause or phrase from the main clause. I then describe tɛ as a spacer separating a reference to a participant in the form of a relative clause from the rest of the sentence.

When correlative tɛ marks a switch from one time to another, the story will develop through the actions performed at that new time. In the following example, suba 'morning' is introduced in sentence (91b) and then reasserted in sentence (91c), where it is set apart with a spacer tɛ to indicate the development of the story through the actions performed at this new time.

(91) (a) rāt ɛnū guzār-ī
night like.this pass-PRF.FS.N

(b) suba hò-e-ī
morning be-PRF-FS.N

(c) tɛ suba tɛ lāš hàmṇe káḍ kɛ …
CC morning CC corpse 1P.AG remove CP

'We passed the night like this. Morning came, and it was in the morning that we dug out the bodies …' (Khatune 60)

When a temporal expression occurs at the beginning of a story or new episode, in contrast, tɛ is not used, because the author does not wish to signal a switch from one time to another.[18] In the following example,

which occurs at the beginning of 'Khatune' and is therefore not a development with respect to anything preceding it, suba nā 'in the morning' is not separated from the rest of the clause by a spacer:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (92) | suba | nā | pɛ́l-ɑ̃̀ | hàm | uṭh-e-ā. |
| | morning | DAT | before-P.O | 1P | get.up-PRF-MP.N |

'In the morning, first we got up.' (Khatune 1)

In the next example, an adverbial clause of time introduced with ǰad is followed by tɛ and a main clause. In other words, tɛ separates clauses that do not belong to the same grammatical class, so is judged to be functioning as a spacer. The presence of tɛ also implies development in connection with the temporal switch. What follows tɛ is relevant in the sense that what happens during the school holidays will advance the storyline.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (93) | tɛ | fir | ǰad | ún-ɑ̃̀ | nā | skūl | te |
| | CC | then | when | 3P.DST.O-P.O | DAT | school | from |
| | čhuṭ-ī | | hò-e-ī | | | | |
| | holiday-FS.N | | be-PRF-FS.N | | | | |
| | tɛ | mer-ā | | pɑ̀y | ne | ké-ɔ ... | |
| | CC | 1S.O-MS.O | | brotherAG | | say- PRF.MS.N | |

'And then, when their school holidays came, my brother said ...' (Aslam 9)

The next example contrasts with (93) in that its adverbial clause is not separated from the main clause by a spacer:

(94) (a) ǰad zalzal-ɔ ò-e-ɔ
when earthquake-MS.N be-PRF-MS.N

(b) hàm pičhɑ̃̀ dar-ū ā-e-ā nɑ̃́?
1P mountains.ward toward-ABL come-PRF-MP.N NEG

'When the earthquake happened, we came from the mountains, right?' (Doctor 2)

The clauses in (94) are not separated by a spacer because the development does not progress with respect to the action described in the second clause, (b). (b) is a reminder of what happened first after the earthquake, and the story development starts in the next action, described in a later clause.

A noun phrase modified by a relative clause can precede correlative tɛ. Once again in this context tɛ separates clauses that do not belong to the same grammatical class, so is judged to be functioning as a spacer. As described in section 3.3, relative clauses can introduce participants, identify previously introduced participants, or, if the relative clause appears superfluous, mark a participant as salient. Correlative tɛ, following any of these relative clauses, signals that the story will develop through the participants concerned.

In the following example, the superfluous relative clause marks the thieves as the centre of attention in the following section of the story. The tɛ following the relative clause not only signals a switch of attention from the VIP,

the singer, but also indicates that the storyline will develop through the thieves' actions.

(95) wé ǰíṛ-ā čor th-ā
3P.DST.N REL-MP.N thief PST-MP.N

tɛ wé lag-ā
CC 3P.DST.N start-PRF.MP.N

'They who were thieves, they got started' (Tug 18)

In contrast to (95), example (96) involves a relative clause with no accompanying spacer. The superfluous relative clause marks the residents of the house as salient, because they will have a significant part to play later in the story. However, the story at this point does not develop through their actions, but those of the VIP, the singer (hence the use of tɛ in (96b)).

(96)(a) tɛ wé ǰíṛ-ā ḍer-ā k-ā
CC 3P.DST.N REL-MP.N home-MS.O GEN-MP.N

ādmī th-ā
person PST-MP.N

sār-ā wé bī̀ ǰāg g-ī-ā.
entire-MP.N 3P.DST.N also wake go-PRF-MP.N

(b) ǰāg-e-ā tɛ mirāsī nas g-ī-ɔ.
wake-PRF-MP.N CC singer run.away go-PRF-MS.N

'And those persons who were residents of that house, they also all woke up. They woke up and the singer ran away.' (Tug 31-32)

In example (95) above, the constituent preceding tɛ functions as a point of departure, involving a switch in

or discontinuity of time or participants. When tɛ separates a conjunctive participial clause (CP) from a main clause, in contrast, there is continuity with the context even though a new package of events is beginning.[19] Yet again, tɛ separates clauses that do not belong to the same grammatical class, so is judged to be functioning as a spacer.

Typically when tɛ follows a CP, there is 'tail-head linkage' (Loos 1963) between the information in the CP and the immediate context. This means that the action of the final verb in the preceding sentence is repeated as a CP at the beginning of the next sentence. Example (97) contains tail-head linkage in that the final verb of (a), uṭhī 'got up', is the same as the initial verb of (b), uṭh kɛ 'having gotten up'. The head uṭh kɛ at the beginning of sentence (b) is set off from the main clause of the sentence by tɛ. Tɛ indicates, as usual, that a new package of events is beginning, but the tail-head linkage indicates continuity of situation with the context.

(97)(a) wá bādšazādī uṭh-ī.
3S.DST.N.F princess get.up-PRF.FS.N

(b) uṭh kɛ tɛ us maskīn lakaṛ-ī-ã̃
get.up CP CC 3S.DST.O poor.man wood-FS.N-P.O

āḷ-ā nā musāfar nāḷ čal-t-ī rá-ī.
kind.of-MP.N DAT traveler with go-IMPF-FS.N CONT-PRF.FS.N

'That princess got up. Having gotten up, she went off with the poor wood guy, the traveler.' (Seventh 60-62)

The next extract, (98), shows a contrastive example. In this case, there is tail-head linkage between sentences (a) and (b), just as in (97) above, but the CP head in (98b), le kɛ 'having taken', is not separated from the rest of the sentence by a spacer. This is because sentence (b) contains no distinctive information. The preceding sentence contains the distinct event '(they) took their home into it', but (b) is a concluding statement, with the expected information that, having moved in, they would stay there and thus no tɛ is necessary.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (98) (a) | tɛ | ḍer-ɔ | | fir | us | | mā | le | g-ī-ā. |
| | CC | home-MS.N | | then | 3S.DST.O | | in | take | go-PRF-MP.N |
| (b) | le | kɛ | ut | čal | kɛ | ṭik | ré-ā. | | |
| | take | CP | there | go | CP | stay | stay-PRF.MP.N | | |

'... then (they) took their home into it. Having taken (it), they went there and stayed on.' (Seventh 120)

Because Gojri is a clause chaining language, with the ability to convey storyline information in CP clauses, a CP in a tail-head relation can occur not only before a main verb, but also before the combination of a second CP and a main verb. This happens in example (98) above, without the introduction of any distinct information, where 'having taken it' is followed by a second CP (translated 'they went there'). It can also happen when tɛ follows the CP in a tail-head relation. Example (99) (discussed below) illustrates this.

(99) (a) le ǰā! hàle hò!
take go quick be

(b) is nā le kɛ
3S.PRX.O DAT take CP

tɛ ḍaryā mā saṭ kɛ ā rɔ́!
CC river in throw CP come stay- IMP.2S

'Take (her) away! Be quick about it! Take her, throw her in the river and come back!' (Seventh 30)

In this example, sentence (a) and the beginning of sentence (b) are in a tail-head relation. Tɛ follows the initial CP at the beginning of (b) and marks the beginning of a new package of events, in this case a new set of instructions. The new package includes both the second CP and the following main verb.

When a CP describes the next expected event in a schema, it functions in a similar way to tail-head linkage. It conveys continuity with the context and may be followed by tɛ to mark the beginning of a new package. In the following example, the CP in clause (b), wá ā kɛ 'she came', describes the fulfillment of the command in (a), wá us ne čala i 'he sent her', and is therefore the next expected event. A tɛ again follows this CP, at the beginning of (c), to mark the beginning of a new package of events, which includes both further CPs and a final main verb.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (100)(a) | tɛ | wá | us | ne | čalā-ī. |
| | CC | 3S.DST.N.F | 3S.DST.O | AG | send-PRF.FS.N |
| (b) | tɛ | wá | ā | kɛ | |
| | CC | 3S.DST.N.F | come | CP | |
| (c) | tɛ | hèr | kɛ | muṛ kɛ | ga-ī … |
| | CC | see | CP | return CP | go.PRF-FS.N |

'he sent her. And she came and looked and went back ...' (Mother 24)

In summary, a CP at the beginning of a sentence can convey established or expected information and conveys continuity with the context. When followed by t., it leads from the CP into a new package of information in the following clause.

In the preceding section on CPs, the information preceding tɛ was usually established or expected information, and tɛ always introduced a new package of events. It is also possible for the reverse to occur.20 In the following two examples involving t., clauses conveying established information FOLLOW clauses with new information.

In example (101), the information in the reason clause, (a), refocuses on information that the listener has heard a few sentences ago in the text and gives it in this context as a reason for the established information in the main clause, (a). The following extract occurs at the end of a description of how the aunt (.she. in this sentence) took care of the two boys while they were going to school.

(101)(a)kyū̃je mā̃ nī́ th-ī
because mother NEG PST-FS.N

(b)tɛ fir us- wá sām-ɛ
CC then 3S.DST.O 3S.DST.N.F tend-HAB.2/3S

th-ī nā́?
PST-FS.N NEG

'Because Mother wasn't there and so she – she took care of them, right?' (Aslam 7)

Sentence (b) of the next example, (102), illustrates the same order: brand-new information tɛ established information. This time an initial CP clause, (b), conveys brand-new information, while the clause following tɛ, (c), repeats information stated in (a).

(102)(a) 'Well, that poor traveler came bringing (everything).'

(b)de kɛ
give CP

(c)tɛ ut-ū āṇ kɛ us nā dit-ā.
CC there-ABL bring CP 3S.DST.O DAT give.PRF-MP.N

'(He) gave (the ring); (he) brought (everything) from there and gave it to her.' (Seventh 79-80)

It should be noted, though, that the norm is for the non-established information to follow tɛ and for any established information to precede it rather than the reverse.

In summary, coordinative tɛ, as described in section 4.1, normally introduces distinct units of

information. Non-coordinative tɛ separates constituents that belong to different grammatical classes. Correlative tɛ marks switches from one time or participant to a new time or participant, and contrastive tɛ introduces information that contrasts with an expectation of the hearer.

## 4.6 ǰī

ǰī functions as a limiter, that is, it limits the possible interpretation of the clause in which it occurs. This study distinguishes two uses: a default use and a pragmatic use.

In its default use, ǰī is usually found at the end of a clause. In the following example, ǰī limits the interpretation of the locative expression 'there where they were removed.' This is reflected in the translation 'just there.'

(103) ǰit ǰit káḍ-ī
where where remove-PRF.FS.N

ut-ɛ dafanā-e-ɛ̃ hɛ̃ ǰī.
there-LOC bury-PRF-P.O 3P.PRS LIM

'There where (they) were removed, just there (they) were buried.'
(Khatune 66)

In the next example, ǰī occurs at the end of a clause that starts with ɛnū 'like this' and closes off the preceding activity. It follows the reduplicated imperfective participle, which is regularly used to summarize a preceding activity. The effect of adding ǰī is to indicate that what is described

about this activity is all there was, they did nothing extra and nothing changed:

(104) ɛnū kar-t-ɑ̃ kar-t-ɑ̃ ǰī
like.this do-IMPF-ADV do-IMPF-ADV LIM

ǰīyɑ̃ rāt hò ga-ī so rá-ī.
whenever night be go.PRF-FS.N sleep stay.PRF-FS.N

'So we just kept on like that and when night came, we slept.' (EQ Short 43)

In the next example, ǰī does not occur at the end of the clause. Instead it follows the adjective, before the final verb of its clause, and exerts its influence on the complement and not on the whole clause:

(105) šāzīā tɛ ɛnū karunǰ-ī ǰī hò-e-ī
Shazia CC like.this wrinkled-FS.N LIM be-PRF-FS.N

pā-e-ī w-ī th-ī.
find-PRF-FS.N PFP-FS.N PST-FS.N

'... Shazia, found just curled up like this.' (Shazia 33)

The second use of ǰī is to move the story along quickly. When it occurs early in a clause, as in example (106), immediately preceding a perfective, active verb, it has a pragmatic effect on its environment. In such a position, ǰī speeds the story up or directs the hearer forward to the next event of the story. Typically the perfective verb is followed by tɛ. Tɛ introduces a new package of events and ǰī indicates that this new development took place immediately after the previous

one. This combination of tɛ and ǰī is predominantly used by one of the authors of my corpus, but other authors also use it occasionally.

The following passage contains three of these pragmatic instances of ǰī in a row. Events are building up to the climax of the story and these instances of ǰī speed up the pace at which each new development comes:

(106)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mirāsī | ǰī | naṭṭh-ɔ | | | |
| singer | LIM | run.away.PRF-MS.N | | | |
| tɛ | bas | bū́-ā | mā | ǰī | g-ī-ɔ, |
| CC | well | door-MS.O | in | LIM | go-PRF-MS.N |
| tɛ | káḍ-ū | ǰī | čhik-e-ɔ | | |
| CC | after-ABL | LIM | pull-PRF-MS.N | | |
| tɛ | koe | ádd-ɔ | taṇā̃ | lag-ɔ … | |
| CC | MS.INDEF | half-MS.N | downhill | hit-PRF.MS.N | |

'As soon as the singer ran, well, as soon as he went in the doorway, (they) pulled him from behind, and half of him fell outside ...' (Tug 34-36a)

Thus ǰi has two functions. It normally limits the interpretation of a clause. However, when occurring immediately before a perfective verb, it indicates that the next event took place immediately after the preceding one.

## 5 Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed three aspects of Gojri discourse: the structure of subordinate clauses, the use of

subordinate clauses in grounding and prominence, and the function of certain common connectives in packaging information, concentrating on the default connective tɛ.

As expected, Gojri narrative discourse uses adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. Most adverbial clauses give a time at which an activity happened, a manner in which it happened, the purpose for which it happened, or a reason or cause for the main activity in a sentence. One particular kind of adverbial clause, the conjunctive participial clause (CP), is commonly found in chained constructions preceding the final verb.

Subordinate clauses are used both to background information with respect to a main clause and to give new, important information of storyline status. The information in an adverbial clause that precedes the main clause is usually back grounded with respect to that of the main clause. However, it is also possible for a pre-nuclear adverbial clause to convey storyline information.

When a relative clause refers to an activated participant, it follows the relative pronoun. Conversely, when it introduces a new participant, the head noun precedes the relative pronoun. Other constituents may also precede the relative pronoun for focal prominence. Relative clauses are also used in contexts where they appear superfluous. In these cases, they indicate that the

referent has a significant role to play in the subsequent discourse.

CP chains are used as per Longacre (1990).s description of Language Type C, in that the CP clause may contain information of the same storyline status as the main verb in the sentence.

tɛ is the default connective in Gojri. Sentences are normally joined with a connective. Coordinative tɛ joins equal constituents that convey distinct information. Non-coordinative t., on the other hand, acts as a spacer, separating unequal constituents from the main clause and indicating their relation to the context Correlative tɛ switches the attention to a new time or new participant and contrastive tɛ indicates a proposition that contrasts with an expectation of the hearer. Juxtaposition occurs when adjacent sentences do not convey distinct information. Other connectives discussed in this paper are fir, bas, and ĵi. fir introduces information as the next in sequence to what preceded. Bas signals reorientation. Finally, ĵĩ has two uses. Its default use is to limit the interpretation of a clause. Its marked use is to speed up the progression of the storyline.

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper addresses relevant issues for both Gojri and other Indo-Aryan linguistics. This is a unique study in that all of the speakers giving the language data are female. To obtain a broader study of the language it would be necessary to

compare these findings to narratives given by male speakers. This study provides an initial narrative discourse analysis of Eastern Gojri for the Gojri Language Development Project. It adds to the knowledge of clause chaining languages, which have primarily been researched in Africa (see Longacre 1990), not in the Indo-Aryan language family. Finally, the studies of spacer tɛ and the apparently superfluous relative clauses used to mark salience have contributed to the knowledge of the behavior of Indo-Aryan languages and SOV languages in general.

# APPENDIX A

# ASLAM

001. ***hū̃̀ tinnā apaṇā pā̀y kī kā̀ṇī suṇāū̃ ?***
*hū̃̀ tinnā apaṇ -ā pā̀y k -ī kā̀ṇ -ī suṇā -ū̃*

1S.N 2S.DAT one'S.own -MS.O brother GEN -FS.N story -FS.N tell -SBJV.1S

Should I tell you the story of my brother?

002. ***tɛ yó merɔ pā̀y ǰad skūl páṛɛ hòwɛ***
*tɛ yó mer -ɔ pā̀y ǰad skūl páṛ -ɛ hò -wɛ*

CC 3S.PRX.N.M 1S.O -MS.N brother when school read -HAB.2/3S be -HAB.2/3S

***thɔ nā́ tɛ nikɔ ǰɔ hòwɛ thɔ - ek yó***
*th -ɔ nā́ tɛ nik -ɔ ǰɔ hò -wɛ th -ɔ ek yó*

PST -MS.N NEG CC small -MS.N whatever be -HAB.2/3S PST -MS.N one 3S.PRX.N.M

***tɛ ek merɔ dūǰɔ pā̀y us te nikɔ ǰíṛɔ -***
*tɛ ek mer -ɔ dūǰ -ɔ pā̀y us te nik -ɔ ǰíṛ -ɔ*

CC one 1S.O -MS.N second -MS.N brother 3S.DST.O from small -MS.N REL -MS.N

When this brother of mine was studying at school, okay, when he was just little - he and another brother of mine, who was younger than him -

003. **tɛ merī mā̃ tɛ merɔ bāp tɛ merɔ sārɔ xāndān**
*tɛ mer -ī mā̃ tɛ mer -ɔ bāp tɛ mer -ɔ sār -ɔ xāndān*

CC 1S.O -FS.N mother CC 1S.O -MS.N father CC 1S.O -MS.N entire -MS.N family

**mā́lī apar ǰā rɛ́ɔ nā́,**
*mā́l -ī apar ǰā rɛ́ -ɔ nā́*

pastures -FS.N on place stay -PRF.MS.N NEG

when my mother and my father and my whole family would go to the pastures,

004. **tɛ ínā̃ nā skūl kī čhuṭī nī́ thī skūl**
*tɛ ín -ā̃ nā skūl k -ī čhuṭ -ī nī́ th -ī skūl*

CC 3P.PRX.O -P.O DAT school GEN -FS.N holiday -FS.N NEG PST -FS.N school

**páṛuṇ wāstɛ it rɛ́ qīā merā čāčā**
*páṛ -uṇ wāstɛ it rɛ́ q -ī -ā mer -ā čāč -ā*

read INF.O PURP here stay go -PRF -MP.N 1S.O -MS.O paternal.uncle -MS.O

**kɛ ḍerɛ.**
*k -ɛ ḍer -ɛ*

GEN -LOC home -LOC

and it wasn't their school holidays, they would stay behind here to attend school, at my uncle's house.

005. **tɛ skūl páṛ kɛ āwɛ̃ tɛ merī čāčī ǰíṛī**
*tɛ skūl páṛ kɛ ā -wɛ̃ tɛ mer -ī čāč -ī ǰíṛ -ī*

CC school read CP come -HAB.3P CC 1S.O -FS.N paternal.uncle -FS.N REL -FS.N

**thī tɛ wá ínā̃ nā roṭī wī dīɛ thī**
*th -ī tɛ wá ín -ā̃ nā roṭ -ī wī dī -ɛ th -ī*

PST -FS.N CC 3S.DST.N.F 3P.PRX.O -P.O DAT bread -FS.N also give -HAB.2/3S PST -FS.N

**tɛ khāṇɔ ínā̃ nā wá dīɛ thī.**
*tɛ khāṇ -ɔ ín -ā̃ nā wá dī -ɛ th -ī*

CC food -MS.N 3P.PRX.O -P.O DAT 3S.DST.N.F give -HAB.2/3S PST -FS.N

Then when they would return from school she who was my aunt would give them food and meals.

006. **tɛ us kɛ ḍerɛ rāt soɛ̃ wī thā tɛ ut**
tɛ us k -ɛ ḍer -ɛ rāt so -ɛ̃ wī th -ā tɛ ut

CC 3S.DST.O GEN -LOC home -LOC night sleep -HAB.3P also PST -MP.N CC there

**rɛ́ nā́?**
rɛ́ nā́

stay.HAB.3P NEG

And at night they would also sleep there and stay there, right?

007. **kyũ̃je mã̃ nī́ thī tɛ fir us - wá sāmɛ**
kyũ̃je mã̃ nī́ th -ī tɛ fir us - wá sām -ɛ

because mother NEG PST -FS.N CC then 3S.DST.O 3S.DST.N.F tend -HAB.2/3S

**thī nā́?**
th -ī nā́

PST -FS.N NEG

Because Mother wasn't there and so she - she took care of them, right?

008. **bas fir kartã̃ kartã̃ merī čačī kɛ**
bas fir kar -t -ã̃ kar -t -ã̃ mer -ī čač -ī k -ɛ

well then do IMPF ADV do IMPF ADV 1S.O FS.N paternal.uncle FS.N GEN LOC

**ḍerɛ ṭikeā rɛ́ā.**
ḍer -ɛ ṭik -e -ā rɛ́ -ā

home -LOC stay -PRF -MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

So it went on like this, with them staying at my aunt's house.

009. **tɛ fir ǰad únā̃ nā skūl te čhuṭī hòeī tɛ**
tɛ fir ǰad ún -ā̃ nā skūl te čhuṭ -ī hò -e -ī tɛ

CC then when 3P.DST.O -P.O DAT school from holiday -FS.N be -PRF -FS.N CC

**merā pā̀y ne kɛ́ɔ ǰe, hū̃̀ hòṇ apaṇī**
mer -ā pā̀y ne kɛ́ -ɔ ǰe hū̃̀ hòṇ apaṇ -ī

1S.O -MS.O brother AG say -PRF.MS.N that.COMP 1S.N now one's.own -FS.N

**mā̃ kɛ koḷ čalū̃ kɔ tɛ apaṇā bāp koḷ**
mā̃ k -ɛ koḷ čal -ū̃ k -ɔ tɛ apaṇ -ā bāp koḷ

mother GEN -LOC near go -HAB.1S FUT -MS.N CC one's.own -MS.O father near

**apaṇā dūǰā pā̀yā̃ koḷ čalū̃ kɔ.**
apaṇ -ā dūǰ -ā pā̀y -ā̃ koḷ čal -ū̃ k -ɔ

one's.own -MP.N second -MP.N brother -P.O near go -HAB.1S FUT -MS.N

And then, when their school holidays came, my brother said, "I am going to go to my mother now and to my father and to my other brothers."

010. **tɛ hàmṇe kɛ́ɔ, čal.**
tɛ hàmṇe kɛ́ -ɔ čal

CC 1P.AG say -PRF.MS.N go

We answered, "Go."

011. **fir rāt - do dèāṛā čaluṇ te pɛ́lā̃ hū̃̀ gaī.**
fir rāt - do dèāṛ -ā čal -uṇ te pɛ́l -ā̃ hū̃̀ ga -ī

then night two day -MP.N go -INF.O from before -P.O 1S.N go.PRF -FS.N

Then (one) night - two days before (their) leaving, I went.

012. **tɛ mɛ̃ čal kɛ ínā̃ kā čīṛā tò kɛ ditā.**
tɛ mɛ̃ čal kɛ ín -ā̃ k -ā čīṛ -ā tò kɛ dit -ā

CC 1S.AG go CP 3P.PRX.O -P.O GEN -MP.N clothes -MP.N wash CP give.PRF -MP.N

I went and washed their clothes for them.

013. **tɛ ínã̃ nā hū̃ hèr kɛ āeī mɛ̃ kɛ́ɔ, tam**
tɛ ín -ã̃ nā hū̃ hèr kɛ ā -e -ī mɛ̃ kɛ́ -ɔ tam

CC 3P.PRX.O -P.O DAT 1S.N see CP come -PRF -FS.N 1S.AG say -PRF.MS.N 2P.N

**ǒalɔ kā?**
ǒal -ɔ k -ā

go -HAB.2P FUT -MP.N

I went to see them and I said, "You're going?"

014. **tɛ ínã̃ ne kɛ́ɔ, hàm ǒalã̃ kā.**
tɛ ín -ã̃ ne kɛ́ -ɔ hàm ǒal -ã̃ k -ā

CC 3P.PRX.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N 1P.N go -HAB.1P FUT -MP.N

And they answered, "(Yes,) we're going."

015. **tɛ ínã̃ ne minnā kɛ́ɔ, hàm ǒaltɛ ṭem terɛ**
tɛ ín -ã̃ ne minnā kɛ́ -ɔ hàm ǒal -t -ɛ ṭem ter -ɛ

CC 3P.PRX.O -P.O AG 1S.DAT say -PRF.MS.N 1P.N go -IMPF -LOC time 2S.O -LOC

**koḷ āwã̃ kā terā te bideā hò kɛ ǒalã̃**
koḷ ā -wã̃ k -ā ter -ā te bideā hò kɛ ǒal -ã̃

near come -HAB.1P FUT -MP.N 2S.O -MS.O from farewell be CP go -HAB.1P

**kā.**
k -ā

FUT -MP.N

And they said to me, "When it's time to leave, we'll come to you and we'll say good-bye to you and then we'll go."

016. **bas fir mɛ̃ - hũ̃ muṛ kɛ apaṇɛ ḍerɛ ā**
*bas fir mɛ̃ - hũ̀ muṛ kɛ apaṇ -ɛ ḍer -ɛ ā*

well then 1S.AG 1S.N return.INTR CP one's.own -LOC home -LOC come

**ráī tɛ fir yé čaltɛ ṭem merɛ koḷ**
*rá -ī tɛ fir yé čal -t -ɛ ṭem mer -ɛ koḷ*

stay.PRF -FS.N CC then 3P.PRX.N go -IMPF -LOC time 1S.O -LOC near

**āeā.**
*ā -e -ā*

come -PRF -MP.N

So then I - I went back to my house and then, when it was time to go, they came to see me.

017. **ā kɛ merā te bideā hò kɛ ǰā rɛ́ā.**
*ā kɛ mer -ā te bideā hò kɛ ǰā rɛ́ -ā*

come CP 1S.O -MS.O from farewell be CP go stay -PRF.MP.N

They came and said good-bye to me and then they left.

018. **bas dèāṛī hũ̀ xafā ṭikī ráī.**
*bas dèāṛ -ī hũ̀ xafā ṭik -ī rá -ī*

well day -FS.N 1S.N upset stay -PRF.FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N

Well, I was upset all day (the day they left).

019. **mɛ̃ kɛ́ɔ, merā pā̀y ǰā rɛ́ā hũ̀ ekḷī rɛ́**
*mɛ̃ kɛ́ -ɔ mer -ā pā̀y ǰā rɛ́ -ā hũ̀ ekḷ -ī rɛ́*

1S.AG say -PRF.MS.N 1S.O -MP.N brother go stay -PRF.MP.N 1S.N alone -FS.N stay

**qaī.**
*ga -ī*

go.PRF -FS.N

I said (to myself), "My brothers have gone and I'm left alone.

020. ***merī mā̃ wī ní tɛ merɔ bāp wī dūr tɛ merī***
*mer -ī mā̃ wī ní tɛ mer -ɔ bāp wī dūr tɛ mer -ī*

1S.O -FS.N mother also NEG CC 1S.O -MS.N father also far CC 1S.O -FS.N

***mā̃ wī dūr tɛ ...***
*mā̃ wī dūr tɛ*

mother also far CC

My mother isn't here, my father's far away too, my mother's far away ...

021. ***merā pā̀y merɛ koḷ thā aǰ wé wī ǰā***
*mer -ā pā̀y mer -ɛ koḷ th -ā aǰ wé wī ǰā*

1S.O -MP.N brother 1S.O -LOC near PST -MP.N today 3P.DST.N also go

***rɛ́ā nā́?***
*rɛ́ -ā nā́*

stay -PRF.MP.N NEG

My brothers were with me and now today they've left too, haven't they?"

022. ***bas hū̃̀ ṭikī ráī tɛ yé ... wé ǰā rɛ́ā.***
*bas hū̃̀ ṭik -ī rá -ī tɛ yé wé ǰā rɛ́ -ā*

well 1S.N stay -PRF.FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N CC 3P.PRX.N 3P.DST.N go stay -PRF.MP.N

Well, I stayed and they ... they left.

023. ***merā te bideā hò kɛ ǰā rɛ́ā.***
*mer -ā te bideā hò kɛ ǰā rɛ́ -ā*

1S.O -MS.O from farewell be CP go stay -PRF.MP.N

They said good-bye to me and left.

024. ***merā hèr hèrtã̃ utũ̃ pārũ̃ tã́ lé kɛ***
*mer -ā hèr hèr -t -ã̃ ut -ũ̃ pār -ũ̃ tã́ lé kɛ*

1S.O -MS.O see see -IMPF -ADV there -ABL across -ABL to.lowlands get.down CP

***āeā nã́ nakkā biŏ̃ũ̃ nã́?***
*ā -e -ā nã́ nakk -ā biŏ̃ -ũ̃ nã́*

come -PRF -MP.N NEG spur.of mountain -MS.O in -ABL NEG

I watched and watched (as) they descended from across there and down, right: (down) the middle of the spur, right?

025. ***hũ̃ hèrtī rāī tɛ bas wé le - utũ̃***
*hũ̃ hèr -t -ī rá -ī tɛ bas wé le - ut -ũ̃*

1S.N see -IMPF -FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N CC well 3P.DST.N take there -ABL

***tã́ āuṇ nā lagā tɛ hũ̃ apaṇā***
*tã́ ā -uṇ nā lag -ā tɛ hũ̃ apaṇ -ā*

to.lowlands come -INF.O DAT start.PRF -PRF.MP.N CC 1S.N one's.own -MS.O

***ḍerā te hèrtī rāī.***
*ḍer -ā te hèr -t -ī rá -ī*

home -MS.O from see -IMPF FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N

I kept watching and, well - then when they started descending from there, I kept watching from my house.

026. ***āeā minnā mileā jã̃ réā.***
*ā -e -ā minnā mil -e -ā jã̃ ré -ā*

come -PRF -MP.N 1S.DAT meet -PRF -MP.N go stay -PRF.MP.N

They met me and left.

027. ***jã̃ réā.***
*jã̃ ré -ā*

go stay -PRF.MP.N

They left.

024. ***merā hèr hèrtã̃ utũ̃ pārũ̃ tã́ lé kɛ***
*mer -ā hèr hèr -t -ã̃ ut -ũ̃ pār -ũ̃ tã́ lé kɛ*

1S.O -MS.O see see -IMPF -ADV there -ABL across -ABL to.lowlands get.down CP

***āeā nã́ nakkā biŏ̃ũ̃ nã́?***
*ā -e -ā nã́ nakk -ā biŏ̃ -ũ̃ nã́*

come -PRF -MP.N NEG spur.of mountain -MS.O in -ABL NEG

I watched and watched (as) they descended from across there and down, right:

(down) the middle of the spur, right?

025. ***hũ̃ hèrtī rāī ts bas wé le - utũ̃***
*hũ̃ hèr -t -ī rá -ī ts bas wé le - ut -ũ̃*

1S.N see -IMPF -FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N CC well 3P.DST.N take there -ABL

***tã́ āuṇ nā laqā ts hũ̃ apaṇā***
*tã́ ā -uṇ nā laq -ā ts hũ̃ apaṇ -ā*

to.lowlands come -INF.O DAT start.PRF -PRF.MP.N CC 1S.N one's.own -MS.O

***ḍerā te hèrtī rāī.***
*ḍer -ā te hèr -t -ī rá -ī*

home -MS.O from see -IMPF FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N

I kept watching and, well - then when they started descending from there, I kept

watching from my house.

026. ***āeā minnā milcā jã̃ réā.***
*ā -e -ā minnā mil -e -ā jã̃ ré -ā*

come -PRF -MP.N 1S.DAT meet -PRF -MP.N go stay -PRF.MP.N

They met me and left.

027. ***jã̃ réā.***
*jã̃ ré -ā*

go stay -PRF.MP.N

They left.

028. ***do dèāṛā čal kɛ pičhā̃ rɛ́ā.***
*do dèāṛ -ā čal kɛ pičhā̃ rɛ́ -ā*

two day -MP.N go CP mountains.ward stay -PRF.MP.N

They went for two days and then stayed up there in the mountains.

029. ***bas tīǰɛ dèāṛɛ hàmṇā xabar lagī arā, terā pā̀y***
*bas tīǰ -ɛ dèāṛ -ɛ hàmṇā xabar lag -ī arā ter -ā pā̀y*

well third -LOC day -LOC 1P.DAT news hit -PRF.FS.N COMP 2S.O -MS.O brother

***kɛ lag gaī, nā́?***
*k -ɛ lag ga -ī nā́*

GEN -LOC hit go.PRF -FS.N NEG

Well, on the third day we received the news, "Your brother has been hurt;" didn't we?

030. ***tɛ tɛ kwāy bazār mā āeɔ tɛ ut koe ǰaṇɔ***
*tɛ tɛ kwāy bazār mā ā -e -ɔ tɛ ut koe ǰaṇ -ɔ*

CC down Kawai market in come -PRF -MS.N CC there MS.INDEF man -MS.N

***thɔ tɛ us ne kɛ́ɔ, terā pā̀y kɛ laq***
*th -ɔ tɛ us ne kɛ́ -ɔ ter -ā pā̀y k -ɛ lag*

PST -MS.N CC 3S.DST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N 2S.O -MS.O brother GEN -LOC hit

***gaī hè tɛ.***
*ga -ī hè tɛ*

go.PRF -FS.N 2/3S.PRES CC

(Someone) came down to the Kawai bazaar and there was a man there, and he said, "Your brother has been hurt.

031. ***afrɑ̃̀ jĭɽā basti mā jĭɽā thə̀rɔ xāndān***
*afrɑ̃̀ jĭɽ -ā bast -ī mā jĭɽ -ā thə̀r -ɔ xāndān*

upwards REL -MS.O neighborhood -FS.N in REL -MS.O 2P.O -MS.N family

***hè ʦ ʊs nā patɔ kar ŏhuɽeɔ kɛ ʊs***
*hè ʦ ʊs nā patɔ kar ŏhuɽ -e -ɔ kɛ ʊs*

2/3S.PRS CC 3S.DST.O DAT fact do do.completely -PERF -MS.N that.COMP 3S.DST.O

***kɛ laq qaĭ hè.***
*k -ɛ lag ga -ī hè*

GEN -LOC hit go.PRF -FS.N 2/3S.PRS

Up there in the town where your family is, they've been told that he has been hurt.

032. ***ʦ ʊs nā ḍākʈar koḷ le qīā hɛ̃̀.***
*ʦ ʊs nā ḍākʈar koḷ le g -ī -ā hɛ̃̀*

CC 3S.DST.O DAT doctor near take go -PRF -MP.N 3P.PRS

And they've taken him to a doctor.

033. ***ʦ tam wī hèruṇ wāsʦɛ āĭɔ ʊs nā.***
*ʦ tam wī hèr -uṇ wāsʦ ā -ī -ɔ ʊs nā*

CC 2P.N also see -INF.O PURP come -IMP.FUT -IMP.2P 3S.DST.O DAT

You come too and see him."

034. ***ʦ hàmṇā ā kɛ ǰaṇā ne kéɔ numāššɛ̃̀ kɔ ʦem***
*ʦ hàmṇā ā kɛ ǰaṇ -ā ne ké -ɔ numāššɛ̃̀ k -ɔ ʦem*

CC 1P.DAT come CP man -MS.O AG say -PRF.MS.N sundown GEN -MS.N time

***thɔ nɑ̃́ (numāššɛ̃̀ kɔ patɔ hè nɑ̃́?)***
*th -ɔ nɑ̃́ numāššɛ̃̀ k -ɔ patɔ hè nɑ̃́*

PST MS.N NEG sundown GEN MS.N fact 2/3S.PRS NEG

The man came to us and said this - it was evening, wasn't it? (you know what 'numasa' is, right?)

035. ***numāšā̃ kɔ ṭem thɔ tɛ hàmṇā ǰaṇā ne ā kɛ***
*numāšā̃ k -ɔ ṭem th -ɔ tɛ hàmṇā ǰaṇ -ā ne ā kɛ*

sundown GEN -MS.N time PST -MS.N CC 1P.DAT man -MS.O AG come CP

***kɛ́ɔ kɛ, aslam kɛ laq qaī hɛ̀.***
*kɛ́ -ɔ kɛ aslam k -ɛ lag ga -ī hɛ̀*

say -PRF.MS.N that.COMP Aslam GEN -LOC hit go.PRF -FS.N 2/3S.PRS

It was at sundown. The man came to us and said, "Aslam has been hurt.

036. ***tɛ us kɔ pā̀y ǰíṛɔ ašrif hɛ̀ tɛ wó wī tɛ***
*tɛ us k -ɔ pā̀y ǰíṛ -ɔ ašrif hɛ̀ tɛ wó wī tɛ*

CC 3S.DST.O GEN -MS.N brother REL -MS.N Ashrif 2/3S.PRS CC 3S.DST.N.M also CC

***akram wī tɛ us kī mā̃ wī tɛ us kɔ ek***
*akram wī tɛ us k -ī mā̃ wī tɛ us k -ɔ ek*

Akram also CC 3S.DST.O GEN -FS.N mother also CC 3S.DST.O GEN -MS.N one

***čāčɔ wó wī le kɛ tɛ us nā qaḍī bič***
*čāč -ɔ wó wī le kɛ tɛ us nā gaḍ -ī bič*

paternal.uncle -MS.N 3S.DST.N.M also take CP CC 3S.DST.O DAT vehicle FS.N in

***ǰā rɛ́ā hàspatāl nā.***
*ǰā rɛ́ -ā hàspatāl nā*

go stay -PRF.MP.N hospital DAT

And his brother Ashrif, he too, and also Akram and also his mother and also one of his uncles have taken him to the hospital in a vehicle."

037. ***tɛ hàmṇe kɛ́ɔ, ɔ́xɔ́ɔ us nā ke hò gīɔ?***
*tɛ hàmṇe kɛ́ -ɔ ɔ́xɔ́ɔ us nā ke hò g -ī -ɔ*

CC 1P.AG say -PRF.MS.N oh.no! 3S.DST.O DAT what? be go -PRF -MS.N

And we said, "Oh, oh! What has happened to him?

038. ***mā̀rā koḷū̃ te bal qīɔ thɔ.***
*mā̀r -ā koḷ -ū̃ te bal g -ī -ɔ th -ɔ*

1P.O -MS.O near -ABL from well go -PRF -MS.N PST -MS.N

He left us so healthy.

039. ***tɛ patɔ nī́ ke hò qīɔ us nā.***
*tɛ patɔ nī́ ke hò g -ī -ɔ us nā*

CC fact NEG what? be go -PRF -MS.N 3S.DST.O DAT

We don't know what has happened to him."

040. ***saxt dil saṛeɔ.***
*saxt dil saṛ -e -ɔ*

hard heart burn -PRF -MS.N

(Our) heart hurt badly.

041. ***tɛ hàm rotā rɛ́ā.***
*tɛ hàm ro -t -ā rɛ́ -ā*

CC 1P.N cry -IMPF -MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

We cried and cried.

042. ***mɛ̃ rāt roṭī wī nā́ khādī.***
*mɛ̃ rāt roṭ -ī wī nā́ khād -ī*

1S.AG night bread -FS.N also NEG eat.PRF -FS.N

I didn't even eat any food that night..

043. ***us kā wārā mā soǒtā rɛ́ā.***
*us k -ā wār -ā mā soǒ -t -ā rɛ́ -ā*

3S.DST.O GEN -MS.O turn -MS.O in think -IMPF -MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

We thought and thought about him.

044. ***suba lo hòeī tɛ ó ǰĩṛɔ merā ḍerā***
*suba lo hò -e -ī tɛ ó ǰĩṛ -ɔ mer -ā ḍer -ā*

morning light be -PRF -FS.N CC 3S.DST.N REL -MS.N 1S.O -MS.O home -MS.O

***āḷɔ thɔ wó wī gīɔ.***
*āḷ -ɔ th -ɔ wó wī g -ī -ɔ*

kind.of -MS.N PST -MS.N 3S.DST.N.M also go -PRF -MS.N

In the morning at first light, he who was my husband then went, too.

045. ***merɔ čāčɔ ǰĩr̥ɔ thɔ - merɔ ḍerā***
*mer -ɔ čāč -ɔ ǰĩr̥ -ɔ th -ɔ mer -ɔ ḍer -ā*

1S.O -MS.N paternal.uncle -MS.N REL -MS.N PST -MS.N 1S.O -MS.N home -MS.O

***āḷā kɔ bāp - ó wī qīɔ.***
*āḷ -ā k -ɔ bāp ó wī g -ī -ɔ*

kind.of -MS.O GEN -MS.N father 3S.DST.N also go -PRF -MS.N

My uncle - my husband's father - he went too.

046. ***tɛ ek merɔ čāčɔ hɔ̀r thɔ ó wī***
*tɛ ek mer -ɔ čāč -ɔ hɔ̀r th -ɔ ó wī*

CC one 1S.O -MS.N paternal.uncle -MS.N more PST -MS.N 3S.DST.N also

***qīɔ.***
*g -ī -ɔ*

go -PRF -MS.N

Another of my uncles went too.

047. ***sārā wī gīā.***
*sār -ā wī g -ī -ā*

entire -MP.N also go -PRF -MP.N

They all went.

048. ***ek čāčɔ is kɛ nāḷ qīɔ.***
*ek čāč -ɔ is k -ɛ nāḷ g -ī -ɔ*

one paternal.uncle -MS.N 3S.PRX.O GEN -LOC with go -PRF -MS.N

One uncle went with him.

049. ***do čačā merā ut rɛ́ā wā thā***
*do čač -ā mer -ā ut rɛ́ -ā w -ā th -ā*

two paternal.uncle -MP.N 1S.O -MP.N there stay -PRF.MP.N PFP -MP.N PST -MP.N

***wé wī doe qīā us nā hèruṇ wāstɛ.***
*wé wī doe g -ī -ā us nā hèr -uṇ wāstɛ*

3P.DST.N also both go -PRF -MP.N 3S.DST.O DAT see -INF.O PURP

Two of my uncles had been staying (up) there - both of them also went to see him.

050. ***bālākoṭ āeā tɛ únā̃ ne kɛ́ɔ bālākoṭ hàspatāl***
*bālākoṭ ā -e -ā tɛ ún -ā̃ ne kɛ́ -ɔ bālākoṭ hàspatāl*

Balakot come -PRF -MP.N CC 3P.DST.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N Balakot hospital

***mā merɔ pā̀y yó āṇeɔ tɛ rāt.***
*mā mer -ɔ pā̀y yó āṇ -e -ɔ tɛ rāt*

in 1S.O -MS.N brother 3S.PRX.N.M bring -PRF -MS.N CC night

They (all) got to Balakot, in the Balakot hospital and said, "This is my brother we brought in the night."

051. ***tɛ ut ḍākṭar ǰíṛā thā wé muč sóṇɔ ilāǰ***
*tɛ ut ḍākṭar ǰíṛ -ā th -ā wé muč sóṇ -ɔ ilāǰ*

CC there doctor REL -MP.N PST -MP.N 3P.DST.N much beautiful -MS.N treatment

***nī́ karɛ̃ thā nā́..***
*nī́ kar -ɛ̃ th -ā nā́*

NEG do -HAB.3P PST -MP.N NEG

The doctors there weren't particularly competent, you know.

052. ***hàčhɔ ilāǰ nī́ karɛ̃ thā.***
*hàčh -ɔ ilāǰ nī́ kar -ɛ̃ th -ā*

good -MS.N treatment NEG do -HAB.3P PST -MP.N

They didn't do good treatment.

053. ***kyũ̃je rāt us nā pɛšāb čhoṭā kī itanī***
*kyũ̃je rāt us nā pɛšāb čhoṭ -ā k -ī itan -ī*

because night 3S.DST.O DAT urine short -MS.O GEN -FS.N so.many -FS.N

***taklīf hòeī tɛ wé - wé so rɛ́ā thā.***
*taklīf hò -e -ī tɛ wé - wé so rɛ́ -ā th -ā*

difficulty be -PRF -FS.N CC 3P.DST.N 3P.DST.N sleep stay -PRF.MP.N PST -MP.N

(For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating, and they - they just slept.

054. ***únã̃ ne uṭh kɛ nĩ́ hèrɛɔ thɔ nã̃.***
*ún -ã̃ ne uṭh kɛ nĩ́ hèr -e -ɔ th -ɔ nã̃*

3P.DST.O -P.O AG get.up CP NEG see -PRF -MS.N PST -MS.N NEG

They didn't (even) get up and look, did they?

055. ***fir dūj̃ɛ dèāṛɛ únã̃ ne kɛ́ɔ yó mā̀rā***
*fir dūj̃ -ɛ dèāṛ -ɛ ún -ã̃ ne kɛ́ -ɔ yó mā̀r -ā*

then second -LOC day -LOC 3P.DST.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N 3S.PRX.N.M 1P.O -MS.O

***tɛ is kɔ ilāj̃ nĩ́ hòtɔ.***
*tɛ is k -ɔ ilāj̃ nĩ́ hò -t -ɔ*

from 3S.PRX.O GEN -MS.N treatment NEG be -IMPF -MS.N

Then the next day they said, "We aren't able to do anything for him.

056. ***tɛ tam is nā le čalɔ ɛbṭābād yā kalandarābād le***
*tɛ tam is nā le čal -ɔ ɛbṭābād yā kalandarābād le*

CC 2P.N 3S.PRX.O DAT take go -IMP.2P Abbottabad or Qalandarabad take

***čalɔ.***
*čal -ɔ*

go -IMP.2P

You take him (somewhere else) - take him to Abbottabad or Qalandarabad."

057. ***fir merɔ pā̀y wī le kɛ āeɔ.***
*fir mer -ɔ pā̀y wī le kɛ ā -e -ɔ*

then 1S.O -MS.N brother also take CP come -PRF -MS.N

So my brother took him and came.

058. ***tɛ merī mā̃ utū̃ muṛ kɛ ǰā ráī kyū̃ǰe***
*tɛ mer -ī mā̃ ut -ū̃ muṛ kɛ ǰā rá -ī kyū̃ǰe*

CC 1S.O -FS.N mother there -ABL return.INTR CP go stay.PRF -FS.N because

***merī mā̃ apar muǒ mès meḷɛ̃ wɛ̃ thī nā́.***
*mer -ī mā̃ apar muǒ mès meḷ -ɛ̃ wɛ̃ th -ī̃ nā́*

1S.O -FS.N mother on much buffalo milk -HAB.3P be.HAB.3P PST -FP.N NEG

And from there my mother went back because she had so many buffalos to milk, you know.

059. ***tɛ ḍerā kī maǰbūrī thī nā́.***
*tɛ ḍer -ā k -ī maǰbūrī th -ī nā́*

CC home -MS.O GEN -FS.N obligation PST -FS.N NEG

She had to run the household, you know.

060. ***tɛ merī mā̃ muṛ kɛ bālākoṭ te ǰā ráī tɛ.***
*tɛ mer -ī mā̃ muṛ kɛ bālākoṭ te ǰā rá -ī tɛ*

CC 1S.O -FS.N mother return.INTR CP Balakot from go stay.PRF -FS.N CC

So my mother left Balakot and came back.

061. ***fir merɔ ǰíṛɔ baṛɔ pā̀y – merɔ čāčɔ***
*fir mer -ɔ ǰíṛ -ɔ baṛ -ɔ pā̀y mer -ɔ čāč -ɔ*

then 1S.O -MS.N REL -MS.N big -MS.N brother 1S.O -MS.N paternal.uncle -MS.N

***le kɛ merī mā̃ nā ǰā rɛ́ɔ mā́lī apar.***
*le kɛ mer -ī mā̃ nā ǰā rɛ́ -ɔ mā́l -ī apar*

take CP 1S.O -FS.N mother DAT go stay -PRF.MS.N pastures -FS.N on

So then my older brother - my uncle took my mother and went back up to the pastures.

062. ***tɛ merɔ baṛɔ pā̀y ǰíṛɔ thɔ tɛ wó tɛ***
*tɛ mer -ɔ baṛ -ɔ pā̀y ǰíṛ -ɔ th -ɔ tɛ wó tɛ*

CC 1S.O -MS.N big -MS.N brother REL -MS.N PST -MS.N CC 3S.DST.N.M CC

***nikɔ pā̀y tɛ ek čāčɔ merɔ wé le kɛ***
*nik -ɔ pā̀y tɛ ek čāč -ɔ mer -ɔ wé le kɛ*

small -MS.N brother CC one paternal.uncle -MS.N 1S.O -MS.N 3P.DST.N take CP

***us nā kalandarābād āeā nāḷ hɔ̀r lɔk wī***
*us nā kalandarābād ā -e -ā nāḷ hɔ̀r lɔk wī*

3S.DST.O DAT Qalandarabad come -PRF -MP.N with more people also

***āeā.***
*ā -e -ā*

come -PRF -MP.N

Then my older brother, he and my younger brother and one of my uncles, they took him and came to Qalandarabad; other people came along, too.

063. ***fir kalandarābād āḷā ḍākṭarā̃ ne dāxal kīɔ.***
*fir kalandarābād āḷ -ā ḍākṭar -ā̃ ne dāxal kī -ɔ*

then Qalandarabad kind.of -MP.N doctor -P.O AG admission do.PRF -MS.N

Then the Qalandarabad doctors admitted him.

064. ***fir ut rɛ́ɔ.***
*fir ut rɛ́ -ɔ*

then there stay -PRF.MS.N

Then he stayed there.

065. ***wé muṛ kɛ qīā.***
*wé muṛ kɛ g -ī -ā*

3P.DST.N return.INTR CP go -PRF -MP.N

They went back.

066. ***únā̃ ne hàmṇā daseɔ arā wó – us nā ut***
*ún -ā̃ ne hàmṇā das -e -ɔ arā wó us nā ut*

3P.DST.O -P.O AG 1P.DAT tell -PRF -MS.N COMP 3S.DST.N.M 3S.DST.O DAT there

***le qīā hɛ̃̀ tɛ ut le kɛ tɛ ut – únā̃***
*le g -ī -ā hɛ̃̀ tɛ ut le kɛ tɛ ut ún -ā̃*

take go -PRF -MP.N 3P.PRS CC there take CP CC there 3P.DST.O -P.O

***ḍākṭarā̃ ne dāxal kīɔ wɔ hɛ̀ hàspatāl mā.***
*ḍākṭar -ā̃ ne dāxal kī -ɔ w -ɔ hɛ̀ hàspatāl mā*

doctor -P.O AG admission do.PRF -MS.N PFP -MS.N 2/3S.PRS hospital in

They told us, "He - we have taken him there. We took him there, and there the doctors have admitted him in the hospital.

067. ***tɛ tam xafā nā́ hòīɔ.***
*tɛ tam xafā nā́ hò -ī -ɔ*

CC 2P.N upset NEG be -IMP.FUT -IMP.2P

But please don't be upset.

068. ***hàm tamṇā le kɛ dasā̃ kā us nā.***
*hàm tamṇā le kɛ das -ā̃ k -ā us nā*

1P.N 2P.DAT take CP tell -HAB.1P FUT -MP.N 3S.DST.O DAT

We will take you and show you him.

069. ***tɛ wó ut dāxal kīɔ wɔ hɛ̀ tɛ.***
*tɛ wó ut dāxal kī -ɔ w -ɔ hɛ̀ tɛ*

CC 3S.DST.N.M there admission do.PRF -MS.N PFP -MS.N 2/3S.PRS CC

And he has been admitted there."

070. ***fir muǒ dèāṛā fir hū̃ nā́ āeī nā́ minnā wé -***
*fir muǒ dèāṛ -ā fir hū̃ nā́ ā -e -ī nā́ minnā wé -*

then much day -MP.N then 1S.N NEG come -PRF -FS.N NEG 1S.DAT 3P.DST.N

***wé āwɛ̃ minnā patɔ dẽ kɛ́ aǰ ó***
*wé ā -wɛ̃ minnā patɔ dẽ kɛ́ aǰ ó*

3P.DST.N come -HAB.3P 1S.DAT fact give.HAB.3P say.HAB.3P today 3S.DST.N

***is rang hɛ̀ aǰ is rang hɛ̀ aǰ us kɔ***
*is rang hɛ̀ aǰ is rang hɛ̀ aǰ us k -ɔ*

such.PRX. kind 2/3S.PRS today 3S.PRX.O kind 2/3S.PRS today 3S.DST.O GEN -MS.N

***hàčhɔ hā̀l hɛ̀ bal hɛ̀ wó.***
*hàčh -ɔ hā̀l hɛ̀ bal hɛ̀ wó*

good -MS.N condition 2/3S.PRS well 2/3S.PRS 3S.DST.N.M

Then many days (passed), but I didn't come, neither did they (bring) me - they (would) come and give news, they (would) say, "Today he is like this. Today he is like this. Today his condition is good, he is fine."

071. ***us - ɛnū kar - tɛ fir ek dèāṛɛ mɛ̃ kɛ́ɔ nā́***
*us - ɛnū kar - tɛ fir ek dèāṛ -ɛ mɛ̃ kɛ́ -ɔ nā́*

3S.DST.O like.this do CC then one day -LOC 1S.AG say -PRF.MS.N NEG

***hū̃ āp čalū̃ kī us nā hèruṇ wāstɛ merɔ dil***
*hū̃ āp čal -ū̃ k -ī us nā hèr -uṇ wāstɛ mer -ɔ dil*

1S.N self go -HAB.1S FUT -FS.N 3S.DST.O DAT see -INF.O PURP 1S.O -MS.N heart

***hòwɛ.***
*hò -wɛ*

be -HAB.2/3S

His - " they (would) do like this and then one day I said, "No, I will go to see him myself - I feel like it."

072. ***fir*** ***únā̃*** ***ne*** ***kɛ́ɔ*** ***ṭhīk*** ***hɛ̀*** ***ā*** ***čal*** ***tõ.***
*fir* *ún* *-ā̃* *ne* *kɛ́* *-ɔ* *ṭhīk* *hɛ̀* *ā* *čal* *tõ*

then 3P.DST.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N fine 2/3S.PRS come go 2S.N

Then they said, "Okay, you come (along)."

073. ***hū̃̀*** ***únā̃*** ***nāḷ*** ***āeī*** ***tɛ*** ***merī*** ***čačī*** ***wī***
*hū̃̀* *ún* *-ā̃* *nāḷ* *ā* *-e* *-ī* *tɛ* *mer* *-ī* *čač* *-ī* *wī*

1S.N 3P.DST.O -P.O with come -PRF -FS.N CC 1S.O -FS.N paternal.uncle -FS.N also

***ek*** ***āeī.***
*ek* *ā* *-e* *-ī*

one come -PRF -FS.N

I came with them and one of my aunts came too.

074. ***tɛ*** ***čačī*** ***kī*** ***tì*** ***wī*** ***āeī*** ***ut*** ***tɛ***
*tɛ* *čač* *-ī* *k* *-ī* *tì* *wī* *ā* *-e* *-ī* *ut* *tɛ*

CC paternal.uncle -FS.N GEN -FS.N daughter also come -PRF -FS.N there CC

***merā*** ***ḍerā*** ***āḷɔ*** ***wī.***
*mer* *-ā* *ḍer* *-ā* *āḷ* *-ɔ* *wī*

1S.O -MS.O home -MS.O kind.of -MS.N also

My aunt's daughter came there too and my husband too.

075. ***fir*** ***hàm*** ***āeā*** ***it*** ***dèāṛī*** ***tɛ.***
*fir* *hàm* *ā* *-e* *-ā* *it* *dèāṛ* *-ī* *tɛ*

then 1P.N come -PRF -MP.N here day -FS.N CC

Then we arrived here, during the day.

076. **hàm it āeā tɛ wó ek mašĩn mā tàreɔ**
*hàm it ā -e -ā tɛ wó ek mašĩn mā tàr -e -ɔ*

1P.N here come -PRF -MP.N CC 3S.DST.N.M one machine in set -PRF -MS.N

**wɔ thɔ nā́.**
*w -ɔ th -ɔ nā́*

PFP -MS.N PST -MS.N NEG

We came here and he had been put in a machine, you know.

077. **tɛ ɛnū mū́ndɔ kīɔ thɔ tɛ fir hàm ā kɛ**
*tɛ ɛnū mū́nd -ɔ kī -ɔ th -ɔ tɛ fir hàm ā kɛ*

CC like.this upside.down -MS.N do.PRF -MS.N PST -MS.N CC then 1P.N come CP

**baṛeā tɛ mā̀rɛ nāḷ us ne gal nī́ kar**
*baṛ -e -ā tɛ mā̀r -ɛ nāḷ us ne gal nī́ kar*

enter -PRF -MP.N CC 1P.O -LOC with 3S.DST.O AG matter NEG do

**hàkɛ thɔ wó kyũ̃ǰe uḷtɔ hòeɔ**
*hàk -ɛ th -ɔ wó kyũ̃ǰe uḷt -ɔ hò -e -ɔ*

be.ABLE -HAB.2/3S PST -MS.N 3S.DST.N.M because upside.down -MS.N be -PRF -MS.N

**wɔ thɔ nā́.**
*w -ɔ th -ɔ nā́*

PFP -MS.N PST -MS.N NEG

So, he was put upside down like this, and so we came and went in; and he couldn't talk with us, because he was upside down, you know.

078. **tɛ fir hàmṇe kɛ́ɔ yó bal nī́.**
*tɛ fir hàmṇe kɛ́ -ɔ yó bal nī́*

CC then 1P.AG say -PRF.N 3S.PRX.N.M well NEG

So then we said, "He's not well."

079. ***tɛ únā̃ ne kɛ́ɔ thoṛɔ ṭem rɛ́ laqɔ tɛ fir***
*tɛ ún -ā̃ ne kɛ́ -ɔ thoṛ -ɔ ṭem rɛ́ lag -ɔ tɛ fir*

CC 3P.DST.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N a.little -MS.N time stay CONT -MS.N CC then

***hàm is nā sídɔ karā̃ kā tɛ fir tam is***
*hàm is nā síd -ɔ kar -ā̃ k -ā tɛ fir tam is*

1P.N 3S.PRX.O DAT straight -MS.N do -HAB.1P FUT -MP.N CC then 2P.N 3S.PRX.O

***nāḷ qal karīɔ.***
*nāḷ gal kar -ī -ɔ*

with matter do -IMP.FUT -IMP.2P

And they said, "There is just a little bit of time left, then we'll turn him right side up and then you please talk with him."

080. ***fir o hàm bɛṭhā rɛ́ā.***
*fir o hàm bɛṭh -ā rɛ́ -ā*

then so 1P.N sit -PRF.MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

So then we sat (there).

081. ***wó ṭem pūrɔ hòeɔ tɛ fir wó sídɔ***
*wó ṭem pūr -ɔ hò -e -ɔ tɛ fir wó síd -ɔ*

3S.DST.N.M time entire -MS.N be -PRF -MS.N CC then 3S.DST.N.M straight -MS.N

***kīɔ tɛ hàmṇe us nāḷ gal kī.***
*kī -ɔ tɛ hàmṇe us nāḷ gal kī*

do.PRF -MS.N CC 1P.AG 3S.DST.O with matter do.PRF

When the time was up, then they turned him right side up and we talked with him.

082. ***tɛ merī tì wī us ne muč čāī lāḍ kī.***
*tɛ mer -ī tì wī us ne muč čā -ī lāḍ kī*

CC 1S.O -FS.N daughter also 3S.DST.O AG much lift -PRF.FS.N affection DO.PRF

And he held my daughter lots, too, and cuddled her.

083. *tɛ hàm uɛ kɛ koḷ pūrī dèāṛī réā.*
*tɛ hàm uɛ k -ɛ koḷ pūr -ī dèāṛ -ī ré -ā*

CC 1P.N 3S.DST.O GEN -LOC near entire -FS.N day -FS.N stay -PRF.MP.N

And we stayed with him the whole day.

084. *tɛ fir dīgar kɔ ṭem thɔ hàm fir jā réā*
*tɛ fir dīgar k -ɔ ṭem th -ɔ hàm fir jā ré -ā*

CC then late.afternoon GEN -MS.N time PST -MS.N 1P.N then place stay -PRF.MP.N

*muṛ kɛ.*
*muṛ kɛ*

return.INTR CP

Then it was late afternoon, and we left and went back (home).

085. *jā réā - wá - dil muŏ xafā iɛ te muŏ xafā*
*jā ré -ā wá dil muŏ xafā iɛ te muŏ xafā*

go stay -PRF.MP.N 3S.DST.N.F heart much upset 3S.PRX.O from much upset

*thɔ.*
*th -ɔ*

PST -MS.N

We left - that - (my) heart was upset by this, very upset.

086. *jā réā.*
*jā ré -ā*

place stay -PRF.MP.N

We left.

087. *muṛ kɛ ḍerɛ qīā.*
*muṛ kɛ ḍer -ɛ g -ī -ā*

return.INTR CP home -LOC go -PRF -MP.N

We went back home.

088. *fir ut ṭikeā rɛ́ā.*
*fir ut ṭik -e -ā rɛ́ -ā*

then there stay -PRF -MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

Then we stayed there.

089. *tɛ hữ̃ fir nā̃ āeī.*
*tɛ hữ̃ fir nā̃ ā -e -ī*

CC 1S.N then NEG come -PRF -FS.N

And I didn't come again.

090. *tɛ merɔ ǒaǒɔ ise kɛ koḷ rɛ́ɔ*
*tɛ mer -ɔ ǒaǒ -ɔ ise k -ɛ koḷ rɛ́ -ɔ*

CC 1S.O -MS.N paternal.uncle -MS.N this.very.O GEN -LOC near stay -PRF.MS.N

*merɔ pə̃̀y wī.*
*mer -ɔ pə̃̀y wī*

1S.O -MS.N brother also

And my uncle stayed with him; my brother (did) too.

091. *hɔ̀r lɔk wī āwɛ̃̀.*
*hɔ̀r lɔk wī ā -wɛ̃̀*

more people also come -HAB.3P

Other people come too.

092. ***tɛ hàmɲā patɔ laqtɔ rɛ́ arā wó iɛ rang hɛ̀***
*tɛ hàmɲā patɔ lag -t -ɔ rɛ́ arā wó iɛ rang hɛ̀*

CC 1P.DAT faot hit -IMPF -MS.N stay COMP 3S.DST.N.M such.PRX. kind 2/3S.PRS

***iɛ rang hɛ̀.***
*iɛ rang hɛ̀*

3S.PRX.O kind 2/3S.PRS

And we kept hearing, "He is like this, he's like this (=that)."

093. ***fir ḍākṭarɛ̃̄ ne kɛ́ɔ kɛ iɛ kɔ hɔ̀r ilāǰ***
*fir ḍākṭar -ɛ̃̄ ne kɛ́ -ɔ kɛ iɛ k -ɔ hɔ̀r ilāǰ*

then doctor -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N that.COMP 3S.PRX.O GEN -MS.N more treatment

***koe nɪ́ hòtɔ tɛ iɛ nā tam le čalɔ yā***
*koe nɪ́ hò -t -ɔ tɛ iɛ nā tam le čal -ɔ yā*

MS.INDEF NEG be -IMPF -MS.N CC 3S.PRX.O DAT 2P.N take go -IMP.2P or

***čhoŗɔ.***
*čhoŗ -ɔ*

leave.alone -IMP.2P

Then the doctors said, "There is no other treatment for him, so you take him (home) or leave him.

094. ***tɛ iɛ kɔ ilāǰ yó warzaš hɛ̀.***
*tɛ iɛ k -ɔ ilāǰ yó warzaš hɛ̀*

CC 3S.PRX.O GEN -MS.N treatment 3S.PRX.N.M exercise 2/3S.PRS

And his treatment is this exercise (regimen).

095. ***ḍerɛ le qīā tɛ̃̄ wī iɛ nā yá***
*ḍer -ɛ le g -ī -ā tɛ̃̄ wī iɛ nā yá*

home -LOC take go -PRF -MP.N therefore also 3S.PRX.O DAT 3S.PRX.N.F

***karāīɔ.***
*kar -ā -ī -ɔ*

do -CAUS -IMP.FUT -IMP.2P

When you have taken him home, then get him to do this (there) too."

096. *tɛ hàspatāl mā wáhɨ̀ karɛ̃ thā.*
*tɛ hàspatāl mā wá -hɨ̀ kar -ɛ̃ th -ā*

CC hospital in 3S.DST.N.F -EMPH do -HAB.3P PST -MP.N

At the hospital they used to do that very thing.

097. *tɛ do goḷī bas ǒā dɛ̃ thā.*
*tɛ do goḷ -ī bas ǒā dɛ̃ th -ā*

CC two medicine.pill -FS.N well lift give.HAB.3P PST -MP.N

They would only give him two pills.

098. *hɔ̀r koe dwaī wī nɨ́ dɛ̃ thā jī̃ hɔ̀r kúj̃ wī*
*hɔ̀r koe dwaī wī nɨ́ dɛ̃ th -ā jī̃ hɔ̀r kúj̃ wī*

more MS.INDEF medicine also NEG give.HAB.3P PST -MP.N LIM more some also

*nɨ́ kɛ ṭīkɔ wī nɨ́ lāwɛ̃ thā.*
*nɨ́ kɛ ṭīk -ɔ wī nɨ́ lā -wɛ̃ th -ā*

NEG that.COMP injection -MS.N also NEG put.on -HAB.3P PST -MP.N

They didn't give him any other medicine, nothing at all; and they weren't giving him any injections either.

099. **tɛ ó - fir us ne kɛ́ɔ kɛ - merā pā̀y ne**
tɛ ó fir us ne kɛ́ -ɔ kɛ mer -ā pā̀y ne

CC 3S.DST.N then 3S.DST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N that.COMP 1S.O -MS.O brother AG

**kɛ́ɔ, hàčhɔ hū̃̀ is nā ḍerɛ le čalū̃ tɛ**
kɛ́ -ɔ hàčh -ɔ hū̃̀ is nā ḍer -ɛ le čal -ū̃ tɛ

say -PRF.MS.N good -MS.N 1S.N 3S.PRX.O DAT home -LOC take go -ABL CC

**mā̀rɔ hòṇ ḍerɔ wī pičhā̃ darū̃ āwɛ**
mā̀r -ɔ hòṇ ḍer -ɔ wī pičhā̃ dar -ū̃ ā -wɛ

1P.O -MS.N now home -MS.N also mountains.ward toward -ABL come -HAB.2/3S

**kɔ tɛ kam wī muč hɛ̃̀; kā̀ wī kapā̃ kā; tɛ**
k -ɔ tɛ kam wī muč hɛ̃̀ kā̀ wī kap -ā̃ k -ā tɛ

FUT -MS.N CC work also much 3P.PRS grass also cut -HAB.1P FUT -MP.N CC

**is nā ḍerɛ le čalā̃.**
is nā ḍer -ɛ le čal -ā̃

3S.PRX.O DAT home -LOC take go -HAB.1P

And then he ... he said that ... my brother said, "Okay, I will take him home, and now our household will come (back) from the back country, too and there is lots of work (to do); we'll cut grass, too; so we'll take him home."

100. **fir ḍākṭar ne kɛ́ɔ thā̀rī marzī it čhoṛɔ**
fir ḍākṭar ne kɛ́ -ɔ thā̀r -ī marzī it čhoṛ -ɔ

then doctor AG say -PRF.MS.N 2P.O -FS.N prerogative here leave.alone -SBJV.2P

**tɛ sàī hɛ̀ le tɛ čalɔ... tɛ fir.**
tɛ sàī hɛ̀ le tɛ čal -ɔ tɛ fir

CC correct 2/3S.PRS take CC go -SBJV.2P CC then

And the doctors answered, "It is up to you, if you leave him here that's fine ... if you take him, then ..." So.

101. ***fir merā pā̀y ne nā́ čhoṛeɔ le qīɔ.***
*fir mer -ā pā̀y ne nā́ čhoṛ -e -ɔ le g -ī -ɔ*

then 1S.O -MS.O brother AG NEG leave.alone -PRF -MS.N take go -PRF -MS.N

So then my brother didn't leave him - he took (him).

102. ***merī mā̃ tɛ merā - pàrǰāi - tɛ wé mā́lī***
*mer -ī mā̃ tɛ mer -ā - pàrǰāi tɛ wé mā́l -ī*

1S.O -FS.N mother CC 1S.O -MS.O brother's.wife CC 3P.DST.N PSTures -FS.N

***apar thī.***
*apar th -ī*

on PST -FS.N

My mother and my - brother's wife - they were up in the pastures.

103. ***ajā̃ āeā ... ičhar yá ... nī́ thā.***
*ajā̃ ā -e -ā ičhar yá nī́ th -ā*

at.moment come -PRF -MP.N that's.why 3S.PRX.N.F NEG PST -MP.N

At that point they hadn't ... she hadn't come yet.

104. ***merā pā̀y ne le kɛ tɛ merɛ ḍerɛ yó***
*mer -ā pā̀y ne le kɛ tɛ mer -ɛ ḍer -ɛ yó*

1S.O -MS.O brother AG take CP CC 1S.O -LOC home -LOC 3S.PRX.N.M

***čhoṛeɔ nā́?***
*čhoṛ -e -ɔ nā́*

leave.alone -PRF -MS.N NEG

My brother took him and left him at my house, yes?

105. ***tɛ ek mìnɔ fir yó merɛ ḍerɛ rɛ́ɔ.***
*tɛ ek mìn -ɔ fir yó mer -ɛ ḍer -ɛ rɛ́ -ɔ*

CC one month -MS.N then 3S.PRX.N.M 1S.O -LOC home -LOC stay -PRF.MS.N

And he stayed at my house for one month.

106. **tɛ iɛ nā merɔ pə̀y sumə̀ḷtɔ rɛ́ɔ.**
tɛ iɛ nā mer -ɔ pə̀y sumə̀ḷ -t -ɔ rɛ́ -ɔ

CC 3S.PRX.O DAT 1S.O -MS.N brother take.care.of -IMPF -MS.N stay -PRF.MS.N

My brother took care of him.

107. **hɔ̀r iɛ kī sārɔ kúǰ iɛ kɔ hàth**
hɔ̀r iɛ k -ī sār -ɔ kúǰ iɛ k -ɔ hàth

more 3S.PRX.O GEN -FS.N entire -MS.N some 3S.PRX.O GEN -MS.N hand

**tòāṇɔ iɛ nā pɛšāb karāṇɔ iɛ nā**
tò -ā -ṇ -ɔ iɛ nā pɛšāb kar -ā -ṇ -ɔ iɛ nā

wash -CAUS -INF -MS.N 3S.PRX.O DAT urine do -CAUS -INF -MS.N 3S.PRX.O DAT

**khwāḷṇɔ**
khwāḷ -ṇ -ɔ

feed -INF -MS.N

Everything for him - washing his hands, helping him go to the bathroom, feeding him -

108. **merɔ pə̀y kartɔ rɛ́ɔ.**
mer -ɔ pə̀y kar -t -ɔ rɛ́ -ɔ

1S.O -MS.N brother do -IMPF -MS.N stay -PRF.MS.N

my brother was doing it.

109. **bíṛɛ čā kɛ biṭāḷṇɔ andarū̃ muṛ kɛ āṇɔ**
bíṛ -ɛ čā kɛ biṭāḷ -ṇ -ɔ andar -ū̃ muṛ kɛ āṇ -ṇ -ɔ

outside -LOC lift CP seat -INF -MS.N inside -ABL return.INTR CP bring -INF -MS.N

Taking him outside, and sitting him there, taking him back inside -

110. **merā pə̀y ne kīɔ.**
mer -ā pə̀y ne kī -ɔ

1S.O -MS.O brother AG do.PRF -MS.N

my brother did it.

111. *hữ̃ sirf is nā roṭī šoṭī pakā kɛ deṭī*
*hữ̃ sirf is nā roṭ -ī šoṭī pakā kɛ de -t -ī*

1S.N only 3S.PRX.O DAT bread -FS.N (rhyme) cook CP give -IMPF -FS.N

*rắī is kā čīṛā tò kɛ dīữ̃ thī.*
*rá -ī is k -ā čīṛ -ā tò kɛ dī -ữ̃ th -ī*

stay.PRF -FS.N 3S.PRX.O GEN -MP.N clothes -MP.N wash CP give -ABL PST -FS.N

I was just making his food and such and giving it to him, I would wash his clothes and give them to him.

112. *bas fir kartã̃ kartã̃ ek mı̀nɔ pūrɔ mersɛ*
*bas fir kar -t -ã̃ kar -t -ã̃ ek mı̀n -ɔ pūr -ɔ mer -ɛ*

well then do -IMPF -ADV do -IMPF -ADV one month -MS.N entire -MS.N 1S.O -LOC

*ḍersɛ rɛ́ɔ fir merī mã̃ ā rắī*
*ḍer -ɛ rɛ́ -ɔ fir mer -ī mã̃ ā rá -ī*

home -LOC stay -PRF.MS.N then 1S.O -FS.N mother come stay.PRF -FS.N

*pičhã̃ tārữ̃.*
*pičhã̃ tār -ữ̃*

mountains.ward toward -ABL

So it went on; he stayed at my house for one whole month, then my mother arrived from the back country.

113. *wắ āeī tɛ fir is nā čā kɛ le qīā*
*wá ā -e -ī tɛ fir is nā čā kɛ le g -ī -ā*

3S.DST.N.F come -PRF -FS.N CC then 3S.PRX.O DAT lift CP take go -PRF -MP.N

*apaṇɛ ḍersɛ.*
*apaṇ -ɛ ḍer -ɛ*

one's.own -LOC home -LOC

She came and then they took him to their own house.

114. ***apaɲɛ ḍerɛ le qīā tɛ bas merɔ dil zarī***
*apaɲ -ɛ ḍer -ɛ le g -ī -ā tɛ bas mer -ɔ dil zarī*

one'ɛ.own -LOC home -LOC take go -PRF -MP.N CC well 1S.O -MS.N heart a.little

***xafā̃ hòeɔ.***
*xafā̃ hò -e -ɔ*

upset be -PRF -MS.N

They took him to (their) own house, and, well, my heart became a little upset.

115. ***fir hū̃ wī rāt ínā̃ kɛ koḷ gaī, ráī.***
*fir hū̃ wī rāt ín -ā̃ k -ɛ koḷ ga -ī rá -ī*

then 1S.N also night 3P.PRX.O -P.O GEN -LOC near go.PRF -FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N

Then I went to visit them in the evening too and stayed there.

116. ***fir muṛ kɛ ā ráī.***
*fir muṛ kɛ ā rá -ī*

then return.INTR CP come stay.PRF -FS.N

Then I came back.

117. ***kartā̃ kartā̃ fir ut merī mā̃ iɛ nā***
*kar -t -ā̃ kar -t -ā̃ fir ut mer -ī mā̃ iɛ nā*

do -IMPF -ADV do -IMPF -ADV then there 1S.O -FS.N mother 3S.PRX.O DAT

***sumāḷtī ráī; hɔ̀r fir kam kɔ ḍèāṛā***
*sumāḷ -t -ī rá -ī hɔ̀r fir kam k -ɔ ḍèāṛ -ā*

take.care.of -IMPF -FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N more then work GEN -MS.N day -MP.N

***thā.***
*th -ā*

PST -MP.N

So it went on (like this); my mother took care of him there; those were days (filled with) other work too.

118. ***fir hɔ̀r merā pā̀y wī kam hɔ̀r karɛ̃ tɛ merī***
*fir hɔ̀r mer -ā pā̀y wī kam hɔ̀r kar -ɛ̃ tɛ mer -ī*

then more 1S.O -MP.N brother also work more do -HAB.3P CC 1S.O -FS.N

***mā̃ is nā sumā̀ḷtī ráī kyū̃ǰe merī***
*mā̃ is nā sumā̀ḷ -t -ī rá -ī kyū̃ǰe mer -ī*

mother 3S.PRX.O DAT take.care.of -IMPF -FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N because 1S.O -FS.N

***mā̃ bal thī únẽ dèāṛẽ sumā̀ḷ hàkɛ thī***
*mā̃ bal th -ī únẽ dèāṛ -ẽ sumā̀ḷ hàk -ɛ th -ī*

mother well PST -FS.N 3P.DST.AG day -? take.care.of be.ABLe -HAB.2/3S PST -FS.N

***us nā.***
*us nā*

3S.DST.O DAT

Then my brothers were doing the other work and my mother was taking care of him because my mother was well in those days and she was able to take care of him.

119. ***fir kartā̃ kartā̃ merī mā̃ is nā***
*fir kar -t -ā̃ kar -t -ā̃ mer -ī mā̃ is nā*

then do -IMPF -ADV do -IMPF -ADV 1S.O -FS.N mother 3S.PRX.O DAT

***sumā̀ḷtī ráī.***
*sumā̀ḷ -t -ī rá -ī*

take.care.of -IMPF -FS.N stay.PRF -FS.N

So it went on (like this) with my mother taking care of him.

120. ***pā̀y béṇ wī sumā̀ḷtā réā.***
*pā̀y béṇ wī sumā̀ḷ -t -ā ré -ā*

brother sister also take.care.of -IMPF -MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

My brothers and sisters took care of him, too.

121. ***fir wìd pầy hɔ̀r ǰā rɛ́ā kise zarīā nāḷ nā́?***
*fir wìd pầy hɔ̀r ǰā rɛ́ -ā kise zarī -ā nāḷ nā́*

then Wahid brother more go stay -PRF.MP.N INDF.O means -MS.O with NEG

Then Wahid Brother and the others went (there), having heard (of us) from someone, yes?

122. ***yé qīā tɛ fir hàmṇe ... is kɛ nāḷ ṭikeɔ***
*yé g -ī -ā tɛ fir hàmṇe is k -ɛ nāḷ ṭik -e -ɔ*

3P.PRX.N go -PRF -MP.N CC then 1P.AG 3S.PRX.O GEN -LOC with stay -PRF -MS.N

***rɛ́ɔ ṭikeɔ rɛ́ɔ.***
*rɛ́ -ɔ ṭik -e -ɔ rɛ́ -ɔ*

stay -PRF.MS.N stay -PRF -MS.N stay -PRF.MS.N

They went and then we ... He stayed with him quite a while.

123. ***fir únā̃ ne kɛ́ɔ, hàm aslam nā tā́ āṇā̃***
*fir ún -ā̃ ne kɛ́ -ɔ hàm aslam nā tā́ āṇ -ā̃*

then 3P.DST.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N 1P.N Aslam DAT to.lowlands bring -HAB.1P

***kā.***
*k -ā*

FUT -MP.N

And then they said, "We are going to take Aslam down with us."

124. ***fir aslam tā́ āṇeɔ ínā̃ koḷ pārū te***
*fir aslam tā́ āṇ -e -ɔ ín -ā̃ koḷ pār -ū te*

then Aslam to.lowlands bring -PRF -MS.N 3P.PRX.O -P.O near across -ABL from

***it rɛ́ɔ.***
*it rɛ́ -ɔ*

here stay -PRF.MS.N

Then they brought Aslam down with them and (he) stayed with them across the way.

125. *fir it kúǰ do sāl- trɛ- pārū te rɛ́ɔ.*
*fir it kúǰ do sāl trɛ pār -ū te rɛ́ -ɔ*

then here some two year three across -ABL from stay -PRF.MS.N

And (he) stayed here for two years - three - across the way.

126. *fir wé islāmābād le gīā ut rɛ́ɔ.*
*fir wé islāmābād le g -ī -ā ut rɛ́ -ɔ*

then 3P.DST.N Islamabad take go -PRF -MP.N there stay -PRF.MS.N

Then they took him to Islamabad and (he) stayed there.

127. *fir utɔ̃ muṛ kɛ āɛɔ.*
*fir ut -ɔ̃ muṛ kɛ ā -ɛ -ɔ*

then there -ABL return.INTR CP come -PRF -MS.N

Then (he) came back here from there.

128. *is koṭhī mā rɛ́ɔ.*
*is koṭh -ī mā rɛ́ -ɔ*

3S.PRX.O house -FS.N in stay -PRF.MS.N

He lived in this house.

129. *fir it rɛ́ā.*
*fir it rɛ́ -ā*

then here stay -PRF.MP.N

Then they stayed here.

130. **āxār fir čhuṭī le kɛ apaṇā mulx nā gĩɔ**
*āxar fir čhuṭ -ī le kɛ apaṇ -ā mulx nā g -ī -ɔ*

ending then holiday -FS.N take CP one's.own -MS.O country DAT go -PRF -MS.N

**tɛ baɛ zalzalɔ hòeɔ.**
*tɛ baɛ zalzal -ɔ hò -e -ɔ*

CC well earthquake -MS.N be -PRF -MS.N

Finally, he (Wahid) went back to his country for a holiday, and then the earthquake happened.

131. **tɛ aslam kɔ kam muk gĩɔ.**
*tɛ aslam k -ɔ kam muk g -ī -ɔ*

CC Aslam GEN -MS.N work end go -PRF -MS.N

And Aslam's work was finished.

132. **tɛ hòṇ dil muŏ xafã hòwɛ aslam nā yād kar kɛ.**
*tɛ hòṇ dil muŏ xafã hò -wɛ aslam nā yād kar kɛ*

CC now heart much upset be -HAB.2/3S Aslam DAT remembrance do CP

And now, my heart is very upset when I remember Aslam.

# APPENDIX B

## TUG OF WAR

001. ***aslam hũ̀ tamṇā ke suṇāũ̃ ?***
*aslam hũ̀ tamṇā ke suṇā -ũ̃*

Aslam 1S.N 2P.DAT what? tell -HAB.1S

Aslam, what should I recite for you?

002. ***ǰis kā is kà̀ṇī kɔ nã̃ hè čhikkā_čhikkī.***
*ǰis k -ā is kà̀ṇ -ī k -ɔ nã̃ hè čhikkā_čhikkī*

3S.REL.O GEN -MP.N 3S.PRX.O story -FS.N GEN -MS.N name 2/3S.PRS Tug.of.War

That of which . . . the name of this story is "Tug of War".

003. ***čhikkā_čhikkī. nã̃ hè.***
*čhikkā_čhikkī nã̃ hè*

Tug.of.War name 2/3S.PRS

"Tug of War" is the name.

004. ***ek koe šér thɔ aqɛ.***
*ek koe šér th -ɔ ag -ɛ*

one MS.INDEF city PST -MS.N ahead -LOC

There once was a city.

005. ***tɛ us kɛ biǒ thā do pà̀yā.***
*tɛ us k -ɛ biǒ th -ā do pà̀y -ā*

CC 3S.DIST.O GEN -LOC in PST -MP.N two fellow -MP.N

In it there were two fellows.

006. **wé thā ǒor.**
*wé th -ā ǒor*

3P.DIST.N PST -MP.N thief

They were thieves.

007. **ǒalẽ ʦ ǒorī šorī kar kɛ āṇẽ, khāẽ**
*ǒal -ẽ ʦ ǒorī šorī kar kɛ āṇ -ẽ khā -ẽ*

go -HAB.3P CC theft and.such do CP bring -HAB.3P eat -HAB.3P
**šāẽ, ṭikeā réā.**
*šā -ẽ ṭik -e -ā ré -ā*

and.such -HAB.3P stay -PRF -MP.N stay -PRF.MP.N

They used to go and steal and such and bring (and) eat and such and stay on (there).

008. **ek mīrāsī thɔ us jā mā,**
*ek mīrāsī th -ɔ us jā mā*

one singer PST -MS.N 3S.DIST.O place in

**ʦ us kɔ kúǰ kam band hò gīɔ.**
*ʦ us k -ɔ kúǰ kam band hò g -ī -ɔ*

CC 3S.DIST.O GEN -MS.N some work closed be go -PRF -MS.N

There was a singer in that place, and some of his work ended.

009. **kam nấ laqɔ.**
*kam nấ lag -ɔ*

work NEG start -PRF.MS.N

(His) work couldn't get going.

010. **us ne kéɔ, tam āṇɔ lagā ǒorī kar kɛ ʦ**
*us ne ké -ɔ tam āṇ -ɔ lag -ā ǒorī kar kɛ ʦ*

3S.DIST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N 2P.N bring -HAB.2P start -PRF.MP.N theft do CP CC
**minnā bì gīā ʦ nāḷ le ǒalīɔ.**
*minnā bì g -ī -ā ʦ nāḷ le ǒal -ī -ɔ*

1S.DAT also go -PRF -MP.N CC with take go -IMP.FUT -IMP.2P

He said to them, "You are stealing and bringing in (money), so if you go again take me along.

011. *hữ̃ bì ǒalữ.*
*hữ̃ bì ǒal -ữ̃*
1S.N also go -SBJV.1S

I ought to take (stuff) too.

012. *merɔ kam nĩ́ lagɔ.*
*mer -ɔ kam nĩ́ lag -ɔ*
1S.O -MS.N work NEG start -PRF.MS.N

My work hasn't gotten going."

013. *únã̃ ne kɛ́ɔ, ǒaltɔ rắĩɛ nāḷ tõ̃*
*ún -ã̃ ne kɛ́ -ɔ ǒal -t -ɔ rá -ĩ -ɛ nāḷ tõ̃*
3P.DIST.O -P.O AG say -PRF.MS.N go -IMPF -MS.N stay.PRF -IMP.FUT -IMP.2S with 2S.N

*bì̃.*
*bì̃*
also

They said, "Come along with us always, you."

014. *wé ek dèāṛɛ qīā.*
*wé ek dèāṛ -ɛ g -ī -ā*
3P.DIST.N one day -LOC go -PRF -MP.N

One day they went.

015. *nāḷ ó mīrāsī bì̃ jā rɛ́ɔ.*
*nāḷ ó mīrāsī bì̃ jā rɛ́ -ɔ*
with 3S.DIST.N singer also go stay -PRF.MS.N

And that singer also went along.

016. ***bas ǰā rɛ́ā.***
*bas ǰā rɛ́ -ā*

well place stay -PRF.MP.N

Well they went.

017. ***čaltā̃ čaltā̃ agɛ ek ḍerɛ ǰī čal kɛ***
*čal -t -ā̃ čal -t -ā̃ ag -ɛ ek ḍer -ɛ ǰī čal kɛ*

go -IMPF -ADV go -IMPF -ADV ahead -LOC one home -LOC LIM go CP

***baṛeā,***
*baṛ -e -ā*

enter -PRF -MP.N

***ḍerā āḷā̃ kɛ.***
*ḍer -ā āḷ -ā̃ k -ɛ*

home -MS.O kind.of -P.O GEN -LOC

They walked on and on, (and) as soon as they came to a house up ahead they went in, into the house of some residents.

018. ***wé ǰíṛā čor thā tɛ wé laqā tɛ andar***
*wé ǰíṛ -ā čor th -ā tɛ wé lag -ā tɛ andar*

3P.DIST.N REL -MP.N thief PST -MP.N CC 3P.DIST.N start -PRF.MP.N CC inside

***ǰɔ kúǰ thɔ māḷ šāḷ káḍuṇ laq qīā,***
*ǰɔ kúǰ th -ɔ māḷ šāḷ káḍ -uṇ lag g -ī -ā*

whatever some PST -MS.N wealth (rhyme) remove -INF.O start go -PRF -MP.N

***ṭòɛ̃, tɛ bíṛɛ āṇɛ̃, káḍɛ̃.***
*ṭò -ɛ̃ tɛ bíṛ -ɛ āṇ -ɛ̃ káḍ -ɛ̃*

transport -HAB.3P CC outside -LOC bring -HAB.3P remove -HAB.3P

They who were thieves, they got started and whatever was inside, wealth and such, they started to remove it; they move it outside and they bring it.

019. *wé ó ḍerā āḷā jĭŗā lɔk hɛ̃̀*
*wé ó ḍer -ā āḷ -ā jĭŗ -ā lɔk hɛ̃̀*

3P.DIST.N 3S.DIST.N home -MS.O kind.of -MP.N REL -MP people 3P.PRS

*wé sutā wā hɛ̃̀.*
*wé sut -ā w -ā hɛ̃̀*

3P.DIST.N sleep.PRF -MP.N PFP -MP.N 3P.PRS

Now they who are members of this household, they are sleeping.

020. *tɛ ó mīrāsī gĭɔ.*
*tɛ ó mīrāsī g -ĭ -ɔ*

CC 3S.DIST.N singer go -PRF -MS.N

And the singer went.

021. *us ne urɛ̃ parɛ̃ hèreɔ.*
*us ne urɛ̃ parɛ̃ hèr -e -ɔ*

3S.DIST.O AG this.direction across see -PRF -MS.N

And he looked this way and that way.

022. *tɛ ek jĭŗī wá búḍī thī tɛ us kā*
*tɛ ek jĭŗ -ī wá búḍ -ī th -ī tɛ us k -ā*

CC one REL -FS.N 3S.DIST.N.F old -FS.N PST -FS.N CC 3S.DIST.O GEN -MS.O

*manǰā kɛ nāḷ ek kɔrī dúd kī*
*manǰ -ā k -ɛ nāḷ ek kɔr -ī dúd k -ī*

bed.string -MS.O GEN -LOC with one clay.pot -FS.N milk GEN -FS.N

*ǰameā wā kī.*
*ǰam -e -ā w -ā k -ī*

coagulate -PRF -MS.O PFP -MS.O GEN -FS.N

And an old lady that (she who was an old lady) was sleeping, and alongside her string bed there was a pot of milk - a pot of yogurt.

023. *mīrāsī dāḷ khā khā kɛ us kɔ andar saɾeɔ wɔ*
*mīrāsī dāḷ khā khā kɛ us k -ɔ andar saɾ -e -ɔ w -ɔ*

singer lentils eat eat CP 3S.DIST.O GEN -MS.N inside burn -PRF -MS.N PFP -MS.N

*thɔ.*
*th -ɔ*

PST -MS.N

The singer had eaten so many lentils that his insides were burned.

024. *us ne šukar kareɔ us nā dúd thẽɛɔ.*
*us ne šukar kar -e -ɔ us nā dúd thẽ̄ -e -ɔ*

3S.DIST.O AG thanks do -PRF -MS.N 3S.DIST.O DAT milk find -PRF -MS.N

He gave thanks that he had found milk.

025. *ó jĩ laqɔ hè pĩuɲ nā -*
*ó jĩ lag -ɔ hè pī -uɲ nā*

3S.DIST.N LIM start -PRF.MS.N 2/3S.PRS drink -INF.O DAT

Immediately he began drinking -

026. *qlāsẽ̄ nāḷ káḍtɔ tɛ pītɔ.*
*glās -ẽ̄ nāḷ káḍ -t -ɔ tɛ pī -t -ɔ*

glass -P.O with remove -IMPF -MS.N CC drink -IMPF -MS.N

by the glassful (he keeps) removing and drinking.

027. *pītẽ̄ pītẽ̄ ó búḍī nā jĩ kɛḍ*
*pī -t -ẽ̄ pī -t -ẽ̄ ó búḍ -ī nā jĩ kɛḍ*

drink -IMPF -ADV drink -IMPF -ADV 3S.DST.N old -FS.N DAT LIM knock

*āeī tɛ us ne phiš phiš kareɔ.*
*ā -e -ī tɛ us ne phiš phiš kar -e -ɔ*

come -PRF -FS.N CC 3S.DST.O AG shoo shoo do -PRF -MS.N

He drank and drank; as soon as that old lady heard the clanging, she said, "Shoo! Shoo!"

028. **us ne kɛ́ɔ, tə̃ bilī ā laqī dúd mā.**
us ne kɛ́ -ɔ tə̃ bil -ī ā lag -ī dúd mā

3S.DST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N therefore cat -FS.N come hit -PRF.FS.N milk in

She said (to herself), "A cat must have come and gotten into the milk."

029. **phiš phiš jī kareɔ tɛ wá nə́ hàṭī.**
phiš phiš jī kar -e -ɔ tɛ wá nə́ hàṭ -ī

shoo shoo LIM do -PRF -MS.N CC 3S.DST.N.F NEG be.carefree -PRF.FS.N

When she shooed, the "cat" didn't stir.

030. **wá jə̃āqī.**
wá jə̃āg -ī

3S.DST.N.F wake -PRF.FS.N

She woke up.

031. **tɛ wé jíṛā ḍerā kā ādmī thā, sārā**
tɛ wé jíṛ -ā ḍer -ā k -ā ādmī th -ā sār -ā

CC 3P.DST.N REL -MP.N home -MS.O GEN -MP.N person PST -MP.N entire -MP.N

**wé bì̀ jə̃āq gīā.**
wé bì̀ jə̃āg g -ī -ā

3P.DST.N also wake go -PRF -MP.N

And they who were residents of that house, they also woke up.

032. **jə̃āgeā tɛ mīrāsī nas gīɔ.**
jāg -e -ā tɛ mīrāsī nas g -ī -ɔ

wake -PRF -MP.N CC singer run.away go -PRF -MS.N

They woke up and the singer ran away.

033. **čor agɛ hì̀ bíṛɛ nikaḷ gīā thā.**
čor ag -ɛ hì̀ bíṛ -ɛ nikaḷ g -ī -ā th -ā

thief ahead -LOC EMPH outside -LOC exit go -PRF -MP.N PST -MP.N

The thieves had earlier come outside.

034 *mīrāsī jĩ naṭhɔ tɛ bas bű̃ā mā jĩ qĩɔ,*
*mīrāsī jĩ naṭh -ɔ tɛ bas bű̃ -ā mā jĩ g -ī -ɔ*

singer LIM run.away.PRF -MS.N CC well door -MS.O in LIM go -PRF -MS.N

As soon as the singer ran, well, as soon as he went in the doorway,

035. *tɛ kắḍū jĩ ǒhikeɔ*
*tɛ kắḍ -ū jĩ ǒhik -e -ɔ*

CC after -ABL LIM pull -PRF -MS.N

(they) pulled him from behind

036. *tɛ koe ádɔ taṇã̃ laqɔ bű̃ā biǒū, tɛ ádɔ*
*tɛ koe ád -ɔ taṇã̃ lag -ɔ bű̃ -ā biǒ -ū tɛ ád -ɔ*

CC MS.INDEF half -MS.N downhill hit -PRF.MS.N door -MS.O in -ABL CC half -MS.N

*piǒhã̃.*
*piǒhã̃*

mountains.ward

and half of him fell outside through the doorway and half fell inside.

037. *ut jĩ laqɔ tɛ wé ǒor pɔ́ǒ āeā.*
*ut jĩ lag -ɔ tɛ wé ǒor pɔ́ǒ ā -e -ā*

there LIM hit -PRF.MS.N CC 3P.DST.N thief arrive come -PRF -MP.N

As soon as he fell there, those thieves arrived.

038. *ũ̃ã̃ te aqã̃ te ǒor pɔ́ǒ āeā.*
*ũ̃ã̃ te aqã̃ te ǒor pɔ́ǒ ā -e -ā*

there.ward from up.ahead from thief arrive come -PRF -MP.N

The thieves arrived from outside (of the house).

039. ***pičhā̃ te wé ḍerā āḷā - ḍerā***
*pičhā̃ te wé ḍer -ā āḷ -ā ḍer -ā*

mountains.ward from 3P.DST.N home -MS.O kind.of -MP.N home -MS.O

***āḷā̃ andar nā čhikɛ̃.***
*āḷ -ā̃ andar nā čhik -ɛ̃*

kind.of -P.O inside DAT pull -HAB.3P

From inside those residents of the house - the residents of the house were pulling inwards.

040. ***tɛ wé čor bíṛā nā čhikɛ̃.***
*tɛ wé čor bíṛ -ā nā čhik -ɛ̃*

CC 3P.DST.N thief outside -MS.O DAT pull -HAB.3P

And those thieves were pulling toward the outside.

041. ***čhiktā̃ čhiktā̃ wé čor ḍā́ḍā thā.***
*čhik -t -ā̃ čhik -t -ā̃ wé čor ḍā́ḍ -ā th -ā*

pull -IMPF -ADV pull -IMPF -ADV 3P.DST.N thief powerful -MP.N PST -MP.N

They pulled and pulled; the thieves were stronger.

042. ***únā̃ ne čhikeɔ.***
*ún -ā̃ ne čhik -e -ɔ*

3P.DST.O -P.O AG pull -PRF -MS.N

They pulled him out.

043. ***tɛ le kɛ wé ǰā rɛ́ā us nā.***
*tɛ le kɛ wé ǰā rɛ́ -ā us nā*

CC take CP 3P.DST.N place stay -PRF.MP.N 3S.DST.O DAT

They took him and left.

045. ***ǰā*** ***rɛ́ā.***
*ǰā* *rɛ́* *-ā*

place stay -PRF.MP.N

They left.

046. ***māḷ*** ***šāḷ*** ***ǰíṛɔ*** ***káḍeɔ*** ***ó*** ***bì*** ***le*** ***kɛ*** ***ǰā***
*māḷ* *šāḷ* *ǰíṛ* *-ɔ* *káḍ* *-e* *-ɔ* *ó* *bì* *le* *kɛ* *ǰā*

livestock (rhyme) REL -MS.N remove -PRF -MS.N 3S.DST.N also take CP go

***rɛ́ā*** ***ó*** ***mīrāsī*** ***bì*** ***ǰā*** ***rɛ́ɔ.***
*rɛ́* *-ā* *ó* *mīrāsī* *bì* *ǰā* *rɛ́* *-ɔ*

stay -PRF.MP.N 3S.DST.N singer also go stay -PRF.MS.N

The riches that were removed, they took them too and left, and that singer also left.

047. ***qīɔ*** ***tɛ*** ***wé*** ***apaṇā*** ***ḍerā*** ***nā*** ***qīā.***
*g* *-ī* *-ɔ* *tɛ* *wé* *apaṇ* *-ā* *ḍer* *-ā* *nā* *g* *-ī* *-ā*

go -PRF -MS.N CC 3P.DST.N one's.own -MS.O home -MS.O DAT go -PRF -MP.N

He left and they went to their home.

048. ***mīrāsī*** ***apaṇā*** ***nā*** ***qīɔ.***
*mīrāsī* *apaṇ* *-ā* *nā* *g* *-ī* *-ɔ*

singer one's.own -MS.O DAT go -PRF -MS.N

The the singer went to his home.

049. ***apaṇā*** ***ḍerɛ*** ***ǰī*** ***qīɔ*** ***tɛ*** ***aqɛ*** ***ǰíṛī*** ***us***
*apaṇ* *-ā* *ḍer* *-ɛ* *ǰī* *g* *-ī* *-ɔ* *tɛ* *ag* *-ɛ* *ǰíṛ* *-ī* *us*

one's.own -MS.O home -LOC LIM go -PRF -MS.N CC ahead -LOC REL -FS.N 3S.DST.O

***kī*** ***ḍerā*** ***āḷī*** ***thī.***
*k* *-ī* *ḍer* *-ā* *āḷ* *-ī* *th* *-ī*

GEN -FS.N home -MS.O kind.of -FS.N PST -FS.N

As soon as he went to his home, his wife was present.

050. ***wá kɛ́uṇ laqī, tõ kĩ̃ã̃ qīɔ thɔ?***
*wá kɛ́ -uṇ lag -ī tõ kĩ̃ã̃ g -ī -ɔ th -ɔ*

3S.DST.N.F say -INF.O start -PRF.FS.N 2S.N to.where? go -PRF -MS.N -PST -MS.N

She said, "Where did you go?

051. ***tɛ ke le āeɔ?***
*tɛ ke le ā -e -ɔ*

CC what? take come -PRF -MS.N

What have you brought?"

052. ***us ne pā̀yā mīrāsī ne kɛ́ɔ, hũ̀ tɛ qīɔ***
*us ne pā̀y -ā mīrāsī ne kɛ́ -ɔ hũ̀ tɛ g -ī -ɔ*

3S.DST.O AG brother -MS.O singer AG say -PRF.MS.N 1S.N CC go -PRF -MS.N

***thɔ ǒorī wāstɛ bāre ǒorī mā muǒ hì̀ muǒ mazɔ***
*th -ɔ ǒorī wāstɛ bāre ǒorī mā muǒ hì̀ muǒ maz -ɔ*

PST -MS.N theft for but theft in much EMPH much enjoyment -MS.N

***hɛ̀ tɛ khāuṇ kī rang rang kī.***
*hɛ̀ tɛ khā -uṇ k -ī rang rang k -ī*

2/3S.PRS CC eat -INF.O GEN -FS.N kind kind GEN -FS.N

He, the guy - the singer, said, "I went out stealing, but in robbery there is a lot of pleasure and (there is) a wide variety of things to eat."

053. ***us ne ḍerā āḷī ne kɛ́ɔ, ke šɛ le***
*us ne ḍer -ā āḷ -ī ne kɛ́ -ɔ ke šɛ le*

3S.DST.O AG home -MS.O kind.of -FS.N AG say -PRF.MS.N what? thing take

***āeɔ?***
*ā -e -ɔ*

come -PRF -MS.N

She said, the wife said, "What did you bring?

054. ***hàmṇā de!***
*hàmṇā de*

1P.DAT give

Give it to us!

055. ***hàm bì̀ khā̃!***
*hàm bì̀ khā̃*

1P.N also eat.HAB.1P

We should eat too!"

056. ***us ne kɛ́ɔ, khāuṇ kɔ muč hì̀ mazɔ***
*us ne kɛ́ -ɔ khā -uṇ k -ɔ muč hì̀ maz -ɔ*

3S.DST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N eat -INF.O GEN -MS.N much EMPH enjoyment -MS.N

***hɛ̀.***
*hɛ̀*

2/3S.PRS

He said, "There is so much pleasure in eating.

057. ***rang rang kī šɛ milɛ̃.***
*rang rang k -ī šɛ mil -ɛ̃*

kind kind GEN -FS.N thing meet -HAB.3P

A huge variety of things are available.

058. ***bāre nā́ pučh is gal kɔ hū̃̀ gīɔ thɔ.***
*bāre nā́ pučh is gal k -ɔ hū̃̀ g -ī -ɔ th -ɔ*

but NEG ask 3S.PRX.O matter GEN -MS.N 1S.N go -PRF -MS.N PST -MS.N

But don't ask about this. I went."

059. ***čor ne kɛ́ɔ, čorī mā tɛ baṛā hì̀ mazā hɛ̃̀.***
*čor ne kɛ́ -ɔ čorī mā tɛ baṛ -ā hì̀ maz -ā hɛ̃̀*

thief AG say -PRF.MS.N theft in CC big -MP.N EMPH enjoyment -MP.N 3P.PRS

The thief said, "Stealing is pleasurable.

060. ***bāre ek gal muǒ hì̀ mandī hɛ̀.***
*bāre ek gal muǒ hì̀ mand -ī hɛ̀*

but one matter much EMPH bad -FS.N 2/3S.PRS

But one thing (about it) is terrible."

061. ***us kā ḍerā āḷī ne pučheɔ, wá***
*us k -ā ḍer -ā āḷ -ī ne pučh -e -ɔ wá*

3S.DST.O GEN -MS.O home -MS.O kind.of -FS.N AG ask -PRF MS.N 3S.DST.N.F

***gal das.***
*gal das*

matter tell

His wife asked, "Tell me.

062. ***ke hɛ̀?***
*ke hɛ̀*

what? 2/3S.PRS

What might that be?"

063. ***akhɛ, pučh hì̀ nā́ us gal kɔ.***
*akhɛ pučh hì̀ nā́ us gal k -ɔ*

quote.3P ask EMPH NEG 3S.DST.O matter GEN -MS.N

(He answered,) "You must not ask about that."

064. ***akhɛ, pučhũ̃ kyũ̃ nā́?***
*akhɛ pučh -ũ̃ kyũ̃ nā́*

quote.3P ask -HAB.1S why? NEG

(She said,) "Why shouldn't I ask?"

065. ***tõ minnā das, ke gal hè wá ǰíṛī tõ kɛ́, nā́***
*tõ minnā das ke gal hè wá ǰíṛ -ī tõ kɛ́ nā́*

2S.N 1S.DAT tell what? matter 2/3S.PRS 3S.DST.N.F REL -FS.N 2S.N say NEG

***pučh!***
*pučh*

ask

Tell me! What is that, about which you say, 'Don't ask!'

066. ***ɔ ke gal hè.***
*ɔ ke gal hè*

VOC what? matter 2/3S.PRS

What is that thing?

067. ***das.***
*das*

tell

Tell (me)!"

068. ***us ne kɛ́ɔ, khāuṇ pīuṇ kā sab šɛ muč***
*us ne kɛ́ -ɔ khā -uṇ pī -uṇ k -ā sab šɛ muč*

3S.DST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N eat -INF.O drink -INF.O GEN -MP.N all thing much

***hì mazā hɛ̀ čorī mā.***
*hì maz -ā hɛ̀ čorī mā*

EMPH enjoyment -MP.N 3P.PRS theft in

He said, "Of eating and drinking, of everything there are great pleasures in stealing.

069. ***bāre ek gal mandī hè.***
*bāre ek gal mand -ī hè*

but one matter bad -FS.N 2/3S.PRS

But one thing is terrible.

070. **wá gal yá hɛ̀, hɔ̀r mazā muŏ hɛ̃̀ čorī**
*wá gal yá hɛ̀ hɔ̀r maz -ā muŏ hɛ̃̀ čorī*

3S.DST.N.F matter 3S.PRX.N.F 2/3S.PRS more enjoyment -MP.N much 3P.PRS theft

**mā, bāre gal wá yá hɛ̀, je čhikkā_čhikkī muŏ**
*mā bāre gal wá yá hɛ̀ je čhikkā_čhikkī muŏ*

in but matter 3S.DST.N.F 3S.PRX.N.F 2/3S.PRS that.COMP Tug.of.War much

**hɛ̀ us mā.**
*hɛ̀ us mā*

2/3S.PRS 3S.DST.O in

That thing is this: other pleasures abound in stealing, but that thing is this, that it involves a lot of tugging.

071. **yá gal muŏ mandī hɛ̀.**
*yá gal muŏ mand -ī hɛ̀*

3S.PRX.N.F matter much bad -FS.N 2/3S.PRS

This part is just awful."

**APPENDIX C**

# ABBREVIATIONS

## 1. Gloss Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| ADV | adverbial |
| ABL | ablative |
| AG | agent |
| CAUS | causative |
| CC | coordinating connective (also 'correlative connective', 'contrastive connective') |
| COMP | complementizer |
| CONT | continuous |
| CP | conjunctive participle |
| DAT | dative |
| DST | distal |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| F | feminine |

| | |
|---|---|
| FUT | future |
| GEN | genitive |
| HAB | habitual |
| IMP | imperative |
| IMPF | imperfective |
| INDEF | indefinite |
| INF | infinitive |
| INTERP | interpretive |
| INTR | intransitive |
| LIM | limiter |
| LOC | locative |
| M | masculine |
| N | nominative |
| NEG | negative |
| O | oblique |
| P | plural |
| PFP | perfective participle |
| PRF | perfective |
| PRS | present tense |
| PRX | proximal |

| | |
|---|---|
| PST | past tense |
| PURP | purpose |
| REL | relative (pronoun) |
| S | singular |
| VOC | vocative |

## 2. Narrative Title Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Aftahad | Aftahad |
| Akram | Akram |
| Anwar | Anwar's Wedding |
| Arshad | Arshad Bibi's Story |
| Aslam | Aslam |
| Bibi | Bibi Khatune's Story |
| Doctor | My Father's Story |
| EQ Long | Long Earthquake Story |
| EQ Short | Naheed's Earthquake Story |
| Jamila | Jamila |
| Khatune | Khatune's Story |
| Mazar | Mazar |
| Mother | Shasta's Mother II |
| Mother.1 | Shasta's Mother I |
| Naheed | Naheed's Wedding |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nephew | Shameem's Sister's Nephew |
| Resh | Reshma's Wedding |
| Reshma | Reshma's Story |
| Sham | Shameem II |
| Shazia | Shazia |
| Seventh | Seventh Daughter |
| Sister | Shameem's Sister |
| Tug | Tug of War |

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# AN INTRODUCTION TO GOJRI PHONEMES AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

NADEEM HAIDER BUKHARI

## Abstract

This paper takes a look at the sound system of Gojri, a language spoken in Kashmir on either side of Indo-Pakistan border and Northern Areas of Pakistan. This paper begins with an inventory of Gojri sounds and compares them with the Rajastani language of which it is claimed to be a dialect. After examining what kinds of clusters are allowed and which are ruled out, we examine what possible syllable structures are permitted in Gogri. The preliminary investigation suggests that the CV is not a favourite combination in Gojri. It appears to favour CVC structures with consonant clustering on the either flank of the vowel. The paper concludes with summarizing what phonotactic constraints are observed in syllable formation and whether syllable weight has a role in syllabification.

## 1. Introduction

Gojri is a language widely spoken in the state of Jammu and Kashmir as well as in the northern areas of Pakistan, especially in Hazara and Kohistan Districts. Grierson and Masica (1991) classify Gojri as a dialect of Rajasthani (a language spoken in Rajasthan, India) which is an Indo-Aryan language. He further claims that it is closer to Mewati (a language spoken in Rajasthan and Sind Provinces) because of its resemblance. According to a

recent survey (of dubious reliability), there are more than ten hundred thousand speakers of Gojri in Pakistan and the state of AJ&K. There is reason to believe that this language has been mostly influenced by other languages of the state including Urdu, Pahari, and Hindko, which are all Indo-Aryan.

The 1971 census of India states that Gojri is spoken by 330,485 individuals in Jammu and Kashmir state of India. On the other hand, Khatana (2002) has claimed that the population of Gujjars in Jammu and Kashmir was 547,150 in the year 1987.The majority of Gojri speakers in the State of Jammu and Kashmir live in the districts of Muzaffarabad, Bagh and Poonch. Shinwari (2005) claims that about 300,000 speakers of Gojri are living in the Northern areas of Pakistan. Since the Gojri speaking community has scattered here and there in the sub-continent, no exact figure can be claimed regarding the number of Gojri speakers.

Sharma (2002) claims that Gujjars, the native speakers of Gojri, are nomadic: they are immigrants to these areas and had previously lived with Rajasthani speakers at some point in history. It is a difficult task to distinguish the native elements and borrowed ones in Gojri because it shares a number of things with other languages with which it has close contacts. The consideration of Gojri can provide a clue as to its heritage and also help to determine the elements it shares with

other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the region. Geographical contiguity and borrowing from other languages have affected Gojri phonology and led to a shared phonological development; there are thus areal features which can be noticed in other languages of the region as well. This also supports the commonly held view that phonological features undergo more rapid changes than morphological ones. The following chart will show how Gojri is closely related to Rajastani as they show same the phonological features:

**Table 1: Gojri vs Rajastani: A Comparison**

| Gojri | Rajastani | English |
|---|---|---|
| /wu/ | /wo/ | 'he' |
| /nakk/ | /nak/ | 'nose' |
| /jib/ | /jiib/ | 'tongue' |
| /bhaai/ | /bhaii/ | 'brother' |
| /bahain/ | /bahan/ | 'sister' |
| /loho/ | /loh/ | 'iron' |
| /taraa/ | /taro/ | 'star' |
| /koRo/ | /ghoRo/ | 'horse' |
| /billi/ | /bilai/ | 'cat' |
| /bakri/ | /bakari/ | 'she-goat' |
| /kuto | /kutto/ | 'dog' |
| /auu/ | /aw/ | 'come' |
| /age/ | /agai/ | 'before' |
| /NeRe/ | /NeRo/ | 'near' |
| /gra/ | /gaw/ | 'village' |

Gojri shares a number of other linguistic features with other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. For example, syntactic structure is the same in Gojri, Punjabi, Urdu and Pahari languages. Similarly, these languages prefer CVC syllable structure. The number of consonant and vowel phonemes is the same with an exception of one or two in Punjabi. However, Gojri behaves differently on the morphological level than the other languages of the state. Many Gujjars are bilingual; they learn Urdu at schools or in cities where they are employed. Consequently, educated Gujjars' proficiency in Urdu is greater than that of uneducated women who are mostly restricted to household activities.

It is interesting to note that Gojri in the state of AJ&K has not been given any importance in the strata of enquiry because of its unofficial status at any level in the state. As a result, it has been unexplored for many decades. O'Leary and Clare conducted sociolinguistic survey of Northern Pakistan which was published collaboratively by the National Institute of Pakistan Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1992. This survey is only a comparative and typological study of sociolinguistic features of languages spoken in Northern Areas of Pakistan. There has been no significant writing in Gojri except some poetry by Sabir Afaqi and his brother Mukhlas Wajdani. However, some material is available in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) of Pakistan which is mostly related to the history of Gujjars and the

Gojri Language. The written material has been produced in slightly modified Urdu script. Radio Stations broadcasts a programme in Gojri which is very popular in the Gujjar community. For the last few years, Pakistan television has been broadcasting five minute news in Gojri for the community living in either Pakistan or India.

## 2. Phonemes in Gojri

As the languages vary from one another, their phonemes also differ to some extent and even in different dialects of a same language these variations can be singled out quite easily. Gojri is no exception in this regard. Our main focus in this paper is to discuss only the above mentioned dialect of Gojri.

### 2.1. Consonants

The following chart presents a preliminary sketch of the consonants of Gojri. Unlike other languages of the same origin, Gojri does not have aspirated voiced stops, nor does it have retroflex fricatives and affricates. Rajastani, which is considered to be one of the closest languages to Gojri, does have these aspirated voiced stops. The loss of aspirated stops is common in many of the languages spoken in the state. For example, Kashmiri, Punjabi and Pahari do not have these sounds.

**Table 2: Consonant chart of Gojri**

| | Labial | Dental | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plosives | p, b<br>$p^h$ | t, d<br>$t^h$ | T, D<br>$T^h$ | | k, g<br>$k^h$ | (q) | |
| Fricatives | f | s, z | | S | x<br>G | | h |
| Affricates | | | | | c, j<br>$c^h$ | | |
| Nasal | m | n | N | | | | |
| Glide | w | | | y | | | |
| Lateral | | l | L | | | | |
| Flap | | r | R | | | | |

According to Sharma's (2002) description of consonants of different Indo-Aryan languages, it seems that the main difference between the consonants of Gojri and Rajastani lies in the voiced aspirated stops and affricates ($b^h$, $d^h$, $D^h$, $j^h$, $g^h$) which are not present in Gojri. On the other hand, consonants like /S/, /x/, /w/, /y/, /G/ and /q/ do not exist in Rajastani while they are part of the inventory in Gojri, as the above table indicates. The following discussion will justify this claim as well. However, if we then compare the consonants of Punjabi, there seems no much difference except the places of articulation for /x/ which is velar in Gojri whereas it is articulated as retroflex in Punjabi. Similarly, /z/, though not very common in Punjabi, is dental, but (according to Sharma: 2002) retroflex in Gojri. However, it can likely be placed in the dental category in the dialect spoken in the state of AJ&K. /h/ is absent from the list of Punjabi consonants. The optional /q/ indicates that it is present in Gojri but is very sparingly used in the speech of educated people

because of the influence of the Urdu language which they study as being the national language of the state whereas most of the uneducated speakers replace /q/ with /k/.

Out of thirty two, the fifteen consonants (/p/, /$p^h$/, /t/, /$t^h$/, /T/, /$T^h$/, /c/, /$c^h$/, /k/, /$k^h$/, /f/, /s/, /S/,/x/, and /h/) are voiceless consonants. Usually all voiceless stops and affricates have both aspirated and non-aspirated forms. For example /pul/ in Gojri means 'bridge' whereas /$p^h$ul/ means 'flower'. Similarly, /tam/ means 'you' and /$t^h$um/ refers to a 'pole'. The following example will be helpful in understanding how consonant distribution in Gojri takes place for the initial, intervocalic and final positions:

| (1) | Initial | intervocalic | final |
|---|---|---|---|
| /p/ | /pul/ 'bridge' | /topi/ 'cap' | /sap/ 'snake' |
| /t/ | /tuker/ 'food' | /gato/ 'stone' | /it/ 'here' |
| /k/ | /kam/ 'work' | /kaako/ 'uncle' | /cak/ 'bite' |
| /p$^{h}$l/ | /$^{ph}$ul/ 'flower' | /gup$^{h}$ii/ 'hip' | - |
| /t$^{h}$/ | /t$^{h}$am/ 'pillar' | /mit$^{h}$ o/ 'sweet' | /hat$^{h}$ / 'hand' |
| /k$^{h}$/ | /k$^{h}$ am/ 'feather' | /lik$^{h}$ ari/ 'writer' | /ak$^{h}$/ 'eye' |
| /T/ | /Tokaa/ 'axe' | /haTi/ 'shop' | /iT/ 'brick' |
| /T$^{h}$/ | /T$^{h}$ odi/ 'chin' | /koT$^{h}$ii/ 'a fine house' | /gat$^{h}$/ 'bale' |
| /D/ | /DanD/ 'noise' | /buDii/ 'old woman' | /DaD/ 'frog' |
| /b/ | /bas/ 'bus' | /babu/ 'young man' | /xaab/ 'dream' |
| /d/ | /dil/ 'heart' | /nadii/ 'river' | /swaad/'taste' |
| /g/ | /guTh/ 'corner' | /gagur/ 'water pot' | /rOg/ 'worry' |
| /c/ | /ciiR/ 'pine tree' | /sacO/ 'honest' | /bec/ 'sell' |
| /c$^{h}$/ | /c$^{h}$upRaã/ 'hide' | /bac$^{h}$O/ 'calf' | /puũch/ 'tail' |
| /j/ | /jel/ 'jail' | /saãjo/ 'shared' | /daj/ 'dowry' |
| /f/ | /fikur/ 'curiosity' | /maafi/ 'forgiveness | /saaf/ 'clean' |
| /s/ | /suk$^{h}$/ 'comfort' | /daso/ 'show' | /maas/ 'meat' |
| /z/ | /zor/ 'power' | /beztii/ 'dishonor' | /baaz/'eagle' |
| /S/ | /Sak/ 'doubt' | /naSaaRo/ 'aim' | /xuS/ 'happy' |
| /x/ | /xol/ 'cover' | /buxaar/ 'fever' | /mex/ 'nail' |
| /h/ | /haTi/ shop | - | - |
| /G/ | /Gam/ 'worry | /SuGal/ 'fun' | /baaG/'garden' |
| /m/ | /mac$^{h}$i/ 'fish' | /damaag/ 'brain' | /cam/ 'skin' |
| /n/ | /nas/ ''run away' | /dand/ 'tooth' | /kan/ 'ear' |
| /N/ | - | /kaNii/ 'rain drop' | /kuuN/ 'lean' |
| /w/ | /wem/ 'doubt' | /daawo/ 'claim | /baw/ daughter-in-law |
| /y/ | /yar/ 'friend' | /tiyaar/ 'ready' | - |
| /r/ | /raat/ 'night' | /saarii/ 'entire' | /cir/ 'late' |
| /R/ | - | /roRo/ 'stone' | /baaR/ 'bring inside' |
| /l/ | /le/ 'take' | /bolii/ 'language' | /hil/ 'move' |
| /L/ | - | /piilO/ 'ant' | /hal/ 'plow' |

The above chart of consonant distribution in the Gojri language indicates that we do not find particular consonants in certain positions. Sharma (1982) claims that the voiceless labial plosive /ph/ does not occur in the final position of a word. Similarly, the glottal fricative /h/ is not found in either intervocalic or final position. On the other hand, the nasal retroflex /N/, the lateral retroflex /L/ and the flap retroflex /R/ do not appear in the initial position of the word.

Masica (1991) claims that Gojri has retained the Old Indo-Aryan consonant cluster of stop+r in initial and non-initial positions. However, in final position, in fact, most speakers put / a / in between the last two phonemes:

(2) / tre / 'thirst' / graã / 'village' / kraan / 'the Holy Quran'
/dratii / 'scythe' / putr / 'son' / suutr / 'string'

/putr/ is typically pronounced [putar] and /suutr/ is [suutar].Similarly Gojri retains final nasal + stop as well as sibilant + stop clusters. Examples of such clusters are given below:

(3) / kand / 'wall' / band / 'close' / mast / 'introvert'

In Gojri, consonant clusters occur in all three positions. In the initial and final positions, the Gojri syllable can accommodate two consonants. However, consonant clusters with more than two consonants can frequently be found in written words. Sharma (1982) suggests that all those clusters that are possible in the initial and final positions occur in the medial position also. However, there are some constraints. For example, retroflex stops and nasals do not form a cluster with retroflex lateral and flap in any position. Moreover, Gojri does not exhibit any cluster with voiced and voiceless stops together. Similarly, two aspirates do not form a cluster, and it is also rare to find a cluster with aspirates and any other consonant. Quite interestingly, /h/ does not contribute to any

consonant cluster and just appears in the initial position of the word.

Like many other languages of the region, geminate consonants are a common phenomenon in Gojri. Among the plosives, there is only one, optional /q/ that does not show this feature. On the other hand, /s/ is the only fricative that is geminated in many cases. The glides and flaps do not exhibit gemination. Similarly, /n/ from nasals, /L/ from lateral and /S/ from affricates also lack this property. All those consonants that exhibit this feature in a word follow one of the three vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/. The following table (3) will provide a clue for better understanding of the phenomenon:

**Table 3: Geminate Consonants with examples**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /pp/ | /Tappo/ | 'jump' | /pp$^{h}$/ | /jap$^{h}$p$^{h}$i/ | 'embrace' |
| /bb/ | /labbo/ | 'search' | /tt/ | /tatto/ | 'hot' |
| /dd/ | /baddal/ | 'Clouds' | /thth/ | /pat$^{h}$t$^{h}$ar/ | 'stone' |
| /DD/ | /k$^{h}$uDDo/ | 'cripple' | /TT/ | /haTTi/ | 'shop' |
| /cc/ | /bacci/ | 'daughter' | /T$^{h}$T$^{h}$/ | /kaT$^{h}$T$^{h}$o/ | 'rivelet' |
| /chch/ | /pac$^{h}$c$^{h}$i/ | 'basket' | /ll/ | /gillo/ | 'wet' |
| /jj/ | /gajjan/ | 'thunder' | /kk/ | /nikko/ | 'small' |
| /gg/ | /diggo/ | 'fall' | /ss/ | /kasso/ | 'to tight' |
| /mm/ | /dammo/ | 'rest' | /nn/ | /jannũ/ | 'knee' |

The above examples justify the point that the first consonant in the geminated case, serves as the coda of first syllable whereas the second functions as the onset of the second syllable.

## 2.2. Vowels

It is interesting to note that there is no difference in the vowel systems across the languages under discussion here. According to Sharma (2002), almost all these languages share a common set of vowel phonemes. The next chart presents the vowel sounds occurring in Gojri and its neighbouring languages. It is too early to draw a firm conclusion about the exact phonemic status of these sounds. However, from this starting point some interesting conclusions may be drawn for careful future enquiries.

**Table 4: Vowel chart for Gojri**

| | **Front** | **Central** | **Back** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Close | ii<br>i | | uu<br>u |
| Close-mid | e | | o |
| Open-mid | E | a | O |
| Open | | aa | |

Throughout this paper, the traditional concept of VV for the representation of /ii/,/uu/, and /aa/ will be used. Vowels that appear in pairs in Gojri are distinctive in terms of their length. Apparently, it seems that these vowels behave in the same way as we experience in English vowel pairs / i:, i / and / u:, u /. Similarly, /a/ is shorter than /aa/ but the latter is more open than the former.. It is also very interesting to note that the native speakers of Gojri feel no difference in /a/ and /ə/; and Sharma (1982) quite frequently replaced one with the

other, though he has not indicated this vowel in his (2002) vowel inventory as well. The remaining vowels are all phonetically long. Masica (1991) is of the opinion that the vowels /E/ and /O/ correspond to the monophthongized diphthongs transcribed for Hindi-Urdu as- /ai/ and /au/, respectively. However, Wayne (2002) claims that these representations are problematic for Gojri because of many other syntactic and semantic factors. Therefore, using /au / to represent /O/ would be misleading.

The contrast between different vowel sounds can be better understood by comparing the following examples in 4:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (4) | / tal / | 'fri' | / Taal / | 'pile of wood' |
| | / mil / | 'meet' | / miil / | 'mile' |
| | / hil / | 'move' | / hiil / | 'vulture' |
| | / kul / | 'all' | / kuul / | 'rill' |
| | / dal / | 'smash' | / daal / | 'lentil' |

Sometimes it becomes difficult to make a contrast between /o/ and /O/ and special attention is needed to distinguish between them. For example,

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | / ko / | 'slaughter' | / kO / | 'say' |
| | / so / | 'sleep' | / sO / | 'hundred' |
| | / ro / | 'weap' | / rO / | ' to sow' |

Nasalization in Gojri, as in many other Indo-Aryan Languages, is phonemic. All vowels in Table 4 have nasal phoneme versions. Nasalization is distinctive in Gojri as can be noticed from the following minimal pairs:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6) | / teraa / | 'your' | / teraã / | 'thirteen' |
| | / sii / | 'cold' | / siĩ/ | 'lion' |
| | / juu / | 'who' | / juũ / | 'lice' |

As nasalization is phonemic in Gojri, it can be marked in all positions and with almost all vowels. The following examples will better illustrate the fact:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7) | /diĩ/ | 'sun' | /Tẽcii/ | 'box' |
| | /masrõ/ | 'mustard | /ãTRo/ | 'egg' |
| | /uũTh/ | 'camel' | /cũj/ | 'beak' |
| | /ãdero/ | 'darkness' | /bã/ | 'arm' |

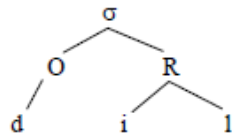
There are some restrictions on the sequences of vowels in Gojri. Sharma (1982) points out that (i) /E/ and /o/ do not participate at all in the vowel sequence; (ii) /ə/ and /a/ do not occur as a second member with any vowel; however these can occur as first member with some vowels; (iii) /i/ does not occur as first member in the vowel sequence and (iv) two similar vowels with one difference of height do not form a vowel sequence in any one of the two orders.

## 3. Syllable Structure

The role of syllable structure in phonological theory has been controversial and still there has been no water-tight definition that can describe the phenomenon without any confusion. Historically, various attempts were made to define the syllable, yet none of these definitions has proved universally adequate. However, it seems that a syllable can easily be defined phonologically and

phonologists are fairly well agreed upon it. On the other hand, in defining a syllable phonetically, there are still some ambiguities which need to be addressed.

A widely unmarked syllable structure schema in Gojri consists of CVC:




There is a general agreement that nucleus is the most important part of a syllable and sometimes it solely constitutes a syllable or a word in a language. So far as Gojri is concerned, we find only a few examples of such syllables. However the ratio of this syllable type is higher in bi-syllabic and polysyllabic words than in mono syllabic ones. It seems that a syllable in Gojri also prefers to have either an onset like German and Arabic, or a coda like in many languages.

## 3.1. Syllable Typology

Syllable structure varies from language to language and even within the dialects of the same language. Sharma (1982) has pointed out only eight syllables; on the other hand the recent research done by Wayne (2002) has come up with thirteen possible types. Similarly, there is no

agreement on the number of syllable types in the Urdu language, which is the national language of the state. Bokhari (1985) has reported eight possible types whereas Akram (2002) reported eleven for Urdu. It seems that there is still some controversy on the number of possible syllable types in Gojri as well as the other languages of the region. Some languages are very restrictive while others are somehow flexible in accommodating different possibilities. In Fijian, CV is the desired structure for the syllable, while English can accommodate three consonants in onset and even allows four consonants in the coda. However, in English, for example, the nucleus alone is the most important part of the syllable whereas in many other languages of the world either coda or onset must be present in the basic structure of the syllable. In Arabic, the onset is an obligatory part of the syllable. On the other hand, in Hawaiian no coda is allowed. However, in all known languages, CV stands as a possible syllable structure and is therefore one of the preferred syllable structures for many languages of the world. Gojri needs either a coda or onset or both along with a nucleus for a well formed-syllable in monosyllabic words with an exception of two words that contain only VV structure. However, in polysyllabic words, both V and VV may form complete syllables as in the words like / ENak/ and /aiye/, meaning ‘spectacles’ and ‘please come’ respectively.

Of the three constituents of a syllable, the question of nucleus is not always entirely straightforward because it

is not always a vowel that functions as a nucleus in many languages of the world. For example, English words ‘bottle’, ‘prism’, and ‘button’ have two syllables each but the second syllable shows either liquids or nasals that form a syllabic nucleus. Similarly, in some languages, like Berber, voiceless fricatives and voiceless stops function as syllabic nuclei. But a thorough investigation of Gojri words does not give any indication of syllabic consonants used in its syllabic structure.

In Gojri, CV is quite sparingly used syllable structure where V represents a short vowel. Monosyllabic words exhibit a very limited range of examples for this particular sequence. Nevertheless it can commonly be found in bi-syllabic or poly-syllabic words.

(8)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Monosyllabic words: | / ya / | ‘she’ | / yo / | ‘he’ | |
| Bi-syllabic words: | / gidar / | ‘jackel’ | / SiSaa / | ‘mirror’ | |
| Poly-syllabic words: | / kasiitii / | ‘crawling’ | / kalaawa / | ‘arm clutches’ | |

On the other hand, CVV syllable structure is very commonly observed in Gojri language.

(9)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| / maã / | ‘mother’ | / sii / | ‘cold’ | / pii / | ‘drink’ |
| / tiila / | ‘straw’ | / patiila / | ‘pot’ | / baRkaa / | ‘boil’ |

However, CVC and CVVC cover a large part of syllable formation in the Gojri. It means that the onset as well as coda is present in most of the syllables of Gojri words. Here are few examples:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (10) | CVC | / kuT/ | 'beat' | / saT / | 'throw' | / bic / | 'in' |
| | | / dil / | 'heart' | / rat / | 'blood' | / puc$^{h}$ / | 'ask' |
| | CVVC | / luun / | 'salt' | / muul / | 'value' | / daaG / | 'stain' |
| | | /budwaar/ | 'Wednesday | / jiib / | 'tongue' | / xaas / | 'important' |

Unlike CV and CVV, syllable types like VC and VVC are more common in monosyllabic words. Examples of these closed monosyllabic words are as follow:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11) | / it / | 'here' | / ut / | 'there' | / is / | 'this' |
| | / aas / | 'hope' | /ek / | 'one' | / oR / | 'stupid' |

Other than a single consonant either in coda or onset position, the following syllable representations are also permissible in Gojri. There are no CCC clusters found in either position in Gojri.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (12) | CCVV | / graã / | 'village' |
| | CCVC | / prat / | 'turn over' |
| | CCVCC | / trand / | 'flock' |
| | CCVVC | / kwaal / | 'singer of religious songs' |
| | CVCC | / dand / | 'tooth' |
| | CVVCC | / daand / | 'ox' |

From the above data, it is clearly evident that Gojri has (C)(C)V(V)(C)(C) syllable structure. Urdu never permits structures like CCVCC, CCVC, and CCVV which are not so common but still exist in Gojri. By way of comparison, it is also interesting to note that Urdu has 11 different possible syllable types; Gojri, on the other hand, permits the following 14 constructions:

(13)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. V | e. CV | i. CVCC | m. CCVCC |
| b. VV | f. CVV | j. CVVCC | n. CCVVC |
| c. VC | g. CVC | k.CCVV | |
| d. VVC | h. CVVC | l. CCVC | |

If we consider more examples for the above mentioned syllable types, it is clear that initial clusters are relatively more uncommon than their final counter parts.

## 3.2. Phonotactic Constraints

Phonotactic constraints apply in terms of syllable structure and consonant clusters. For example, in the case of three consonants in an English onset, /s/ must be the first. Gojri also imposes phonotactic constraints on its syllabic structures. Some of the restrictions on the composition of either onset or coda are as noted:

1. /R/ and /L/ never appear in the onset of the first syllable as first consonant in a multisyllabic word.
2. /N/ never comes in the beginning of a syllable.
3. /$p^h$/ does not appear in coda position.
4. /h/ and /y/ cannot be placed in the final coda position.

## 3.3. Syllable Weight

Syllable weight involves by the type of rhyme a syllable has. Basically there are two syllable types. If the rhyme consists of nucleus only it is an open syllable while a syllable with coda is a closed syllable. Gojri displays both

open and closed syllables, as example, in the word /silTii/ 'comb' where /sil/ is closed and /Tii/ is open.

There is another distinction between light and heavy syllables. A light syllable has only a short vowel in the rhyme with no additional element whereas a heavy syllable may have one of the following three possibilities in a rhyme:

1. a long vowel
2. a long vowel with coda
3. a short vowel with coda

It simply means that a complex rhyme stands for a heavy syllable. Gojri displays all possible heavy as well as light syllables as shown in 14 below:

(14)

| Light syllable in Gogri | | Heavy syllables in Gojri |
|---|---|---|
| / gi-dar / | / gi / CV | / dar / CVC |
| / cu-caa / | / cu / CV | / caa / CVV |
| / le / | / le / CV | / sil / CVC |
| / hun / | / hũ / CV | /waar / CVVC |
| / ray / | / re / CV | / dand / CVCC |

## 4. Conclusion

Like some other languages of Indo-Aryan origin, Gojri contains the same set of consonants and vowels, with some exceptions: voiced aspirates are not found in Gojri. A close look at Rajastani confirms the claim that one of these languages is the dialect of the other. However, in modern literature, both these languages are treated separately. There are controversies regarding the number of phonemes in Gojri and the issue is still far from settled.

Gojri syllable structure shows that it prefers to have only one element in an onset or coda, and the majority of Gojri syllables adhere to this template. It is also interesting to note that Gojri does not license a short vowel in the final position of the word. Similarly, double consonants in any position of the syllable are not frequent. A syllable without an onset is very rare in Gojri and it seems that it is because of general trend that can be seen in almost all of the languages of the region. A detailed phonetic study also needs to be done for further exploration and confirmation of this phenomenon as this work has been just a glimpse to invite the attention of the interested reader.

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# Gojri Language

Javaid Rahi

The history of the Gojri language is as old as the Gojri people themselves who speak this language natively. The earliest forms of the languages are found in the first to fifth century. Later on, there are references to the Gojri kingdoms in different pockets of northern India. The remains of this periods are found in different towns and cities.

The language spoken by the Gojars during the period from the sixth to thirteen century got mixed with other forms of the language such as Apbramsha, Khariboli and the Gojri of the present-day was evolved. There is an evidence to show that the language was developed adequately to have the earliest forms of literature or folklore. This language was used in certain pockets of the present-day states of Gujarat (Kathiawar) Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. It was spread from Chitral to Nepal in the northwest Himalayas and from Punjab to Gujarat in the plains. It has an important place among the dialects of Gujarati, Rajasthani, Haryanvi and Hindi-Urdu languages. A large number of Gojri vocabulary is found in the languages of expression of saints in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries like Mirabai, Kabir and Tulsidas.

The fall of the Gojri kingdoms in the seventeenth century had an impact on the Gojri languages, which remained confined to limited areas. It was in the state of Jammu & Kashmir that it became vibrant again around 1950. Radio programmes in Gojri commenced in Radio Kashmir in the year 1969 and later in Radio Kashmir, Jammu in 1974. Programmes were broadcast in the radio stations in Pakistan too.

A Gojri unit was started in the Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages in 1978. This unit has published hundreds of books so far, including dictionaries and grammars in the languages. There are also large number of individual publications by writers and artists.

Jammu & Kashmiri State Board of School Education has introduced it as an optional language in the state and has prepared textbooks in the language for the use in classes from the first to the eighth standards. Some private institutions and trusts, like Gojar Desh Charitable Trust, Jammu, and Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation, Srinagar, have prepared and published books and are making efforts to preserve some folk cultural materials. Gojri is spoken not only by Gojars alone, but also by some Muslim agriculturists and people of other communities who live in the neighbourhood of Gojar settlements.

Gojri has been included in the 6$^{th}$ schedule of the Constitution of the state of Jammu & Kashmir and there is

a movement for including it in the 8th schedule of the Constitution of India too.

## LINGUISTIC FEATURE OF GOJRI

As an Indo-Aryan language, Gojri has some important characteristics which distinguishes it from other neighbouring languages of the areas where it is spoken.

## Phonology

Gojri shares most of its speech sounds with Dogri. The phonemic inventory of Gojri is as follows:

### *Vowels*

| | **Front** | **Central** | **Back** |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | *i:* | | *u:* |
| Lower High | *I* | | *u* |
| Mid | *e* | *ə* | *o* |
| Lower Mid | *ɛ* | | *ɔ* |
| Low | | *a* | |

### *Consonants*

| | **Bila.** | **Den.** | **Retro.** | **Pala.** | **Vel.** | **Glo.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops: | | | | | | |
| Vl.anas | | *p.* | *t* | *ṭ* | *c* | *k* |
| Vl.asp | *ph* | *th* | *ṭh* | *ch* | *kh* | |
| Vd.unas | *b* | *d* | *ḍ* | *j* | *g* | |
| Flap | | | | | | |
| Vl.unas | | | | *ṛ* | | |
| Nasala: | *m* | *n* | *ṇ* | | | |
| Fricatives: | | | | | | |
| Vl. | *f* | *s* | | *š* | | *h* |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vd. | *z* | | | *ɾ* |
| Lateral: | | *l* | *l* | |
| Trill: | | *r* | | |
| Semivowels: | *w* | | *y* | |

**Abbreviations:** Bila (Bilabial), Den (Dental), Retro (Retroflex), Pala (Palatal), Vel (Velar), Glo (Glottal).

The length of the vowels is represented by the sign colon (:) written after the vowels sign. All the vowels can be nasalized. The nasalization is phonemic in Gojri. There are some geminated consonants too in Gojri.

There are no voiced aspirated sounds such as */bh, dh, ḍh, gh, jh/* and */ṛh/* in Gojri.

There are three tones: Low tone is marked by / ‘/, High tone is marked by /’ /. The Mid tone is unmarked. Examples of the contrast are given below:

| **Low tone** | | **High tone** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ka ‘ṇi:* | ‘division’ | *ka ‘ṇi:* | ‘story’ |
| *ko ‘ṛo* | ‘horse’ | *ko ‘ro* | ‘fog’ |
| **Mid tone** | | **Low tone** | |
| *kər* | ‘do’ | *kər* | ‘house’ |
| *ki* | ‘did’ | *ki’* | clarified butter |
| **Mid tone** | | **High tone** | |
| *saro* | ‘complete’ | *sáro* | ‘smooth’ |

*La* 'put on' *la* 'pick, put off'

There are geminated consonants in Gojri. Examples of contrast between Lenis and Germinates are given below:

| **Lenis** | | **Geminate** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *sətər* | 'veil' | *səttər* | 'seventy' |
| *kiso* | 'how' | *kisso* | 'story, legend' |

## TEXT

## Poem 1 (Geet)

**Mahjoor Rajori**

*aj nahīī hai qrar mina* *dukh giya: hɛ mar mina*
*kyõ gəyo hɛ bisar mina* *pərdesiya mil jae*
*nahī: koi: gəmxvar mero* *nəhi: koi: bhi: yar mero*
*gəyo səbr qra:r mero* *pərdesiya mil jae*
*əj such ko sah koi:nahī* *is sah ko bəsa koi nəhī:*
*tina kyõ pərva koi: nahī* *pərdesiya mil jae*
*mina koi: vi əram nəhī:* *sukh subəh te šam nəhī:*
*tero pəta pɛgam nəhī:* *pərdesiya mil jae*
*pərdesiya mil jae*

***Translation***

I'm restless today Worries have killed me.
Why did you forget me Meet me oh my distant friend!
No one to share my sorrow No one is my friend

I lost my patience and comfort Meet me oh my distant friend!
I cannot breathe in peace My breathe may not last for long
You don't bother about me Meet me oh my distant friend!
I'm not at peace at all No comfort for day and night.
Your whereabouts are not known Meet me oh my distant friend!
Meet me oh my distant friend!

## Ghazal

**Rafeeq Anjum**

*tẽ dilã: ka rog laya hũ: dəva likhto rəhiyo*
*terii bedərdi: na vi: əpni: xət likhto rəhiyo*
*mɛ bichai: balya kəi: var yadã ka diya*
*tera xvabã na dilã ka asra likhto rəhiyo*
*terii məjbu:ri: bəja pər əpni: məhru: mi: te dekh.*
*kɛso devano tho pəthər na xuda likhto rəhiyo*
*mɛ te ki: qurbani: is tẽ əpniyã ratã ki: nĩ:d.*
*voh vi: mere vaste cərtək səza likhto rəhiyo*
*is zəməna ne mera ik dərd ki: kari: na ki:.*
*hũ: te likhã aste ke ke dəva likhto rəhiyo*

**Translation**

You gave me pain in my heart and I prescribe medicine to others
The mercilessness of yours also I considered fault of my own.
I lit and extinguished the lamps of your memory a number of times
I lived on your dreams and consoled my heart
I'm aware about your compulsions but look at the apathy of mine
I have lost my mind and am writing names of God on stones too
I have sacrificed my sleep for you days together

And in return, my punishments are enhanced and never ending
Not a single pain of mine is cured so far
And I'm writing medicines for innumerable sufferers

## Short Story

**Faislo**

Mohammad Ashraf Chauhan

*ni: losərəb niməl tara liš liš kərẽ. cin ko ək kinngro ohle hõn alu, ḍəḍḍã ne əpni: masti: mã məst dhayã mã gi:t cheḍiya va, chetrã ake pasõ gərm te drya ali: bakhi: te ṭhanḍi: havaa jhule. Pəkã koṭhã ala kujh məsti: mã sutavate kujh TV dejg dejg je hasẽ te taḍi: marẽ. vər bhai: najmiyã na dhyaṛi: ki: thəkavəṭ te uprõ muqdamã horã ko rub aj ašmã heṭh dəngi: pər xəbre nĩ:d kyõ nahĩ: thopẽ de. bhanvẽ səthro bhi: ḍahyo thoro vəh pasa pərət ke uf uf kəre tho.*

*"ədda əj masṭər horã ne sou rupyõ fi:s məngi: hɛ jo pakko imtihaṇ aṇ alo hɛ. fi:s deṇ ko əj chekəḍ ko dhyaṛo hɛ. je kəde fi:s əj nə de sykõ tã masṭər hor kahĩ: tha je tero farm həm nəhĩ: bhər sã." Jəmal di:n ne rotã bhaii nəjmyã nə kəhyo.*

*te fir hud kətã bolyo, "ədda je sau ropyo əj minã nə labho te fir hõ Dy. S.P. nəhĩ: bən səksõ.*

### Translation

The sky was clear and the star is shining. A part of moon is set. The frogs are engrossed in singing their songs in the fields. A hot breeze is coming from the fields and cool

breeze from the side of the river. People living in concrete houses are asleep and some are laughing and clapping while watching television. But lying on the Danga (a kind of cot), Najam bhaai cannot sleep due to the tiredness of the day and the scolding of the Choudhry (village head). Though he spread the grass to make his sleeping place soft; he was turning himself in bed and taking deep sighs.

"Father, the teacher in the school has asked for the examination fee of one hundred rupees. It is the last day for the payment of the fee. The teacher has said if the amount is not paid today my form will not be forwarded for examination." Jamal-ul-Din told his brother Najmiya while crying.

While taking deep sighs he added, "If I don't get Rupees one hundred today, I cannot become the Dy S.P."

## VOCABULARY

## Kinship Terms

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***Mã:*** | mother | ***bap*** | father |
| ***pahɛ*** | brother | ***bəhən/pɛhən*** | sister |
| ***caca*** | father's younger brother | ***pu:t*** | son |
| ***taya*** | father's elder brother | ***təhi:*** | daughter |
| ***gədro*** | boy | ***gəbro*** | boy |
| ***munḍo*** | boy | ***laḍo*** | boy |
| ***gədri:*** | girl | ***kuṛi*** | girl |
| ***gədri:*** | girl | ***beṭki:*** | girl |
| ***dada*** | father's father | ***dadi*** | father's mother |
| ***nano*** | mother's father | ***nani:*** | mother's mother |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ***mamo*** | mother's brother | ***jamai:*** | son-in-law |
| ***mami:*** | mother's brother's wife | ***juai*** | son-in-law |
| ***jəmatro*** | son-in-law | ***səso*** | mother-in-law |
| ***pənohyo*** | sister's husband | ***pənovo*** | sister's husband |
| ***salo*** | wife's brother | ***Sali:*** | wife's sister |
| ***pəhənjo*** | sister's son | ***panojo*** | sister's son |
| ***kalri:*** | woman | ***zənami:*** | woman |
| ***janõ*** | man | ***bi:vi:*** | wife |
| ***zənani :*** | wife | ***dyani:*** | wife |
| ***kəhrai:*** | wife | ***khəsəm*** | husband |
| ***kəhralu*** | husband | | |

## Time and Space

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **sərgi:** | dawn | **niki:lo** | after dawn |
| **chus musu:** | between dark and light | **savel** | morning |
| **dopha** | noon | **peši:** | afternoon |
| **di:gər** | before evening | **šam** | evening |
| **nəməša** | darkness after evening | **rat** | night |
| **təhdã vele** | after midnight | | |

## Colours

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **rato** | red | **kalo** | black |
| **ciṭo** | white | **ni:lo** | blue |
| **pi:lo** | yellow | **ni:lo sarb** | green |
| **kalo šah** | jet black | **ciṭo safed** | very white |
| **pi:lo zad** | deep yellow | **rato laal** | deep red |

## Months

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **bɛsakh** | April-May | **jeṭh** | May-June |
| **haṛ** | june-July | **savən** | July-August |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **bhardo** | August-September | **asaso** | September-October |
| **kətək** | October-November | **maghər** | November-December |
| **poh** | December-January | **mág** | January-February |
| **phəgən** | February-March | **cet** | March-April |

## Distance, Directions and Nature

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **neṛe** | near | **du:r** | far |
| **doraaṛ** | very far | **saje** | right |
| **khəbe** | left | **əge** | front |
| **piche** | behind | **cəṛhte** | towards East |
| **ləhte** | towards West | **opər** | above |
| **thəle** | down | **tərti:** | earth |
| **əsman** | sky | **paṛ** | mountains |
| **šəngə** | hills | **mahəl** | hills |
| **dár** | hills | | |

## Seasons

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **bəhar** | spring | **gərmi**: | summer |
| **šərd** | autumn | **ṭhənḍ** | winter |

## Terms for Snow

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **bərf** | snow | **chaṭi:** | snow and rain |
| **əyi:n** | hail storm | **kord** | frozen water |
| **mani:** | glacier | | |

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# Some Facts about Gojri Language

Dr. Javaid Rahi

**Name:-** Gojri, Gujjari, Bakerwali, Gurjari, Gujari, Gujjar Zaban, Gujjar Bhakha/Bhasha.

**Dialects:-** Banhari, Allaiwali, Kunhari, Kashmiri-Gojri, Sowati, Kaghani, Muqami, Kangra gi Gojri.

**Main Areas:-** India- Pakistan and Afghanistan (Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Delhi, Haryana, Utter Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Punjab and others).

## Introduction:-

Gojri is one of the oldest and significant languages of the South Asian Sub-Continent, having a strong case for its inclusion into the 8th Schedule of Constitution of India on the bases of its importance, merit and vivacity.

History says that Rajasthani, Marwari and Gujarati have evolved from Gojri. The language was known as *Gujjar bhakha* or *Gurjar Apabhramsha* lately. It was used as literary language as early as 12th century. The poet Bhoja referred to *Gaurjar Apabhramsha* (Gurjar Apabhramsha) in 1014 AD.

According to various census reports compiled by a number of Government and non-Government Organizations, the Gojri language is first language of millions of people residing in three main countries of

South Asia i.e. India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Majority of speakers of this language lives in Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Gojri language has already been included in the 6th Schedule of Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

## Historical Background:-

Linguists have traced the origin and practice of Gojri language to BC era. There are several mentions of this language in ancient classical and religious texts.

Noted Persian scholar, saint and poet Hazrat Ameer Khusraw formally made a mention of Gojri language in the list of prominent eighteen Indian languages of his time.

Researchers, linguists and historian are of this considered opinion that Gojri is the mother of some of the important languages of India including Gujrati, Rajisthani and Haryani, besides having worked as important dialect in the evolution of Urdu and Hindi.

## Family:-

Gojri is an offshoot of Indo-Arian group of languages having its independent sub-groups like Kashmiri and Dogri.

## Speakers of Gojri Language:-

Gujjars and Bakerwals (Schedule Tribe Communities of Jammu and Kashmir) are the main speakers Gojri language. History reveals that Gujjars have

remained a brave tribe of Central Asia who ruled various parts of India during Gurjar-Partihara Period (6th to 10th Century AD).

At present they are mainly residing in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. In India they are largely found in 12 states includes Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Uttaranchal, Rajasthan, Utter Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and others.

## Other Tribe/Communities Speak Gojri

Muslim Jaats, Pakhtoons, Ajhries communities /Tribes residing in Pir Panchal areas of Jammu and Kashmir speaks Gojri as their mother tongue.

## Tribes /Communities Use Gojri as Second Language

A number of Tribe and communities used Gojri as second language. They includes Paharis Speaking People, Dogri Speaking People of Udhampur/Raisi/Ramban, Kashmiri Speaking people of Poonch, Rajouri, Raisi, Udhampur Baramulla, and Kupwara, Hindko Speaking, Gaddi speaking People of J&K.

## Classical Literature:-

According to historic works the Gojri remained common language in north-western belt of India from 6th to 17th Century A.D. Several saints of the time used Gojri to spread their message of peace among masses. They were Saint Noor-ud-Din – Sat Guru (1094 A.D.), Amir Shah

Meranji (1194 A.D.), Shah Bajan (1397-1508 A.D.), Gazi Mahmood Daryai (1409-1545 A.D.), Ali Jevan Gam Dhani (1565 A.D.), Burhan-ud-Din Janam (1572 A.D.), Khoob Mohammad Chesti (1539-1614 A.D.), Adil Shah Sani Jagat Guru (1411 A.D.), Kutub Shah (1556-1611 A.D.), Moulana Afzal Panipati (1657 A.D.), Meeraji Hashmi (1688 A.D.) and others.

According to various historical works the above saints used Gojri and described the language which they were using at that time was Gujjari which resembles to current days Gojri. These poets and saints known all over Sub-Continent for their unique message of brotherhood and peace.

As it continued to be significant language in the Sub-Continent the Gojri has remained in practice for more than 10 Centuries now.

## Folklore and Oral Traditions:

Gojri has a strong traditions of a folk and oral lore which includes folk songs, folk ballad, folk tales proverbs, Children literature etc. The folk-lore remained in practice in Gojri for centuries together. Taja, Noora, Meerian Dhandi, Bharisye, Noor Begum, Kushal, Munshi (Qanchi) were the top ballad of bravery and valour of Gujjars song by different musicians/folk singers of the time. They are still popular in younger generation of tribal community. From 17$^{th}$ to 20$^{th}$ Century the folk-lore remained main source of their expressions.

## Modern literature:-

The moment for renaissance of Gojri was started in early decades of 19th Century A.D. During last 112 years hundreds of books published in Gojri. The topics of these books are Spirituality, Art, Dictionary, Encyclopedias, Literature, Flora-fauna, Medicines, History, Geography, Social aspects, Cultural Ethos and other different subjects.

Sufficient literature is available in Gojri Language as on date which help in introducing this language at National level by including it in Constitution of India.

## Translations:-

To enrich its Literature and other aspects a number of rare books are rendered in Gojri from Arabic , English, Persian, Urdu and other languages. Some of the important books now available in Gojri includes Masnavi Moulana Rum all the volumes, Rubiyat e Umar Khayam, Gulistan e Sadi, Bostan e Sadi, Plays of Shakespeare, Gandhiji's Autobiography, Neelmat Purana, Haqayat-e- Rumi, Qisa Chahar Darvesh and others.

## Institutions Working for Development of Gojri Language:-

A number of Government and Non Government organizations/Institutions are working for the development of Gojri language and literature. The Government sponsored organizations includes Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Sahitya Academy-Academy of literature, New Delhi, Radio

Kashmir, Jammu/Srinagar, Doordarshan-Kendras, J&K State Board of School Education. A number of non-governmental Organizations including Gurjardesh Charitable Trust, Jammu, Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation, Bazam-e-Adab Gojri J&K, Bhartiya Gurjar Parished, New Delhi, Adbi Sangat Wangat, Kashmir, Anjuman Gojri Zuban Adab Kashmir, Gojri Adbi Majlis, Rajouri and others.

## Research, Literature and Communication

Internationally noted Linguistic Researcher Sir G. A. Gareirson while analyzing various languages of India has written a full volume on Gojri Language. In his work Sir has accepted and outlined universal influence of Gojri and its impact on other Indian Languages.

The Oxford University U.K had compiled (By T. Graham Bialy) first ever Grammar of Gojri Language in 1905.

The Linguistic Survey of India has surveyed the various aspects of Gojri Language and its influence on other languages. In its research project, the Linguistic Survey of India has described Gojri as one of the main languages Instrumental in developing and flourishing other Languages.

The Central Institute of Indian Language Mysore under Ministry of Human Resource Development,

Government of India has published various books on Linguistic aspect of Gojri languages.

The All India Radio and Doordarshan Kendra are already airing various Gojri programmes. The Radio Kashmir Jammu, Srinagar, Poonch in India which have a wide acceptability across the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This demonstrates the importance of Gojri language.

During past hundreds of years a large number of Gojri Books have been published by private publishers on various on various subjects which include Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, Grammar, Poetry. Prose, Flora and Fauna, Folk lore, Art and Architecture, Agriculture, Sociology and Research documents etc.

The National Academy of Letters, ***Sahitya Akademi***, New Delhi has also recognized Gojri as one of the major Indian Languages for its prestigious National Award that is **Bhasha Samman** and other programmes.

The Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages has a well established a Gojri Section in its Central Office which is in operation for last 30 years. Hundreds of books, dictionaries and other research works have been performed and published by the Academy for the development of Gojri Language.

The Jammu and Kashmir State Board of School Education has introduced Gojri upto middle standard in Government Schools.

The University of Jammu, Kashmir University, Baba Ghulam Shah Badshah University have awarded several Doctorate Degrees on completing research projects on Gojri.

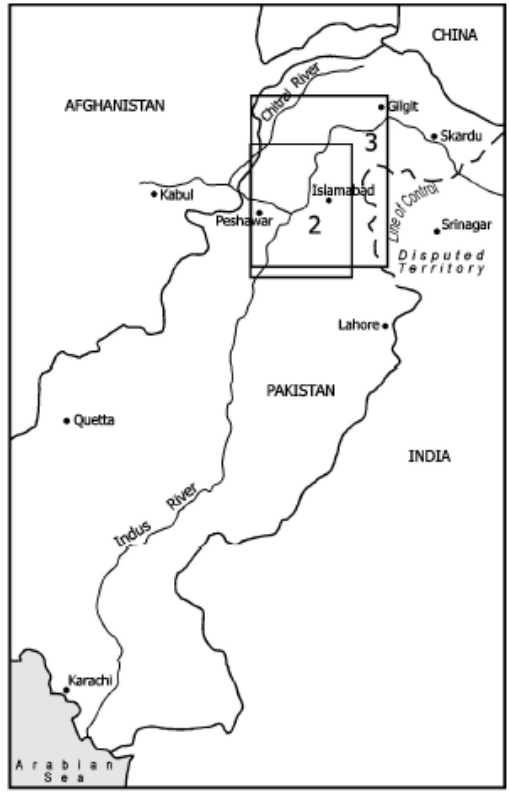
The language deserves better treatment for its all round development. Inclusion of Gojri in the language schedule of constitution of India the Heritage, Oral-lore, Literature, Arts, Word-hoards written/available in this rich language spoken by a substantial population spreading various States of India will be preserved for posterity. This timely, much needed and well deserved gesture will develop sense of belonging to such communities besides preserving the rich heritage of this Indian language which can even be termed as classical language as its record can be traced back around 700 to 1000 years. As has been justified vide foregoing paras that Gojri is the source language of many Indian languages which been already included in the 8$^{th}$ schedule of Indian Constitution. These languages include Gujrati and Urdu as well. The Gujjars-main speakers of this ancient languages have been projecting this demand for half the Century.

# SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF

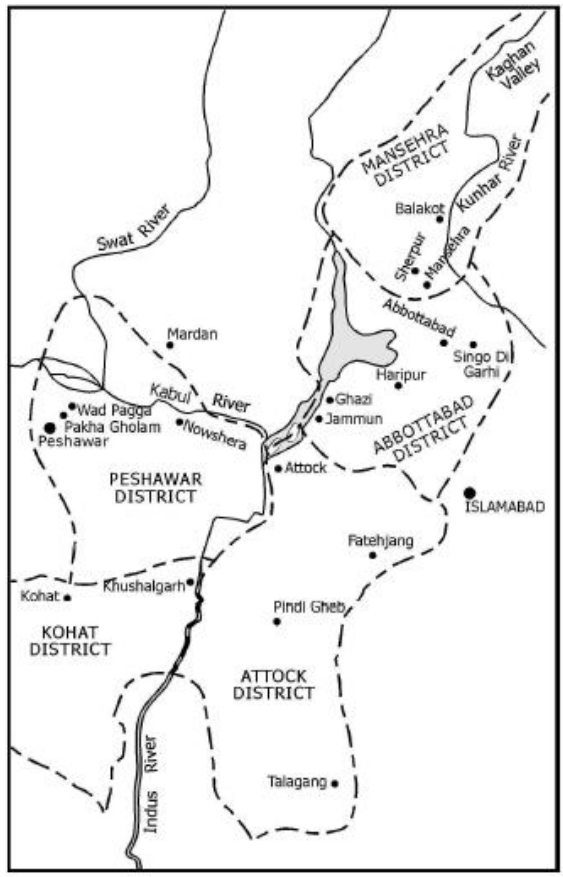
# HINDKO AND GOJRI

Calvin R. Rensch
Calinda E. Hallberg
Clare F. O'Leary

MAPS




MAP 1. Pakistan showing insets for maps in this volume.




MAP 2. Districts of NWFP and Panjab: reference map for Hindko.

MAP 3. Northern Pakistan: reference map for Gujari.

## INTRODUCTION

Northern Pakistan is a land of geographic and ethnic diversity, one of the most multilingual places on the face of the earth. Spectacular mountain ranges and mighty rivers segment the area, providing natural barriers which often serve as isoglosses separating linguistic varieties. Centuries of people movements across this crossroad of

South and Central Asia have left a complex pattern of languages and dialects, fertile ground for sociolinguistic investigation.

Twenty-five named languagesTwenty-five named languages from within northern Pakistan are dealt with in the volumes of the *Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan*. Most languages of the region have been classified as part of the large Indo-Aryan (or Indic) family. Two of these have been called members of the "Central Group" according to the scheme established in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*: Gojri , subgrouped with other Rajasthani languages, and Domaaki, not even mentioned by Grierson, but classified as Central by Fussman (1972) and Buddruss (1985). A third named language, Hindko, was originally included within the Northwestern Group of Indo-Aryan, among those varieties which were given the label "Lahnda" (LSI VIII.1). The various forms called Hindko have been particularly difficult to classify (Shackle 1979, 1980), showing a wide geographic range, much linguistic divergence, and some convergence with Panjabi, which has been classified in the Central Group.

The largest number of Indo-Aryan languages dealt with in these volumes belong to the Northwestern Group, Dardic branch: Shina, and its historical relations, Phalura and Ushojo; Indus Kohistani, and its smaller neighbors, Chilisso, Gowro, and, presumably, Bateri (which has not been classified); the Swat Kohistani varieties, Kalami and

Torwali; the Chitral group of Khowar and Kalasha; and the Kunar group, including Dameli and Gawar-bati. The Nuristani branch accounts for some languages spoken on the north-western frontier; within Pakistan that group is represented by Eastern Kativiri and Kamviri/Shekhani. This classification outline for members of the Dardic and Nuristani branches is based on several scholarly contributions (Fussman 1972, Masica 1991, Morgenstierne 1932), but primarily follows Strand (1973).

There are also members of the larger Iranian family (classification following Payne 1987). Some come from the Southeastern Iranian group, the major example being Pashto, but also including the more divergent WaNeci. Others are from the Southeastern Iranian Pamir subgroup: Wakhi and Yidgha. Ormuri has been classified as a Northwestern Iranian language but shows the influence of being surrounded by Pashto.

Finally, a few linguistic relics remain from outside the larger Indo-European family, notably the westernmost Tibeto-Burman language, Balti, and the isolate, Burushaski.

The distinction between *language* and *dialect* is always a fuzzy one, but particularly so in this part of the world. Scholars have long acknowledged the immense dialect continuum which characterizes the South Asian region, particularly among the Indo-Aryan varieties. The difficulties in drawing language distinctions are compounded by the terminological confusion found when

local speakers use identical names to label their very different spoken varieties (e.g., Kohistani) or apply the name of a larger and more prestigious language to cover a very wide range of speech forms (e.g., Panjabi).

Rather than focusing on linguistic classification or on the historical relationships between languages, the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan has taken a synchronic descriptive approach to this issue of language versus dialect. Linguistic and sociolinguistic data to verify the diversity and similarity within the varieties have been collected for all twenty-five named languages. These data include a consistent 210-item word list from several locations within a language group. In addition, oral texts have been recorded and transcribed from many locations; often these texts have been used to assess the intelligibility of spoken forms among speakers of divergent dialectal varieties. Word list comparisons have been made across named languages in some cases (e.g., Gojri with Hazara Hindko, Indus and Swat varieties of Kohistani, Shina with its linguistic neighbors), to give some perspective on the relative levels of diversity within and between named varieties. These comparisons of linguistic data are balanced by information gathered through interviews and orally-administered questionnaires regarding ethnic identification, dialect group contacts, and perceived linguistic similarity and difference. Although few sharp boundaries are evident, groupings of relatively similar varieties can be demonstrated according to the

criteria of lexical similarity, indications of intelligibility, patterns of within-group contact, and dialect perceptions of the speakers themselves.

The investigation of local language names has provided a perspective on the linguistic identification of its speakers. Where it is possible to use the locally preferred name without ambiguity, those local names have been chosen to designate the linguistic varieties described in these volumes. Where further clarification is necessary, language names have included regional designations or have incorporated the labels given by previous scholars even though they were not found to be used by the speakers themselves.

In addition to questions of diversity within languages, there are higher levels of sociolinguistic variation which are evident in the prevalence of multilingualism throughout the area. In general, it seems that members of most language groups in northern Pakistan exhibit pragmatic attitudes toward adoption of languages of wider communication. With so many languages in close proximity, it is commonplace for persons to acquire one or more of their neighboring languages to some degree of proficiency. Some studies included tests of proficiency in the national language, Urdu, or in a regional language of wider communication such as Pashto or Hindko. Other reports have investigated reported proficiency and use of other languages through

interviews, orally-administered questionnaires, and observation. The patterns associated with the use of other languages are related to such social phenomena as inter-ethnic contacts, the regional dominance of certain groups, and the promotion of Urdu through education and the media. A few language groups indicate signs of declining linguistic vitality and the preference for more dominant neighboring languages among the younger generations within those groups (e.g., Domaaki, Chilisso, Gowro, Yidgha). But, for the present, most of the ethnic languages of northern Pakistan are well-maintained by their mother-tongue speakers as the most frequently used and apparently valued means of communication.

A major contribution of the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan is the collection of the standard 210-item word list; combining the lists from all twenty-five languages yields a sum of 127 regional speech forms represented. The phonetically transcribed lists for the reports covered in each volume are presented in the relevant appendices. Story texts for the languages represented are presented as well, with a rough word for-word gloss and a free translation. In total, there are forty-nine transcribed texts in these volumes. This fieldwork has not undergone thorough grammatical and phonological analysis; it is included to support the conclusions presented in each report and as data for future scholarship.

In terms of methodology, this research makes a contribution as well. A multipronged approach was utilized in each study, combining some or all of the following: participant observation, interviews and orally-administered questionnaires, testing of second language proficiency, testing of comprehension of related varieties, and the comparison of word lists by a standardized method measuring phonetic similarity. Overall, the data show great internal consistency, with many types of self-reports from questionnaires and interviews corresponding well with more objective measures such as test results and lexical similarity counts.

Each report reflects a slightly different focus. Some emphasize interdialectal variation and intelligibility (e.g., Balti, Burushaski, Pashto, Shina, Wakhi); others include this focus, but concentrate more than the rest on assessing the proficiency and use of other languages (e.g., the reports on the languages of Indus and Swat Kohistan, Gojri , Hindko). The high concentration of languages in the Chitral region make multilingualism and ethno linguistic vitality a primary concern in that volume. Issues of declining vitality are of critical concern for Domaaki. One language included in this research has not been previously described or reported: Ushojo, a variant of Shina located in the Chail Valley of Swat District.

It has been a privilege to work with representatives of each of these ethno linguistic groups in carrying out this

survey research. These volumes are offered in the hope that they will provide a holistic overview of the sociolinguistic situation in northern Pakistan and will stimulate further such work in the years to come.

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The National Institute of Pakistan Studies of Quaid-i-Azam University has a continuing commitment to the promotion of quality research; without the assistance of NIPS, these volumes would not have been completed. Special thanks are due to Professor Fateh Mohammad

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Dr. Calvin Rensch served as the project director for the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. Ongoing leadership was also provided by Mr. Donald Gregson and Mr. Daniel Hallberg. Mr. Donald Johnson gave timely assistance in the initial stages of the project. The preparation of the final manuscripts was coordinated by Miss Carla Radloff, who was ably assisted by Mrs. Sandra Decker. Mr. Peter Mielke and Ms. Beverly Garland each provided critically needed help in the preparation and checking of these volumes. Special thanks are due to Mr. Kendall Decker for map production and cover design. It has been a privilege to work with such a team of colleagues.

Clare F. O'Leary

*Acknowledgments for Hindko*

Field trips for data collection were conducted between January 1987 and May 1988. David Marshall bore the principal responsibility for planning the project, collecting and collating the field data. During the early stages Khalid Niaz and Ilyas Bhatti collaborated with him in data gathering. During the later stages he was joined in the field for periods by Amjad Afridi, Muhammad Arif, Ken Decker, Sandy Decker, Calinda Hallberg, and Carla Radloff.

Ken and Sandy Decker and Amjad Afridi, with assistance from Muhammad Arif, prepared the many charts as well as the information included in the several appendices. Calinda Hallberg, Carla Radloff, and Carolyn Rensch worked especially closely with David Marshall and the author in the interpretation of the data and in the presentation of the report in its present form.

Many Hindko speakers contributed to this research by participating in interviews, testing, or language elicitation. To all who so graciously gave of their time, much gratitude is extended.

Calvin R. Rensch

*Acknowledgments for Gojri*

More than most other projects included in these volumes, the Gojri research involved the efforts of many people over a long period of time. Fieldwork extended over a period of several years, from mid 1986 through late 1989. David Marshall began the investigation as the principal researcher; he collected a large portion of the data and lived for a time as a participant observer in Peshmal, Swat. Ken Decker and Peter Backstrom built upon the foundations laid by Mr. Marshall, particularly in the collection of data from Pak occopied Kashmir. These researchers were ably assisted by Amjad Afridi and Muhammad Arif whose many months of committed efforts were greatly appreciated. Muchvalued assistance was also rendered by Imtiaz Afridi, Ilyas Bhatti, Rahmanullah Shinwari, Sandy Decker, Calvin Rensch, and Carolyn Rensch. Carla Radloff deserves special thanks, especially for her involvement in the research among Gujjar women. The analysis and presentation of results were the responsibility of the authors, who worked closely with these researchers.

It would be impossible to adequately express our appreciation to all the Gujjars who kindly gave of their time as participants in this research. However, the following members of the Gujjar community in Peshmal deserve special recognition: Malik Sator, Sed Nabi, Nadar Khan, Abzal Khan, and their families gave much appreciated hospitality and assistance. Valuable information concerning Gojri radio broadcasting was given

by Malik Iftakhar and Nazim Uddin of Muzaffarabad, and Haji Fazal Hussain Rana of Rawalpindi. Interviews with the following scholars were particularly appreciated: Dr. Sabir Afaqi; Professor Nasrullah Khan of Karachi University; Mr. Chaudry Fazal Hussain, Principal of Zamindar College, Gujrat City; and Professor Mohammad Ayaz, Chairman of the Department of English, University of Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir, and Mr. Raja Nasim Akhtar, Lecturer at the same institution. The input of these community leaders is gratefully acknowledged: Mr. Mohammad Ismael of the Gujjar Union of Gujranwala and Mr Ali Hasan Chauhan, who has written a history of the Gujjarpeople. More than 120 Gujjars from twelve different communities contributed to the evaluation of the dialects of Gojri by giving word lists or listening to recorded texts; over a hundred more from Peshmal and Mittikot participated in the study of multilingualism. To all these contributors we owe a debt of bgratitude.

Calinda E. Hallberg
Clare F. O'Leary
*July 1992*

# THE LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT OF HINDKO-SPEAKING PEOPLE

*Calvin R. Rensch*

## 1. SETTING

### 1.1 Geographic and Linguistic Setting of Hindko

The people of north central Pakistan who speak Hindko are generally people of the plains and low hills. Apart from those who live in the Kaghan Valley, the highest part of the area, they live in the valley of the Indus, often on the east side of the river but sometimes on the west, and in the valleys of its tributaries. Their territory extends from the point where the Indus emerges from the gorges of Indus Kohistan downstream to the south and west for more than two hundred kilometers. (See map 2.)

More than one interpretation has been offered for the term *Hindko*. Some associate it with India, others with Hindu people, and still others with the Indus River, which is, of course, the etymological source of all these terms. Long before Partition, Grierson understood it to mean "the language of Hindus" (LSI VIII.1:234), an interpretation also reflected in Bahri's 1941 study.[1] However, the language use patterns since his day have shown the language to be firmly established among non-Hindu people. Shackle suggests that Hindko refers to "the Indian language" (1980:482), i.e., an Indic language, in sociolinguistic contrast to Pashto, the Iranian language of the area.

The term *Hindki* is often used to refer to a speaker of the Hindko language (Shackle 1980:482),[3] but in popular usage it may refer to the language as well. In older literature it was frequently used for the language — for example, in the Imperial Gazetteer of NWFP, which regularly calls it Hindki (1905:130,172,186 ff.). Grierson uses it to designate certain dialects of his *Lahnda* grouping, some others being called *Hindko* (LSI VIII.1:554,565 ff.).

It seems clear that the term Hindko/Hindki has developed as a label to distinguish far western forms of Indic speech from the Iranian dialects called Pashto, largely spoken even farther west.

### 1.1.1 Linguistic fault line

The speakers of Hindko, a member of the Indic language family,[4] live along the east side of the linguistic *fault line* that separates Indic from Iranian languages. In most Hindko-speaking areas speakers of Pashto live in neighboring communities and often in the same communities as Hindko speakers, although this is less true in the vicinity of Abbottabad and in the Kaghan Valley than elsewhere. In the mixed areas many people speak both languages.

The relationship between Hindko and Pashto does not seem to be one of stable bilingualism. In the northeast Hindko is dominant in some areas and even seems to be advancing, both in domains of usage and in numbers of

speakers,[5] whereas in the southwest Pashto seems to be advancing in those same ways.[6]

However, Addleton, viewing trends over the past forty years, sees a strengthening of the position of Pashto overall in the Hindko-speaking areas: "The influence of Pushto on Hazara appears to have become more pronounced, due in part to an influx of Pashtuns replacing the Hindko-speaking Sikhs and Hindus who formerly held key trading positions and who departed at independence. Moreover, the proportion of Hindko speakers who also use Pushto seems to be on the increase" (1986:59). Such patterns of shifting language affiliation are hardly surprising in a multilingual environment of this sort.[7]

### 1.1.2 Population centers of Hindko speakers

Speakers of Hindko live primarily in five districts. Four of these are in the North-West Frontier Province — Mansehra, Abbottabad, Peshawar and Kohat — while one district, Attock, is in the Panjab. (See map 2.)

According to 1981 census figures (reported in Addleton 1986:70), 305,505 households of the nation (2.4 percent of the total) speak Hindko as their mother tongue. Its predominance in rural areas is reflected in the fact that 2.8 percent of rural households report Hindko as their household language as compared with only 1.5 percent of urban households.

Reflecting these census figures, Addleton states that, “Hindko is the most significant linguistic minority in the NWFP, represented in nearly one-fifth (18.7 percent) of the province’s total households.” In Abbottabad District 92.3 percent of the households reported speaking Hindko, in Mansehra District 46.8 percent, in Peshawar District 6.9 percent, and in Kohat District 10.4 percent (1986:58-59).

## Hindko-speaking areas included in the study

Word lists were collected from villages throughout the Hindko-speaking area in order to study lexical differences that distinguish one dialect from another, and levels of intelligibility among dialects were tested in representative dialects from the various areas of the Hindko region.

Abbottabad and Mansehra districts within the Hazara Division of the North-West Frontier Province account for three fourths of all Hindko-speaking households. Abbottabad district includes over half of them and Mansehra district accounts for an additional one-fourth (Addleton 1986:70).

It was in this area, where the Hindko population is concentrated, that studies were carried out in four communities to determine levels of second language proficiency of Hindko speakers and those social factors which favor or inhibit their learning a second language.

Although Hindko is also spoken by significant numbers of people in Attock District of the Panjab, Addleton (1986:78) reports only 1260 households (0.6 percent of those in the district) who give Hindko as their mother tongue in the census returns. There may be a significant distortion here due to the local use of more than one name for the same language (see below), or this may in part reflect the way the census questions were asked. (For a discussion of the way the language questions of the 1981 census were framed, see Addleton 1986:56.)

The scope of this study is defined largely as those communities where the people call their speech Hindko. In other words, the subjects were largely self-defined. In the southern part of the area, however, are two dialects that require further comment — one is a dialect included in this study which is not called Hindko by its speakers and the other, a dialect not included in this study which is called Hindko by some of its speakers.

The dialect spoken in Talagang, Attock District, has been included in this study. Shackle states that the speech of Talagang tehsil is "most commonly called Avankari." He includes it, along with the dialects of Pindi Gheb (in Attock tehsil) and of Kohat, in a grouping which he calls *Hindko proper* (1980:484-5). Bahri (1962:xviii) says that the speech of Talagang is a dialect of Avankari. However, during our field research in Talagang we found no one who used the name *Avankari* to refer to the local speech variety. Nor, for

that matter, do the people themselves use the term *Hindko* for that purpose. They call it simply Panjabi,**8** stating, however, that they recognize that their speech is more similar to Hindko than it is to the Panjabi of Lahore and Gujranwala. A speaker of Lahore Panjabi, interviewed in Talagang, stated that the local speech is Hindko and not Panjabi, and that he can understand but not speak the language of Talagang. In spite of the terminological confusion surrounding the name of the language of Talagang, this dialect was originally included in this study because it was understood to be similar to the Hindko of Attock tehsil to its north. Our studies of lexical similarity and dialect intelligibility have subsequently confirmed the appropriateness of this decision.

In Dera Ismail Khan District (NWFP) many people identify themselves as speakers of Hindko. The man who provided the word list for that locality said that the entire area is Hindkospeaking. Several of his neighbors in his village, Himat, near the town of Dera Ismail Khan, also stated that their language is called Hindko. However, others in their area indicated that they speak Siraiki and that there are no Hindko speakers in that area.

Some added that a generation ago the language was called Hindko. It seems clear that these differences of opinion indicate not a linguistic difference but a difference in language naming. On the whole, it appears that the speakers of this dialect who are more influenced by the

social movements of the region call it Siraiki and relate their speech to Multani, at the same time recognizing that their dialect is different from that of Multan, which is generally recognized as the standard dialect of Siraiki.**9** Therefore, the speech of Dera Ismail Khan, even though called Hindko by some, has not been systematically included in the present study.**10**

The relationship of the Hindko dialects to other Indic dialects of northeastern Pakistan needs to be investigated, especially from the standpoint of inherent and acquired intelligibility. Such a study of "Greater Panjabi" would include dialects called Panjabi, Siraiki, Pothohari and Pahari. An investigation of the position of the dialect of Dera Ismail Khan would naturally find its place in such a study. It is, of course, possible that such a study could also refine our current understanding of the internal and external relationships of the dialects included in this study.**11**

## 1.2 Genetic Relationships of the Hindko Dialects

In Grierson's study (LSI VIII.1:239) the Hindko dialects were included within an extensive grouping which he called *Lahnda*, a term he coined to designate various languages of Western Panjab and adjoining territories.[12] He distinguished three divisions of Lahnda — southern, north-western and northeastern — and assigned the dialects in the following manner (although specifics vary slightly in his various presentations):

**A. Southern Lahnda**

1. Standard (Shahpur)
2. Multani (including Siraiki)
3. Khetrani and Jafiri
4. Thali (Thal Desert east of the Indus)

**B. North-Western Lahnda**

1. Dhanni (W. Jhelum)
2. Sawain (E. Attock)
3. Hindko (N. Attock, Peshawar, Hazara)

**C. North-Eastern Lahnda**

1. Pothohari
2. Pahari
3. Chibhali, including Punchi (Kashmir)
4. Western Salt Range (N. Shahpur)
5. Avankari (Attock & Kohat)
6. Ghebi (Attock)

Shackle finds the assignment of Avankari and Ghebi to "North-Eastern Lahnda", which separates them from the other Hindko dialects, "clumsy and misleading" (1980:485). Leaving aside the Hindko of northern Hazara Division for reasons not made clear, he proposes a classification which includes six speech varieties, grouped by the fact that they exhibit a set of common features, which he labels "Common Panjabi." His classification is displayed as follows:

**A. Hindko Proper**

a. Avankari (with three sub-varieties)
b. Ghebi
c. Attock-Haripur Hindko
d. Kohat Hindko

**B. Peshawar Hindko**

**C. Dhanni**

**D. Pothohari**

**E. Siraiki (Multan)**

**F. Central Panjabi (Lahore)**

## 1.3 Ethnic Affiliations of Hindko Speakers

Members of a variety of ethnic groups speak the language called Hindko. A large number of Hindko speakers in Hazara Division (Mansehra and Abbottabad Districts) are Pashtoons. Some of those speak Hindko as a second language; many others speak it as their mother tongue. These include the *Tahir Kheli* Pashtoons, who claim to have migrated to Hazara Division from Afghanistan during the eighteenth century. Many other mothertongue speakers of Hindko are *Swati Pathans*, who are said to have formerly spoken Pashto while living in the lower Swat valley. After migrating across the Indus River into Hazara Division, which Ahmed (1976:xv) dates around A.D. 1515, the Swatis adopted the Hindko language.**14** There are also Pashtoons belonging to three other groups, the *Yusufzai*, the *Jadun* and the *Tarin*, who have replaced Pashto with Hindko (Caroe 1958:339).

Many speakers of Hindko belong to groups other than the Pashtoons: Some of these are *Saiyids*, said to have come to the area in the early centuries of Islamic history (Caroe 1958:102), many of whom live in the Peshawar area. Large numbers of Hindko speakers are *Avans*, particularly in Attock District and Hazara Division. Still others belong to groups of *Moughals, Bulghadris, Turks* and *Qureshis*. In Jammun significant numbers of Gujjars have adopted Hindko as their first language.

## 1.4 Social Features of Hindko-Speaking Communities

The social features relevant for defining sociolinguistic subgroups of Hindko-speaking communities were studied in four localities:

Jammun, near the town of Ghazi, on the Indus River in Haripur tehsil of southern Abbottabad District;

Singo Di Garhi, a comparatively isolated community in northern Abbottabad District, about eight kilometers from the district center;

Sherpur, a more accessible community in southern Mansehra District, about ten kilometers northwest of the district center;**15** and

Balakot, a large community at the southern end of the Kaghan Valley in eastern Mansehra District.

In these communities representatives of various households were interviewed in order to learn the (approximate) age of each of the males and females of that household and the level of education that each has attained. In two communities, Jammun and Singo Di Garhi, it was possible to interview a representative of every household. In Sherpur it was possible to collect such information for many, but not all, households. In Balakot information was gathered from and about only a selected sampling of men.

Whenever information is collected about only part of a community, a question arises concerning the extent to which the data sample is truly representative of that entire community. Fortunately, data about the age categories of all men and women of voting age, collected by the central government of Pakistan, are available for the village of Sherpur (Sherpur Election List, 1979-80). This body of data is presumably exhaustive for the entire adult population of Sherpur. Therefore, the percentage of people in each age category found there was considered representative and was extended for predicting the percentage of people in each such category in other communities. The percentages of the total adult population who are in each of the age and gender subgroups of Sherpur are presented in figure (1.1).

**(1.1)** Voting-Age Population of Sherpur: Distribution of Men and Women in Age Groups According to Government Registration Figures

| | *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age Group* | *n* | Percentage of men | *n* | Percentage of women |
| 20-29 | 113 | 30.7 | 127 | 39.3 |
| 30-39 | 115 | 31.3 | 79 | 24.5 |
| 40-49 | 61 | 16.6 | 50 | 15.5 |
| 50+ | 77 | 20.9 | 66 | 20.4 |
| age unknown | 2 | 0.5 | 1 | 0.3 |
| *Total* | 368 | 100.0 | 323 | 100.0 |

The profiles of the four communities developed in this study from data collected through interviews have been compared with the Sherpur profile developed from government registration figures as a check on how representative our data are. Interestingly enough, the profiles for Jammun and Singo Di Garhi, the communities in which data were collected on every household, most closely fit the Sherpur profile given in figure (1.1). The profile developed from interviews conducted in only some of the households of Sherpur as a part of this study fits the government profile less well, while the profile developed from a selected sampling of men in Balakot fits least well.

### 1.4.1 Jammun

The number of adults in Jammun twenty years and older, arranged by age groups in the same way as the

government registration data for Sherpur, is displayed in figure (1.2).

**(1.2)** Adult Population of Jammun: Distribution of Men and Women in Age Groups

| | *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age Group* | *n* | Percentage of men | *n* | Percentage of women |
| 20-29 | 51 | 29.8 | 57 | 39.0 |
| 30-39 | 50 | 29.2 | 35 | 24.1 |
| 40-49 | 28 | 16.4 | 24 | 16.4 |
| 50+ | 42 | 24.6 | 30 | 20.5 |
| *Total* | 171 | 100.0 | 146 | 100.0 |

When the percentages of men and women in the various age groups of Jammun are compared with those of the registration figures for Sherpur (figure 1.1), it can be seen that the distribution of the population of Jammun approximates very closely that of Sherpur. This observation leads one to believe that the profile developed for Jammun is an accurate reflection of that community.

During the course of interviewing in Jammun, information was collected concerning the educational level attained by the males and females in all age groups. The distribution of the population of Jammun into the various age and education groups is displayed in figure (1.3).

From figure (1.3) it can be seen that women in Jammun have received considerably less education than men. The percentage of women with no education is more than twice as large as the percentage of men with no education. The percentage of all women with education, much or little, is smaller than the percentage of men with only one to five years of education.

**(1.3)** Population of Jammun:
Distribution of Men and Women
in Education Groups

| | *Men* | | *Women* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Level of Education* | *n* | Percentage of males | *n* | Percentage of females |
| Below age | 47 | 14.2 | 34 | 11.4 |
| No education | 95 | 28.6 | 174 | 58.6 |
| 1-5 years | 107 | 32.2 | 65 | 21.9 |
| 6-10 years | 69 | 20.8 | 19 | 6.4 |
| 11-12 years | 7 | 2.1 | 3 | 1.0 |
| 13 + years | 7 | 2.1 | 1 | 0.3 |
| Unknown | | | 1 | 0.3 |
| *Total all educ. groups* | 332 | 100.0 | 297 | 99.9 |

The categories of age and education for Jammun are combined in figure (1.4) to give a more complete picture. The number of adult males and females in each age/education group and the percentage of the total at each education level and in each age group are presented. As can be seen, the distribution of the levels of education among the various age categories in Jammun is uneven.

Only the percentages of men and women of Jammun thirteen years and older who belong to each ageeducation group are presented. For the purposes of this study thirteen was set as the lower age limit. Below that age it is unlikely that a person's linguistic proficiency is developed enough for him to provide reliable responses in the testing situations of the present study. Figure (1.4), then, presents the profile of the population in Jammun upon which this study has been based.

**(1.4)** Adult Population of Jammun: Number and Percentage of Men and Women in Each Age and Education Group

**Men**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 9 | 19 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 51 |
| percentage | 4.1 | 8.6 | 10.4 | 0 | 0 | 23.0% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 17 | 13 | 16 | 4 | 1 | 51 |
| percentage | 7.7 | 5.9 | 7.2 | 1.8 | 0.5 | 23.0% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 16 | 8 | 20 | 1 | 5 | 50 |
| percentage | 7.2 | 3.6 | 9.0 | 0.5 | 2.3 | 22.5% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 19 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 28 |
| percentage | 8.6 | 0.9 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 0 | 12.6% |
| 50+ yrs. | 31 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 42 |
| percentage | 14.0 | 3.2 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 18.9% |
| *Total by ed. groups* | 92 | 49 | 67 | 7 | 7 | 222 |
| Percentage | 41.4% | 22.1% | 30.2% | 3.2% | 3.2% | 100% |

**Women**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 28 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 49 |
| percentage | 14.4 | 5.2 | 4.6 | 1 | 0 | 25.3% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 44 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 57 |
| percentage | 22.7 | 2.6 | 3.1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 29.4% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 30 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| percentage | 15.5 | 0.5 | 2.1 | 0 | 0 | 18.0% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 22 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 24 |
| percentage | 11.3 | 1.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12.4% |
| 50+ yrs. | 28 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| percentage | 14.4 | 0.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14.9% |
| *Total by ed. groups* | 152 | 19 | 19 | 3 | 1 | 194 |
| Percentage | 78.4% | 9.8% | 9.8% | 1.5% | 0.5% | 100% |

As is commonly the case, the younger age groups in Jammun have been educated to a greater extent than the older groups. The percentage of teenage men with some education is more than three times as great as the percentage of educated men fifty years and older. The situation is even more dramatic for women. The percentage of teenage women with some education is more than twelve times as great as the percentage of educated women fifty years and older.

## 1.4.2 Singo Di Garhi

Information concerning age and education level of men and women was gathered through interviews in Singo Di Garhi also. This village is also in Abbottabad District, but in the north of the district, whereas Jammun is in the southwest. The number of Singo Di Garhi men and women

in each age/education category and the percentage of the sample distributed in each category are displayed in figure (1.5).

**(1.5)** Adult Population of Singo Di Garhi:
Number and Percentage of Men and Women
in Each Age and Education Group

**Men**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 1 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| percentage | 1.9 | 1.9 | 19.2 | 0 | 0 | 23.0% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| percentage | 7.7 | 7.7 | 7.7 | 1.9 | 0 | 25.0% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| percentage | 9.6 | 7.7 | 5.8 | 0 | 0 | 23.1% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| percentage | 7.7 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 0 | 0 | 15.3% |
| 50+ yrs. | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| percentage | 11.5 | 0 | 1.9 | 0 | 0 | 13.4% |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 20 | 11 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 52 |
| Percentage | 38.4% | 21.1% | 38.4% | 1.9% | 0% | 99.8% |

**Women**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 12 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| percentage | 27.3 | 2.3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 29.6% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
| percentage | 34.1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 34.1% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| percentage | 13.6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13.6% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| percentage | 6.8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6.8% |
| 50+ yrs. | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| percentage | 15.9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15.9% |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 43 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 44 |
| Percentage | 97.7% | 2.3% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 100.0% |

For men, the correspondence between education and the younger age group is even more extreme in Singo Di Garhi than in Jammun. Eleven of the twelve teenage males, 92 percent, have received some education. The proportion of educated to uneducated men in each older age group declines steadily as age increases. Only one female was reported with any education, a teenager with primary level schooling.

### 1.4.3 Sherpur

Interviewing was also conducted in Hindko-speaking households of Sherpur, which is northwest of the district center of Mansehra. The sample of 109 men and 66 women is not exhaustive for that sizeable community, nor is it random. It is, however, of sufficient size and broad enough distribution to show with reasonable confidence

that education has been more widely available there than in Singo Di Garhi, especially among men. The number and percentage of Hindko-speaking men and women of Sherpur in each age and education group are displayed in figure (1.6).

**(1.6)** Hindko-Speaking Adult Population of Sherpur: Number and Percentage of Men and Women in Each Age and Education Group

**Men**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 4 | 4 | 17 | 1 | 0 | 26 |
| percentage | 3.7 | 3.7 | 15.6 | 0.9 | 0 | 23.9% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 6 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 30 |
| percentage | 5.5 | 0.9 | 8.3 | 6.4 | 6.4 | 27.5% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 2 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 20 |
| percentage | 1.8 | 0.9 | 8.3 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 18.4% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 4 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 8 |
| percentage | 3.7 | 0 | 2.8 | 0.9 | 0 | 7.4% |
| 50+ yrs. | 15 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 25 |
| percentage | 13.8 | 1 | 7.3 | 0.9 | 0 | 23% |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 31 | 7 | 46 | 14 | 11 | 109 |
| Percentage | 28.5% | 6.5% | 42.3% | 12.8% | 10.1% | 100.2% |

**Women**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 15 |
| percentage | 13.6 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 0 | 22.6% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 14 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
| percentage | 21.2 | 1.5 | 3.0 | 0 | 0 | 25.7% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| percentage | 12.1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12.1% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| percentage | 16.7 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18.2% |
| 50+ yrs. | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| percentage | 21.2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21.2% |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 56 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 66 |
| Percentage | 84.8% | 7.5% | 6% | 1.5% | 0 | 99.8% |

The percentage of Sherpur men who have received some education remains high through the older age groups to an extent not seen in either Jammun or Singo Di Garhi. This suggests that education has been available in Sherpur for a longer period than in Jammun or Singo Di Garhi. It should be noted that there are two primary schools and one high school in Sherpur, whereas there is one primary school but no high school in both Singo Di Garhi and Jammun.

### 1.4.4 Balakot

The fourth community in which interviews were conducted is Balakot, which is located in the eastern part of Mansehra District at the southern end of the Kaghan Valley. Information was gathered from men in the community who participated in interviews in order to

determine the relative strength of the various subgroups as distinguished by age and level of education they represent. The resulting profile of these men is presented in figure (1.7).

**(1.7)** Sampling of Male Population of Balakot: Number and Percentage of Men Who are in Each Age and Education Group

**Men**

| *Age Group* | No Educ. | 1-5 years | 6-10 years | 11-12 years | 13+ years | *Total by age groups* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13-19 yrs. | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| percentage | 0 | 0 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 0 | 6.3% |
| 20-29 yrs. | 5 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 20 |
| percentage | 10.4 | 6.3 | 14.6 | 8.3 | 2.1 | 41.7% |
| 30-39 yrs. | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 9 |
| percentage | 8.3 | 4.2 | 2.1 | 4.2 | 0 | 18.8% |
| 40-49 yrs. | 8 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| percentage | 16.7 | 2.1 | 6.3 | 2.1 | 0 | 27.1% |
| 50+ yrs. | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| percentage | 4.2 | 2.1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6.3% |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 19 | 7 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 48 |
| Percentage | 39.6% | 14.7% | 27.2% | 16.7% | 2.1% | 100.3% |

(Women were not included in the sample for Balakot.)

# LANGUAGE USE IN THE HINDKO-SPEAKING AREA

Patterns of language use were studied in five communities – the two communities of Mansehra District, the two of Abbottabad District described above (§1.4), and an additional community in Peshawar District. Interviews were conducted in each of these to probe the extent and domains of use of the languages in their repertoires as well as the factors which promote multilingualism. In all five communities studied, Hindko is the only, or almost only, language used in the home. Yet, even while it is the unchallenged mother tongue, respondents in every locality report vigorous use of at least one other language. The people of some communities use up to four languages, the choice depending on the context.

## 2.1 Language Use in Jammun

The village of Jammun is located on the Indus River just below the Tarbela Dam, near Ghazi, in Haripur Tehsil of Abbottabad District. There, representatives of forty households were asked to state which languages they use when communicating with speakers of the various languages found in their area. They were asked for the language(s) they use (a) in the home and with fellow speakers of Hindko, (b) with people recognized as speakers of Pashto, and (c) with people recognized as speakers of Urdu. The responses were framed in terms of one language or a combination of languages. The percentage

of respondents from Jammun who gave each of the various responses is presented in figure (2.1).

**(2.1)** Languages Used by Jammun Residents with Speakers of Other Languages, In Percentages of Respondents (n = 40)

| *Language Used by Respondent* | *with Hindko speakers* | *with Pashto speakers* | *with Urdu speakers* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hindko | 100 | 30 | 25 |
| Pashto | | 40 | |
| Urdu | | | 60 |
| Pashto/Hindko | | 25 | |
| Urdu/Hindko | | 2.5 | 15 |
| Pashto/Urdu/Hindko | | 2.5 | |

It is significant that all respondents report using only Hindko in their homes. Although many are no doubt able to speak Pashto, Urdu and Panjabi to varying extents, they prefer not to use any of these when speaking with family members or with others who can speak Hindko.

Forty percent of the respondents report using Pashto with speakers of Pashto and an additional twenty-five percent report using Pashto in combination with Hindko. The fact that nearly two-thirds of the respondents report using at least some Pashto with speakers of that language suggests considerable use of Pashto in the community in certain domains (sociolinguistic environments). It may also indicate considerable proficiency in Pashto, but this was not verified through Pashto proficiency testing.

The position of Urdu in Jammun seems to be even stronger than that of Pashto. Sixty percent report using only Urdu with speakers of that language, while only 40 percent report using only Pashto with Pashto speakers. As a corollary to this, only 25 percent report using Hindko with Urdu speakers, whereas 30 percent report using Hindko with Pashto speakers. The results of Urdu recorded text testing in Jammun (average score of 86 percent for the 37 men tested, with a standard deviation of 13 – see §3.3) seem to suggest that the high percentage of respondents who report using Urdu with Urdu speakers is linked with some ability to speak Urdu on the part of many.

Education and travel are factors that can affect one's ability to speak languages which predominate outside the home area. Education has a special effect on proficiency in Urdu, while travel affects the ability to speak other languages as well.

As can be seen from figure (1.4), 58.6 percent of the men of Jammun have received some education. More than half the men who were interviewed concerning language-use practices are from the 13-29 year age group, and about three-fourths of this age group have had some education. Therefore, it is to be expected that their level of Urdu would enable them to communicate well in Urdu with speakers of that language.

More than half the respondents from Jammun report having traveled to the following localities:

Rawalpindi, Abbottabad, Haripur (88% each)
Peshawar (68%)
Lahore, Karachi (59% each)

Jammun is situated near the Tarbela Dam and is connected with the Grand Trunk Road by a paved road. Thus, of the four localities in Hazara Division in which information was gathered about travel, it has the best access to the large non-Hindko speaking cities of Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi. Therefore, it is not surprising that 88 percent of the respondents report having visited Rawalpindi, with about half of that group having visited it more than twenty times. However, two-thirds of those who have visited Rawalpindi have never stayed there for as long as one week. Thus, for a majority of the respondents the visits to Rawalpindi have been short even though for many they have been frequent.

Most of the Jammun respondents also report frequent but short visits to Haripur and Abbottabad, nearby communities in Hazara, where there are many Hindko speakers. A high 88 percent have visited Haripur, and the same percentage have visited Abbottabad; 82 percent have visited both. It is surprising that only 26 percent have visited Mansehra, a Hindko-speaking community just north of Abbottabad. Nevertheless, more than two-thirds of those who have visited Mansehra have done so more than twenty times.

Judging from this information we may expect to find in Jammun a small group that has become well acquainted with the Hindko dialects of Mansehra District and a larger group that has not. As a matter of fact, the Jammun subjects scored an average of 83 percent on the Hindko test from Balakot, a town in Mansehra District, but with the high standard deviation of 16. This gives evidence that indeed some of the subjects understood the Balakot text considerably better than others. (See §4.2.)

A majority of the Jammun respondents (68 percent) have visited Peshawar more than once and nearly half of these have been there more than twenty times. These visits have presumably promoted facility in Pashto, although for some they may also have provided familiarity with Peshawari Hindko. Travel to Peshawar may have been occasioned by business relating to the provincial capital or it may have been purely for visiting.

A slight majority of the Jammun respondents also report having visited Lahore and Karachi. These visits were on the whole less frequent than those to Rawalpindi, Peshawar and nearer communities. Visits to Lahore were also short, but nearly half of those who have traveled to Karachi remained there for more than six months. Thus, travel to Karachi, although not common, probably has had a significant effect on second language learning for those who traveled because of its duration.[16] (Since the collection of data on travel outside Jammun was not carried out at the same time as the bilingualism testing and since the sources of the two kinds of information are not necessarily the same individuals, it is not possible at this point to demonstrate whether there is a relationship between frequent travel and higher levels of second language proficiency.)

## 2.2 Language Use in Singo Di Garhi

Near the town of Abbottabad a study was carried out in the village of Singo Di Garhi. Representatives of all twenty households of this village participated in the study.

This community is clearly less advantaged materially than the others studied. There is no electricity in the village. Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents report having a radio; naturally, none reports having a television set. This situation contrasts with that in Sherpur, for example, where electricity is available and there are thirty television sets and 112 radios.

Hindko is the language of all the homes in Singo Di Garhi. The only other language in common use in the community is Urdu. The languages used by Singo Di Garhi residents with people recognized as speakers of other languages are presented in figure (2.2) in terms of percentages of respondents.

**(2.2)** Languages Used by Singo Di Garhi Residents with Speakers of Other Languages, In Percentages of Respondents (n = 15)

| *Language Used by Respondent* | *with Hindko speakers* | *with Pashto speakers* | *with Urdu speakers* | *with Panjabi speakers* | *with Gujari speakers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hindko | 100 | 53 | 40 | 86 | 100 |
| Urdu | | 27 | 47 | | |
| Pashto | | 7 | | | |
| Panjabi | | | | 7 | |
| Hindko/Urdu | | 13 | 13 | | |
| Hindko/Panjabi | | | 7 | | |

The use of Hindko by Singo Di Garhi residents is clearly very vigorous, apparently more so than in any of the other communities studied, in that they use Hindko more with non- Hindko speaking people than do respondents from the other communities. Hindko is the only language used in communicating with family members or in occasional encounters with Gojri -speaking people. Hindko is also the principal language used with speakers of Panjabi. The fact that Hindko speakers from Singo Di Garhi generally speak Hindko with speakers of either Gojri or Panjabi is, of course, feasible only because the three languages are relatively similar – by contrast, for example, with Pashto. A majority of respondents also report using Hindko with Pashto speakers, although slightly more than one-fourth use Urdu. Only one person reports using Pashto with Pashto speakers. It is only in

communicating with Urdu speakers that Singo Di Garhi residents use another language more than Hindko. Even so, more than half the respondents use at least some Hindko when speaking with speakers of Urdu.

From these responses it is clear that the Hindko speakers of Singo Di Garhi, even though ethnically Swati Pathans and, hence, descended from Pashto-speakers, have little opportunity or necessity to speak Pashto. There are few Pashto speakers living in their vicinity. In this respect their situation is more like that of Balakot, another area where Pashto is only rarely used, than that of Jammun and Sherpur, where Pashto is prevalent.

The apparently lower use of Urdu by Singo Di Garhi residents as compared with Jammun residents cannot be related to amount of education, which is the factor that most commonly promotes Urdu proficiency. Neither community has a high school; each has a primary school. Furthermore, the level of education attained by men in the two communities seems to be about the same. In Jammun 58.7 percent of the men were reported to have had some education (see figure 1.4) and in Singo Di Garhi the percentage is 61.4 percent (see figure 1.5). However, Singo Di Garhi residents report traveling outside their village a bit less and for shorter periods than Jammun residents (see also §2.1). It may be that less travel gives them less contact with Urdu and less opportunity to use the Urdu that they have learned.

In Jammun 21.6 percent of the women have had some education as compared with 2.3 percent in Singo Di Garhi. The difference in women's education, however, is unlikely to account for different language use patterns reported by male respondents. It does correlate well, however, with the fact that women from Singo Di Garhi travel very little. Among the thirteen women interviewed in connection with bilingualism studies, who may be more educated and well traveled than the women of the community as a whole, two have accompanied their husbands to live in the Karachi area for a year or more and one has lived in Rawalpindi for three months. Travel for the rest of the women interviewed is limited to nearby Abbottabad.

Since Singo Di Garhi is situated close to the town of Abbottabad, its location is more favorable for travel to the cities of the Panjab or to Peshawar than that of either Sherpur or Balakot. It appears that the Hindko speakers of Singo Di Garhi take advantage of their location and do travel, although their travel patterns present some contrasts with those reported for Jammun. More than half the respondents report having traveled to the following localities outside the Abbottabad area:

Mansehra, Rawalpindi (93% each)
Lahore, Karachi (60% each)

The high level of travel to Mansehra is interesting because that town has fewer commercial opportunities

than does Abbottabad, which is much closer — just a few kilometers away. It should be noted that the residents of Singo Di Garhi are Swati Pathans and that the majority of Swati Pathans reside in the district of Mansehra. It is possible, therefore, that they visit with people in the Mansehra area with whom they are linked by kinship ties.

Travel to Rawalpindi is similarly high, although the frequency of trips is less than that for residents of Jammun. Only fourteen percent of those who have visited Rawalpindi have done so more than twenty times, whereas in Jammun the figure is forty-seven percent. Again, not even a third of those who have visited Rawalpindi have stayed there for as long as one week on their longest stay. Therefore, we can assume that these short, infrequent visits to Rawalpindi have not had a significant impact on levels of fluency in, or use of, Urdu.

Patterns of travel to Lahore and Karachi are similar in Singo Di Garhi to those of Jammun: about three-fifths of the respondents have traveled to these cities. They have stayed for short periods (1-6 days) in Lahore, but some have remained for six months or more in Karachi.

It is of interest that few respondents in Singo Di Garhi (only one third) report travel to Peshawar. A larger percentage of respondents from Sherpur have visited Peshawar. The lack of travel to Peshawar on the part of Singo Di Garhi residents may correlate with their low use

of Pashto, which in turn seems to be related to infrequent contact with Pashto speakers in their home area.

## 2.3 Language Use in Sherpur

Representatives of forty Hindko-speaking households participated in a study of language-use patterns in Sherpur, a community located ten kilometers northwest of the town of Mansehra.

Respondents from Sherpur report using Pashto, Urdu, Panjabi and Gojri in addition to Hindko. The languages used with those whom they recognize as speakers of other languages are presented in figure (2.3).

**(2.3)** Languages Used by Sherpur Respondents With Speakers of Other Languages, In Percentages of Respondents (n = 30)

| *Language Used by Respondent* | *with Hindko speakers* | *with Pashto speakers* | *with Urdu speakers* | *with Panjabi speakers* | *with Gujari speakers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hindko | 97 | | 10 | 57 | 93 |
| Pashto | | 87 | | | |
| Urdu | | 3 | 87 | | |
| Panjabi | | | | 20 | |
| Gujari | | | | | 7 |
| Hindko/Pashto | 3 | | | | |
| Hindko/Urdu | | | 3 | 10 | |
| Hindko/Panjabi | | | | 13 | |
| Pashto/Urdu | | 10 | | | |

In its language-use patterns Sherpur is the most multilingual of the communities studied as viewed from several standpoints: First, it is the only community in which less than 100 percent of the respondents report

using only Hindko in the home domain. Presumably, this results from intermarriage.

Of greater significance is the fact that eighty-seven percent of the Hindko-speaking respondents report using Pashto with Pashto speakers. This indicates a more widespread use of Pashto than for any of the other communities studied. It is doubtless a result of frequent contact with Pashto speakers in the village itself, including intermarriage, and of travel to Pashto-speaking areas. A large number, perhaps half, of the residents of Sherpur, largely in the lower part of the village, speak Pashto as their first language; among these, cousin marriage is widely practiced. The Pashtoons in the upper part of the town, by contrast, use Hindko as the language of the home and do not regularly practice cousin marriage. In spite of these differences in marriage patterns and home languages, the Hindko speakers report considerable intermarriage with Pashto speakers.

A high eighty-seven percent of the respondents report using Urdu with those recognized as speakers of Urdu. Again, this figure is higher than for any of the other communities studied and is doubtless reflective of access to education and of frequent travel. The proportion of men receiving some education is ten percent higher for Sherpur than for the other three communities. Also, they have, on the whole, completed more years of education, as indicated by the fact that the median point of education

among Sherpur men falls in the 6-10 years category whereas it falls in the 1-5 years category in the other three communities. It should be noted that there are two primary schools and one high school in Sherpur, whereas there is one primary school but no high school in Singo Di Garhi and in Jammun. Balakot, on the other hand, has education through college level.

Sherpur residents — both those in the Hindko-speaking households of this study and those in the Pashto-speaking households — also have opportunities to improve at least their passive ability in Urdu through access to radio and television. Fifteen percent of all the households of Sherpur report having a television set and fifty-six percent report having a radio. By contrast, only twenty-seven percent of the respondents in Singo Di Garhi report having radios and none has a television set, the latter situation due to the fact that Singo Di Garhi does not have access to electricity, whatever other factors may be involved.

Travel may well be an additional contributor to the use of Urdu by residents of Sherpur. Large percentages of the respondents report having traveled to the following localities:

Abbottabad (93%)
Rawalpindi (90%)
Peshawar, Lahore (77% each)
Karachi (64%)

Most of those who have traveled to Abbottabad report that they have visited there more than twenty times but have never stayed as long as one week. This is due largely to the fact that residents of Sherpur must pass through Abbottabad on their way to the Grand Trunk Road en route to the other cities which they visit. Another contributing factor is the larger bazaar area of Abbottabad as compared with the nearer town of Mansehra.

Repeated travel by Sherpur residents to Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi doubtless enhances their use of Urdu. However, only small percentages of the respondents have gone to these cities as many as twenty times and in general their stays have been brief. Once again, we find the pattern that those who have traveled as far as Karachi have remained longer. Forty percent of those who have traveled to Karachi have remained for more than three months whereas that is true of only eight percent of those who have traveled to Lahore and of none who have traveled to Rawalpindi.

The common use of Pashto in their home area probably is at least a partial explanation for why Hindko-speaking residents of Sherpur travel frequently to Peshawar. One-third of those who report having visited there have gone more than twenty times. Twenty-one percent of those who have gone report that they have stayed for more than six months on their longest visit. Again, this contrasts with the infrequency of visits which

residents of Singo Di Garhi make to Peshawar. Even though both groups identify themselves as Swati Pathans, the more widespread use of Pashto in Sherpur seems to correlate with the more frequent and longer visits which Sherpur residents make to Peshawar.

The sample of Sherpur women interviewed in connection with bilingualism testing suggests that they, like men from Sherpur, have lived and traveled extensively outside their area. Eight of the twenty-six women interviewed (31 percent) have lived for long periods in cities outside the area. These eight have lived an average of 4 years in Lahore, 5.4 years in Rawalpindi and 12 years in Karachi. Eighteen of the twenty-six women (69 percent) report having traveled, sometimes for months, to Rawalpindi, Lahore, Peshawar and Karachi.

## 2.4 Language Use in Balakot

Balakot is located in the hills of eastern Mansehra District at the base of the Kaghan Valley. In that community forty-eight residents were interviewed concerning the languages which they use in various contexts and the factors which affect their language choices. The percentage of respondents from Balakot giving the various responses is presented in figure (2.4).

**(2.4)** Languages Used by Balakot Respondents with Speakers of Other Languages, in Percentages of Respondents (n = 48)

| *Language Used by Respondent* | *with Hindko speakers* | *with Pashto speakers* | *with Urdu speakers* | *with Panjabi speakers* | *with Gujari speakers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hindko | 100 | 42 | 29 | 67 | 81 |
| Urdu | | 58 | 71 | 21 | |
| Panjabi | | | | 12 | |
| Gujari | | | | | 19 |

Once more, the respondents report complete loyalty to Hindko in the family domain and with fellow speakers of Hindko.

The Hindko-speaking people of Balakot are in frequent contact with Gojri -speaking people since many Gujjars are found in that vicinity. Some Gujjars come to the markets of Balakot daily. Others are storekeepers. Still others come to sell wood in Balakot or to work in the homes of Hindko speakers. Nineteen percent of the respondents report having learned Gojri to the point where they use it in their communication with Gojri speakers. This contrasts with Jammun and Sherpur, where Pashto speakers are the principal other language group with whom Hindko speakers are in frequent contact. Although a large portion of the residents of Balakot identify themselves as Swati Pathans, not one of the respondents reported ever speaking Pashto. Thus, it appears that they have very little contact with Pashto speakers.

Hindko is the principal language used for communicating with those who speak Gojri and Panjabi, while Urdu is more commonly used when communicating with speakers of Pashto and Urdu. In some respects, the language-use patterns of Balakot are similar to those of Singo Di Garhi in that Urdu is the principal second language and Pashto virtually absent. However, the Balakot respondents seem to have greater access to Urdu and less dependence on Hindko than Singo Di Garhi residents. A higher percentage of the Balakot respondents report using Urdu with speakers of Pashto and Urdu, and a correspondingly lower percentage use Hindko with them. Some also report using Urdu in communicating with speakers of Panjabi, which no one reports in Singo Di Garhi.

It is interesting to note that the Hindko speakers of Balakot seem to use Urdu more frequently than do those of Singo Di Garhi. Usually, more frequent use of a second language is linked to greater proficiency in it. However, differences between Balakot and Singo Di Garhi in frequency of use — and perhaps proficiency — do not seem to be explained in terms of differing levels of education. The percentages of men who have had some education in Singo di Garhi (61.4 percent) and Balakot (60.7 percent) are almost the same. The median number of years of education for both groups is between one and five years, and about 80 percent of the younger (under 30) men of both localities have had some education.

More than half the Balakot respondents report having traveled to the following localities:

Mansehra (98%)
Abbottabad (94%)
Rawalpindi (90%)
Peshawar (52%)

The frequent visits to Mansehra and Abbottabad are not surprising in view of the fact that Balakot residents normally pass through those towns en route to the Grand Trunk Road and on to the cities farther south.

Although many respondents (90 percent) report having visited Rawalpindi, their visits on the whole have been neither frequent nor prolonged. Of those who have visited Rawalpindi, about half have visited fewer than ten times and 70 percent have never stayed as long as one week.

Fewer respondents from Balakot, as compared to the other three communities studied, report having traveled to Lahore and Karachi; in fact, this was the only community in which not even half the respondents have traveled to Karachi.

Barely half the Balakot respondents (52 percent) report having visited Peshawar. Sixty percent of those who have visited there have been there fewer than five times, and no one has visited there twenty times. On eighty percent of the visits they stayed for less than one week.

## 2.5 Language Use in Wad Pagga

The village of Wad Pagga lies close to Peshawar, slightly to the north and east. It is part of a large group of Hindko-speaking villages east of Peshawar which Shackle (1980:497-498) refers to as *Tappa Khalsa*. Information about language use was collected in Wad Pagga not through interviews with many household representatives but through two interviews with a mother of adult children who has lived in that village all her life. This woman is able to read the Urdu, Panjabi, Pashto and Arabic scripts and can write letters in Urdu. Two daughters and a son, who were present at times during the interviews, also made comments. The daughters can read and write Urdu and some English; they write letters in Urdu. They report that they find it difficult, even with effort, to write Hindko because of some difficulty in symbolizing certain sounds.

When conversing with other Hindko speakers, the respondent always uses Hindko. If there is a dialect difference, adjustments are made, perhaps on the part of both speakers. If the other person is an Urdu speaker, the conversation is in Urdu. If the other person speaks Panjabi, she uses a mixture of Hindko and Urdu. If the other person speaks Pashto, she uses Pashto.

The main population of the village of Wad Pagga is Hindkospeaking Saiyids. The girls marry only Saiyid boys; the boys sometimes marry girls from other groups. It is

considered preferable to marry relatives. The mother tongue of the marriage partner is not an important consideration when marriages are arranged since it is assumed that the girl will learn the language of her husband's family. The important consideration is whether the partner is a Saiyid.

In Wad Pagga there are also Hindko-speaking people of other ethnic origins, as well as some Pashto-speaking Mohmand Pashtoons and Pashto-speaking "Kabuli", or Afghan, Pashtoon refugees. There is some intermarriage between Hindko- and Pashto-speaking people in this area.

Six villages in the area, including nearby Pakha Gholam, are said by the respondent to be entirely Hindko-speaking, but others include both Hindko and Pashto mother-tongue speakers. There are also many villages in the vicinity where the residents speak only Pashto. The respondent commented that the Hindko of Wad Pagga incorporates some Urdu vocabulary, whereas the speech of some other villages retains a higher percentage of authentic Hindko vocabulary.

Most of the Hindko-speaking men and women of Wad Pagga can speak some Pashto, and apparently many local Pashtoons have learned to speak some Hindko. The woman who was interviewed says that her ability in Pashto is limited to only basic conversation. In both cases, learning of the other language comes about through social

interaction in the village. In addition, sometimes a girl who speaks a different language marries into a home, with the result that others in the home learn some of her language. Also, women at times gather on the roof tops for visiting. When a Pashto-speaking woman is present, the conversation is in Pashto; otherwise it is in Hindko.

In Wad Pagga there is a school for girls which offer education through grade five. If the teacher can speak and explain well in Urdu, she does that. If not, she gives the explanation in Hindko. Since there are no Pashtoon or Afghan girls reported in the school, there is no language problem. Girls can continue their schooling by attending higher schools in Peshawar. However, the girls of the home where the interviews were conducted continue their study at home, citing the convention that Saiyids practice strict *purdah*.

In the home the respondent watches Urdu and Hindko programs on television while the children watch these and English programs as well. The girls also listen to Urdu songs, but not Pashto songs, on a tape recorder.

Although the respondent has lived in Wad Pagga all her life, she has visited various localities in the North-West Frontier Province and the Panjab. Each visit has been limited to two or three days. When visiting during her travels, she speaks Hindko, Pashto and Urdu with those who speak those languages. With speakers of Panjabi she uses a mixture of Hindko and Urdu.

# BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY OF HINDKO SPEAKERS

As seen in the preceding chapter, there are some Hindkospeaking people who in the course of their regular activities speak Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi or Gojri in addition to Hindko in dealing with other-language speakers in their areas. Urdu is spoken by some people in each of the four communities studied. Pashto is used by many in Jammun and Sherpur, by few in Singo Di Garhi and by none of the Balakot sample. Panjabi is used by a few in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot and by a larger group, though a minority, in Sherpur. Gojri is used by a few in Balakot and by very few in Sherpur. In general, of course, the language repertoires and choices relate to contact and opportunities found in the communities studied.

That many Hindko-speaking people of a community use a second language when conversing with speakers of that language suggests a high level of societal bilingualism, but it does not directly provide information about the proficiency with which the Hindko speakers use the second language. Therefore, the proficiency of Hindko speakers in speaking Urdu, Pashto and Panjabi was tested in several communities.

## 3.1 Tests of Bilingual Proficiency

Two kinds of tests were used to evaluate bilingual proficiency: sentence repetition tests (SRTs) and recorded text tests (RTTs). The first type of test was used for testing

proficiency in Urdu and Pashto. The second type was used for Urdu and Panjabi.

### 3.1.1 Sentence Repetition Test

Sentence repetition tests are based on the premise that a person cannot repeat sentences of any linguistic complexity in another language beyond the level of his control – or at least comprehension – of that language. An SRT consists of a set of sentences in a second language which the subject is asked to listen to and repeat. The accuracy with which he is able to repeat the sentences is taken as an indication of his proficiency in that language.

The scores resulting from subjects' performances on an SRT are expressed in terms of descriptive evaluations of second language proficiency called Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels. These range from RPE level 0+ (very minimal proficiency) to RPE level 4+ (approaching the proficiency of a native speaker). (See appendix A.3 for a summary of the procedures for developing and interpreting a sentence repetition test.)

### 3.1.2 Recorded Text Test

The second type of test used in this study for evaluating levels of second language proficiency is a recorded text test (RTT). The form of the RTT is essentially the same as that used for testing intelligibility among related dialects. A tape-recorded text in the test language is played for people who have learned it as a second language. They are asked to answer ten questions,

presented in their mother tongue, about its content, thus showing their level of comprehension of the text. (See appendix A.2 for a summary of procedures used in constructing an RTT.)

## 3.2 Urdu Bilingualism Testing in Singo Di Garhi

The second-language proficiency in Urdu of residents of Singo Di Garhi was assessed through the administration of both the Urdu Sentence Repetition Test and the Urdu Recorded Text Test.

### 3.2.1 Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

The Urdu Sentence Repetition Test was administered to twenty-eight men and nine women in Singo Di Garhi. The scores of the men and women in the various age and education groups are displayed in figure (3.1).

**(3.1)** Scores of Singo Di Garhi Subjects on Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

**Men**

| *Age group* | *No education* | | | *1-5 years* | | | *6-10 years* | | | *11+ years* | | | *Total by age group* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE |
| 13-19 | 3 | 23 | 2 | 0 | | | 7 | 37 | 3+ | 0 | | | 10 | 33 | 3 |
| 20-29 | 1 | 18 | 1+ | 1 | 42 | 3+ | 1 | 45 | 3+ | 1 | 44 | 3+ | 4 | 37 | 3+ |
| 30-39 | 2 | 33 | 3 | 1 | 39 | 3+ | 4 | 42 | 3+ | 0 | | | 7 | 39 | 3+ |
| 40-49 | 2 | 19 | 2 | 1 | 38 | 3+ | 1 | 43 | 3+ | 0 | | | 4 | 30 | 2+ |
| 50+ | 2 | 21 | 2 | 0 | | | 1 | 41 | 3+ | 0 | | | 3 | 27 | 2+ |
| *Total by ed. groups* | 10 | 23 | 2 | 3 | 40 | 3+ | 14 | 40 | 3+ | 1 | 44 | 3+ | 28 | | |

| **Women**[17] | *No education* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *age groups* | n | ave | RPE |
| 13-19 | 3 | 11 | 1 |
| 20-29 | 4 | 6 | 0+ |
| 30-39 | 0 | | |
| 40-49 | 2 | 5 | 0+ |
| 50+ | 0 | | |
| *Total* | 9 | 7 | 0+ |

n = number of subjects tested from that group
RPE = RPE level equivalent to average score
ave = average SRT score
3+ = RPE level 3+ and above

From figure (3.1) it can be seen that education plays a very important role in Urdu proficiency in Singo Di Garhi. All the groups of educated men, regardless of age, averaged RPE level 3+ and above. None of the groups of uneducated men, whatever their age, averaged higher than RPE level 3. Also, we see a much greater range of Urdu proficiency in the various groups of uneducated men than in the groups of educated men. This is even more clear in figure (3.2), which shows the percentage of men at each of the RPE levels within the educated and uneducated groups.

**(3.2)** Percentage of Educated and Uneducated Singo Di Garhi Men Scoring at each RPE Level of Urdu Proficiency

| RPE Level | With education n = 18 | Without education n = 10 |
|---|---|---|
| 3+ | 89% | 10% |
| 3 | 5.5 | 20 |
| 2+ | 0 | 20 |
| 2 | 5.5 | 10 |
| 1+ | 0 | 20 |
| 1 | 0 | 10 |
| 0+ | 0 | 10 |

The results of Urdu sentence repetition testing in Singo Di Garhi show that proficiency is generally high among educated men (61.5 percent of the male population) but not among uneducated men (38.5 percent of the male population) nor among women, all of whom are also uneducated. All but two of the eighteen educated men scored at the highest RPE level, 3+ or above; whereas only three of the ten uneducated men scored so highly.

Travel to distant locations is also a factor in Urdu proficiency among the men of Singo Di Garhi. Men who have not attended school but have traveled to cities of the Panjab and Karachi scored higher than those uneducated men who have not traveled. Presumably this is because travel to non-Hindko areas increases the frequency with which they are compelled to communicate in Urdu. For example, one uneducated man who has been to Karachi more than ten times scored at RPE level 3, while a second

uneducated man who has rarely been outside Hazara Division scored at RPE level 0+. Amounts of informal Urdu learning will, of course, vary between the extremes represented by these two men.

None of the females tested in Singo Di Garhi has been to school. Not surprisingly, their command of Urdu seems to be minimal as reflected in their performance on the Urdu SRT.

It is interesting to note that three of the women tested have traveled outside their village. One lived in Karachi for five years, one lived near Karachi for a year, and one lived in Rawalpindi for three months. The other six women have not traveled outside the area. Nevertheless, the outside travel/living of the three women does not seem to have caused them to perform better on the Urdu SRT than the untraveled women. It is probable that the time spent outside their village was spent with others with whom they could communicate in Hindko or that for some other reason they had no need to speak Urdu or any other language of wider communication.

### 3.2.2 Urdu Recorded Text Test

The Urdu Recorded Text Test was administered in Singo Di Garhi to eighteen men. Their scores range from 80 to 100 percent, with an average of 95 percent. The standard deviation is 6.2.

Information about age and education level is available for eleven of the subjects. Even though the number of subjects is small, their scores, distributed in the age and education groups, are presented in figure (3.3).

**(3.3)** Scores of Singo Di Garhi Men on Urdu Recorded Text Test

| *Age groups* | *No education* | | *1-5 years* | | *6-10 years* | | *11+ years* | | *Total by age groups* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | ave. | n | ave. | n | ave. | n | ave. | n | ave. |
| 13-19 | 0 | | 0 | | 3 | 97 | 0 | | 3 | 97 |
| 20-29 | 0 | | 1 | 90 | 1 | 90 | 0 | | 2 | 90 |
| 30-39 | 2 | 90 | 1 | 100 | 2 | 95 | 0 | | 5 | 94 |
| 40-49 | 0 | | 0 | | 1 | 100 | | | 1 | 100 |
| 50+ | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 2 | 90 | 2 | 95 | 7 | 96 | 0 | | 11 | |

n = number of subjects tested from that group
ave. = average score on RTT for that group

Although the number of subjects is few, scores on the Urdu Recorded Text Test corroborate the importance of education and its effect on Urdu proficiency as shown by the Urdu SRT. It appears that in Singo Di Garhi the men with education (RTT average scores of 95 percent and 96 percent) are probably more proficient in Urdu than those without education (RTT average 90 percent). (It should be noted that the Urdu RTT is a much easier test than the Urdu SRT, which explains why the difference between the educated and uneducated groups on the RTT is not so great as that on the SRT.)

## 3.3 Urdu Bilingualism Testing in Jammun

The Urdu Recorded Text Test was administered to thirtyseven men in Jammun. The average score of this sample was 86 percent, with a standard deviation of 13. As a group these men can understand Urdu; however, there is considerable range in their abilities: Nearly one-third of the subjects performed perfectly on the test, while others were unable to answer more than half the questions correctly.

Information about age and education levels is available for thirty-six of the thirty-seven men in Jammun. The scores of these subjects as distributed in the age and education groups are presented in figure (3.4).

**(3.4)** Scores of Jammun Men on Urdu Recorded Text Test

| *Age groups* | *No education* | | *1-5 years* | | *6-10 years* | | *11+ years* | | *Total by age groups* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | ave. | n | ave. | n | ave. | n | ave. | n | ave. |
| 13-19 | 2 | 90 | 4 | 90 | 6 | 93 | 0 | | 12 | 92 |
| 20-29 | 3 | 80 | 3 | 80 | 0 | | 4 | 85 | 10 | 81 |
| 30-39 | 2 | 85 | 2 | 90 | 4 | 93 | 0 | | 8 | 90 |
| 40-49 | 2 | 70 | 1 | 70 | 0 | | 0 | | 3 | 70 |
| 50+ | 2 | 75 | 0 | | 0 | | 1 | 100 | 3 | 83 |
| *Total all age groups* | 11 | 80 | 10 | 85 | 10 | 93 | 5 | 86 | 36 | |

n = number of subjects tested from that group
ave. = average score on RTT for that group

Once again, the role of education in Urdu proficiency can be observed. Uneducated men scored an average of 80 percent while educated men scored an average of 88 percent. The average score increased with the progression from 1-5 to 6-10 years of schooling, but, surprisingly, the smallest group, consisting of the most educated men, dipped below the average for all educated men. This may be a misleading result due to the small sample size or some other unidentified factor.

## 3.4 Bilingualism Testing in Sherpur

The second language proficiency in Urdu of Sherpur men and women was assessed through administration of the Urdu SRT. Pashto second language proficiency was assessed through administration of the Pashto SRT.

### 3.4.1 Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

The Urdu Sentence Repetition Test was administered in Sherpur to fifty-five men and twenty-three women. The scores of the men and women in the various age and education groups are displayed in figure (3.5).

Again in Sherpur, the effect of education on proficiency in Urdu is evident. The uneducated men, who averaged RPE 2+, are the only education group of men not to attain RPE 3+ and above. The uneducated women, who averaged RPE 2, perform at levels below the women with 1-5 years of education, who averaged RPE 2+, and those

with six or more years of education, whose average is RPE 3+ and above.

Thus, with both men and women there proved to be a difference in Urdu proficiency between those who are educated and those who are not. In addition, the differences in level of education seem to be significant, in particular for the women. Those women with higher levels of education scored on the average higher than those with less education. The groups of women in order of increasing levels of education scored on the average 29, 38 and 40 points. So, not surprisingly, it appears that in Sherpur, at least, women continue to improve their proficiency in Urdu as they progress in level of education.

**(3.5)** Scores of Sherpur Subjects on Urdu Sentence Repetition Test

**Men**

| *Age group* | *No education* | | | *1-5 years* | | | *6-10 years* | | | *11+ years* | | | *Total by age group* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE |
| 13-19 | 3 | 23 | 2 | 0 | | | 24 | 41 | 3+ | 2 | 45 | 3+ | 29 | 39 | 3+ |
| 20-29 | 1 | 38 | 3+ | 1 | 41 | 3+ | 4 | 43 | 3+ | 11 | 43 | 3+ | 17 | 42 | 3+ |
| 30-39 | 1 | 39 | 3+ | 0 | | | 1 | 44 | 3+ | 5 | 40 | 3+ | 7 | 41 | 3+ |
| 40-49 | 1 | 24 | 2 | 0 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | | 1 | 24 | 2 |
| 50+ | 0 | | | 0 | | | 1 | 40 | 3+ | 0 | | | 1 | 40 | 3+ |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 6 | 29 | 2+ | 1 | 41 | 3+ | 30 | 41 | 3+ | 18 | 42 | 3+ | 55 | | |

**Women**

| *Age group* | *No education* | | | *1-5 years* | | | *6-10 years* | | | *11+ years* | | | *Total by age group* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE |
| 13-19 | 1 | 28 | 2+ | 0 | | | 4 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 40 | 3+ | 6 | 35 | 3 |
| 20-29 | 3 | 25 | 2+ | 2 | 38 | 3+ | 2 | 41 | 3+ | 0 | | | 7 | 33 | 3 |
| 30-39 | 1 | 26 | 2+ | 0 | | | 1 | 35 | 3 | 0 | | | 2 | 31 | 3 |
| 40-49 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 0 | | | 1 | 40 | 3+ | 0 | | | 2 | 25 | 2+ |
| 50+ | 3 | 21 | 2 | 3 | 23 | 2 | 0 | | | 0 | | | 6 | 22 | 2 |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 9 | 22 | 2 | 5 | 29 | 2+ | 8 | 38 | 3+ | 1 | 40 | 3+ | 23 | | |

n = number of subjects tested from that group
ave = average score on SRT for that group
RPE = RPE level equivalent to average score
3+ = RPE level 3+ and above

The scores of educated Sherpur men cluster at the highest levels of Urdu proficiency while the scores of uneducated men are more evenly distributed throughout the various levels of proficiency, a phenomenon that is repeated with the women. Figure (3.6) displays the percentage of educated and uneducated men and women scoring at each RPE level.

**(3.6)** Percentage of Educated and Uneducated Sherpur Adults Scoring at Each RPE Level of Urdu Proficiency

| **Men** | | | **Women** | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *RPE Level* | *With Education* | *Without Education* | *RPE Level* | *With Education* | *Without Education* |
| | n = 49 | n = 6 | | n = 13 | n = 10 |
| 3+ | 87.8% | 50% | 3+ | 61% | 0% |
| 3 | 10.2 | 0 | 3 | 8 | 20 |
| 2+ | 2.0 | 0 | 2+ | 15 | 40 |
| 2 | 0 | 33 | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| 1 | 0 | 17 | 1 | 0 | 30 |
| 0+ | 0 | 0 | 0+ | 0 | 0 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |

It is interesting to note that half the six uneducated men in Sherpur made scores on the Urdu SRT equivalent to the highest RPE level. These three subjects are, in fact, brothers, who are involved in the same business. They collect firewood from forests outside Sherpur and frequently take it to the district center and elsewhere to sell. They also frequently travel to Lahore. By contrast, another uneducated man, who scored at the much lower RPE level of 1, makes mattresses in Sherpur itself. He travels away from Sherpur much less frequently and has never been to Lahore.

For educated people, education has been a powerful vehicle for learning Urdu. For uneducated men, outside travel and employment which takes them away from Sherpur apparently also have an important role to play in the development of Urdu proficiency.

It is also evident that the uneducated women of Sherpur have succeeded in learning Urdu to an extent not matched by the uneducated women of Singo Di Garhi. Sixty percent of the uneducated women of Sherpur scored at RPE level 2+ or better; while in Singo Di Garhi, none of the (all uneducated) women scored at those levels. This higher level of proficiency in Urdu among the women of Sherpur cannot be explained by appealing to travel outside the area, as there seems to be little difference between the scores of those who have traveled and those who have not. Certain factors within each village appear to be at work:

First, the women of Sherpur have regular contact with Urdu through radio and television. A household survey shows that thirty Sherpur households have television sets and 112 have radios. At times, members of households without television sets spend time in households that have them, so the impact of the thirty television sets in the community is not limited to just those thirty households. This contrasts with the absence of television and near absence of radios in Singo Di Garhi.

There is another factor within Sherpur which seems to promote the learning of Urdu, a secondary effect of education. Mothers and other women hear the school-going children recite their lessons in Urdu day after day and, apparently as a result, learn some of the Urdu of those lessons. The widespread and longstanding

availability of education in Sherpur apparently has had an impact beyond its school-going population.

### 3.4.2 Pashto Sentence Repetition Test

The extent to which the men of Sherpur are proficient in Pashto was tested by administering the Pashto Sentence Repetition Test to thirty-four men. The scores from that testing as distributed in the various age and education groups are displayed in figure (3.7).

**(3.7)** Scores of Sherpur Men on Pashto Sentence Repetition Test

**Men**

| *Age group* | *No education* | | | *1-5 years* | | | *6-10 years* | | | *11+ years* | | | *Total by age groups* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE | n | ave | RPE |
| 13-19 | 1 | 16 | 1+ | 0 | | | 18 | 30 | 2+ | 2 | 33 | 3 | 21 | 30 | 2+ |
| 20-29 | 0 | | | 1 | 28 | 2+ | 3 | 31 | 3 | 6 | 36 | 3 | 10 | 34 | 3 |
| 30-39 | 0 | | | 0 | | | 1 | 28 | 2+ | 2 | 41 | 3+ | 3 | 37 | 3+ |
| 40-49 | 0 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | |
| *Total by educ. groups* | 1 | 16 | 1+ | 1 | 28 | 2+ | 22 | 30 | 2+ | 10 | 36 | 3 | 34 | | |

When the results of Pashto bilingualism testing in Sherpur are compared with those of Urdu bilingualism testing, several factors become evident: First, it is clear that the Hindko-speaking men of Sherpur, in spite of their regular interaction with Pashto mother-tongue speakers in the community, do not have the same level of proficiency in Pashto that they have in Urdu. There are many more men with low scores in Pashto; even the group with the highest score in Pashto, RPE 3, is lower than most of the groups in Urdu which averaged at RPE 3+.

Also, the average scores in Pashto increase as the age group of the subjects increases. This is to be expected when a language is learned informally, as is the case with Pashto in Sherpur. It is interesting to note that the average scores also increase as the average educational level of the subjects increases. This might not hold true if the testing were to be extended to include larger numbers of subjects at the lower educational levels. However, if it were to prove true that those subjects with higher educational levels consistently have higher Pashto SRT scores, it may be that their increased Pashto proficiency actually results from other contact opportunities, such as interactions with Pashto-speaking classmates, or occupation-related travel, which are only an indirect consequence of education.

The percentage of Sherpur men in each age group who scored at each RPE level of Pashto proficiency is displayed in figure (3.8).

**(3.8)** Percentage of Sherpur Men in Various Age Groups Scoring at each RPE Level of Pashto Proficiency According to Age Groups

| RPE level | *13-19* n=19 | *20-29* n=10 | *30-39* n=3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3+ & above | 14.3% | 30% | 66.7% |
| 3 | 19.0 | 10 | 0 |
| 2+ | 33.3 | 50 | 33.3 |
| 2 | 23.8 | 0 | 0 |
| 1+ | 4.7 | 10 | 0 |
| 1 | 4.7 | 0 | 0 |
| 0+ | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

It can be observed in figure (3.8) that there are more younger men at the lower RPE levels of 2 or below and none of the three oldest age group subjects at that level. Furthermore, the median score in the 13-19 and 20-29 year age groups is RPE 2+, whereas the median score in the 30-39 year age group is RPE 3+- and-above. Thus, from various perspectives it seems that proficiency in Pashto among Sherpur men increases with age, i.e., with exposure to Pashto.

## 3.5 Panjabi Bilingualism Testing

Second-language proficiency in (Lahore) Panjabi was investigated in a modest way by administering a Panjabi Recorded Text Test to three small groups of subjects: eleven Peshawar men**18** and three Sherpur women. The scores of these three groups are displayed in figure (3.9).

**(3.9)** Scores of Subjects from Peshawar and Sherpur on Panjabi Recorded Text Test

| | n | ave. | s.d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peshawar men | 11 | 91% | 9.2 |
| Sherpur women | 3 | 93 | 4.7 |

ave. = average RTT score
s.d. = standard deviation

The comparatively high scores of the Sherpur women and the Peshawar men indicate some comprehension of Panjabi. Two young women from Sherpur each scored ninety percent on the Panjabi RTT. One of these has passed matriculation and has traveled to the Panjab. The other attended school for six years and is now studying privately in order to pass matriculation; she once lived in the Lahore area for six months. Surprisingly, though, it was a woman above fifty who had four years of education many years ago and who has never traveled even as far as Mansehra who scored 100 percent on the Panjabi RTT. This fragmentary evidence, including the rather low (less than 10) standard deviations in the scores, seems to suggest that Hindko has a fair amount of inherent intelligibility with Panjabi, based on close genetic relationship, quite apart from any comprehension derived from contact.

## DIALECTS OF HINDKO

The Hindko language is spoken over a rather large geographic area, especially in its north-south dimension. Some enclaves of Hindko speakers are not geographically

contiguous to others. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that there is significant dialect differentiation among the varieties of speech called Hindko.

Two approaches were taken to the study of Hindko dialects. The similarity of the lexicon was examined as the first index of overall linguistic similarity and, presumably, genetic proximity.**19** Secondly, the extent to which speakers of each geographical dialect understand the speech of other such dialects was measured by means of testing the comprehension of tape recorded speech samples consisting of personal-experience narratives.

## 4.1 Lexical Similarity

Hindko equivalents to the items on a 210-item standard word list were elicited in eleven Hindko-speaking communities. In each case a Hindko speaker who had lived since birth in the locality where the list was collected was asked to provide the most natural Hindko equivalent to each item of the list. The list was normally presented in Urdu, occasionally in Panjabi. Later, the same list was elicited from a second speaker in order to find any items which might differ. Divergent responses were investigated with the second – or a third – speaker. This checking procedure is intended to bring to light any misunderstandings of the Urdu cue words and to identify any items for which there is more than one Hindko equivalent or for which Urdu loan words were given instead of Hindko terms in common use.

Word lists were collected in this way from the following localities (with the abbreviation for each locality shown to the right):

| | |
|---|---|
| Balakot (Mansehra Dist.) | BA |
| Sherpur (Mansehra Dist.) | SH |
| Mansehra City | MA |
| Singo Di Garhi (Abbottabad Dist.) | SI |
| Jammun (near Ghazi) (Abbottabad Dist.) | JA |
| Attock City | AT |
| Talagang (Attock Dist.) | TA |
| Kohat City | KO |
| Wad Pagga (Peshawar Dist.) | WA |
| Pakha Gholam (Peshawar Dist.) | PA |
| Peshawar City | PE |

Each word list was compared with all the others pair by pair in order to determine the extent to which the corresponding Hindko lexical items are similar. In this procedure no attempt is made to identify true cognates based on consistent sound correspondences. Rather, the items are compared only for obvious phonetic similarity. (See appendix A.1 for a summary of this procedure.)

After all pairs of items on two word lists have been determined to be phonetically similar or not according to the criteria, the percentage of similar items is calculated. This procedure is repeated for each pair of dialects.

The percentage of phonetically similar lexical items for each pair of Hindko dialects compared is displayed in figure (4.1).

## (4.1) Percentages of Phonetically Similar Lexical Items Shared by Pairs of Hindko Dialects

BA Balakot
SH 89 Sherpur
MA 87 92 Mansehra
SI 87 89 90 Singo Di Garhi
JA 82 85 84 89 Jammun
AT 71 76 77 79 82 Attock
TA 67 70 73 77 75 85 Talagang
KO 69 70 68 70 76 79 76 Kohat
WA 70 75 74 74 76 81 73 76 Wad Pagga
PA 73 76 76 77 78 81 75 76 93 Pakha Gholam
PE 70 73 74 71 73 70 66 71 79 81 Peshawar

From the percentages of similarity displayed in figure (4.1) it can be seen that the dialects of certain Hindko areas are especially similar. The two rural dialects of Peshawar District, Wad Pagga and Pakha Gholam, are especially similar to each other (93 percent) but not particularly so to that of Peshawar City.**20** It is interesting to note the moderate lexical distance between Peshawar rural dialects and the city dialect, which contrasts with the fact that they are geographically close — Pakha Gholam, for example, being a mere five kilometers from the city of Peshawar. An examination of the lexical items which are

interpreted as different in the Pakha Gholam and Peshawar city dialects has revealed that in 63 percent of cases the city dialect uses an Urdu or Panjabi word not used in the rural dialect.[21]

There is also considerable lexical homogeneity among the Hindko dialects of Hazara Division (Mansehra and Abbottabad Districts). Some of the highest lexical similarity percentages in the entire Hindko-speaking area are found there. All five of the Hazara dialects compared — Balakot, Sherpur, Mansehra, Singo Di Garhi and Jammun — show at least 82 percent similarity in the word lists.

The two dialects in Attock District — Attock City and Talagang — are also rather similar (85 percent).

Both Kohat City[22] and Peshawar City appear to stand alone as distinctive dialects. Kohat is less than 80 percent similar to any other dialect, and Peshawar City reaches the 80 percent similarity mark only with nearby Pakha Gholam (81 percent).

On the basis of lexical similarity counts we can recognize five dialect areas for Hindko: Hazara, Attock, Kohat, rural Peshawar and Peshawar city. The range of lexical similarity scores among these five Hindko dialect areas may be seen in figure (4.2). For each comparison there is a range of scores when dialect areas consisting of more than one (sub-) dialect arecompared.

## (4.2) Ranges of Lexical Similarity Percentages Among thePrincipal Hindko Dialect Areas

| **Hazara** | **Hazara** |
|---|---|
| Attock | 67-82 Attock |
| Kohat | 68-76 76-79 Kohat |
| Peshawar rural | 70-78 73-81 76 Peshawar rural |
| Peshawar city | 70-74 66-70 71 79-81 Peshawar city |

From these percentage ranges it can be seen that each of the five areas is rather distinct from the others. With just two exceptions, each dialect area is linked with every other by no more than 80 percent lexical similarity. The lexical similarity between Hazara and Attock areas is at its lowest 67 percent; that between Peshawar city and Attock an even lower 66 percent. Attock, Kohat and rural Peshawar seem to constitute a central area united by a minimum of 73 percent lexical similarity, while Hazara and Peshawar city are the ends of the dialect string, connected to dialects of the central group by percentages of similarity as low as the sixties.

The fact that the speech of Dera Ismail Khan is called Hindko by some of its speakers and Siraiki by others has been mentioned earlier (see §1.1.3).**23** The relative lexical distance between the speech of Dera Ismail Khan and the dialects treated in this study may be seen from figure (4.3), in which its lexical similarity scores are presented. Note that the highest similarity count for D.I. Khan is 70 percent and that this is at the low end of the

range for the other lexical similarity comparisons. Thus, the decision not to include D.I. Khan in the study is confirmed.

## (4.3) Lexical Similarity Percentages Between the Speech of D.I. Khan and the Dialects of This Study

| | BASH | MA | SI | JA | AT | TA | KO | WA | PA | PE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **D.I. Khan** | 64 | 65 | 64 | 67 | 67 | 70 | 65 | 68 | 67 | 66 | 65 |

## 4.2 Comprehension of Oral Speech

The factors which cause speakers of one dialect to understand a related dialect are both linguistic and social. Obviously, similarity in lexicon, grammatical patterns and phonological structure facilitates understanding. There are, however, additional factors which may favor understanding, such as previous contact with that dialect or other related dialects, a need to understand the other dialect, or positive attitudes toward speakers of the other dialect. This complex interplay of linguistic and social factors, often difficult to distinguish, results in differing levels of intelligibility among related dialects. (See chapter 5 for discussion of some attitude factors.)

### 4.2.1 Recorded Text Test

Intelligibility among dialects of Hindko was studied by using tape-recorded texts, which was also one of the methods used for testing bilingual proficiency. A text which is a personalexperience narrative is tape-recorded

in one village or area and played for speakers of another dialect in another village or area in order to infer patterns of intelligibility. (See appendix A.2 for a summary of procedures used in constructing a recorded text test, or RTT).

### 4.2.2 Dialect Intelligibility

Recorded text tests were developed in Balakot, Jammun, Talagang, Kohat and Wad Pagga. Each test was first validated by administering it in the locality in which it had been prepared. It was then administered in all the other localities mentioned. Additional recorded text tests were developed in Sherpur and Singo Di Garhi. These tests were administered elsewhere in Hazara Division and in two or three other localities, but not so extensively as the first five. All the tests were administered in Peshawar city. The test from Peshawar city was also administered in a few locations.

The results of recorded-text intelligibility testing among Hindko dialects are shown in figure (4.4). The standard deviations are given below the average scores. The number of subjects in each case was at least ten unless otherwise indicated.

From these scores we can observe the community of comprehension within the northern dialects (in Hazara Division), as evidenced by the scores for Balakot, Sherpur, Singo Di Garhi and Jammun. Nearly all scores are in the ninety-two percent ranges or better; most are ninety-five

percent or better. The lone exception is the poorer understanding (83 percent) that the people of Jammun had of the Balakot text. The higher standard deviation here (16) also suggests that some of the Jammun people tested understand the Balakot dialect better than others because of having learned it through contact.

The southern dialects of Talagang, Kohat, Wad Pagga and Peshawar city also exhibit a community of comprehension, with nearly all scores at ninety percent or higher. The only exception is the lower comprehension that Wad Pagga people demonstrated of the Kohat dialect (85 percent).

Comprehension between the northern and southern areas is markedly less. Speakers of northern dialects understood Talagang (93 percent and 91 percent) and Wad Pagga (95 percent and 88 percent) reasonably well but Kohat (83 percent) less well. Speakers of southern dialects understood the northern dialects even less well, with more than half of the scores less than eighty percent.

**(4.4)** Recorded Text Testing Scores Among Hindko Dialects

| | *Place Tape Was Made* | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Location of Testing* | Balakot | Sherpur | Singo di Garhi | Jammun | Talagang | Kohat | Wad Pagga |
| Balakot | 92%<br>8.3 | 95%<br>8.5 | 93%<br>6.7 | 94%<br>5.9 | 93%<br>7.2 | 83%<br>6.2 | 88%<br>10 |
| Sherpur | 98%<br>4.2 | 98%<br>4.7 | 96%<br>7 | 97%<br>7.5 | | | |
| Singo di Garhi | 97%<br>4.8 | 95%<br>5.3 | 94%<br>12 | 96%<br>7.8 | | | |
| Jammun | 83%<br>16 | 94%<br>8.4 | 97%<br>4.8 | 96%<br>7.2 | 91%<br>9 | 83%<br>12.7 | 95%<br>5.9 |
| Talagang | 78%<br>11.4 | | | 94%<br>4.9 | 98%<br>3.7 | 96%<br>6.5 | 96%<br>6.6 |
| Kohat | 71%<br>14.3 | 60%* | | 71%<br>13.7 | 92%<br>7.5 | 98%<br>4.9 | 91%<br>8.3 |
| Wad Pagga | 74%<br>11.1 | | 89%<br>9.7 | 87%<br>10.9 | 90%<br>6.3 | 85%<br>5 | 96%<br>6.8 |
| Peshawar city | 78%**<br>10.3 | 55%**<br>14.2 | 82%<br>7.5 | 81%<br>8.3 | 96%***<br>4.9 | 86%***<br>4.9 | 100%*** |

* only one subject tested
** only nine subjects tested
*** only five subjects tested
Standard deviation on second line

As stated above, in five communities (Balakot, Jammun, Talagang, Kohat and Wad Pagga), representing the geographic extremes of the area, intelligibility testing was carried out in each community for each of the other four dialects. The scores from these representative

dialects are re-displayed in figure (4.5) in order to facilitate comparison.

**(4.5)** Intelligibility Scores Among Five Geographically Spread Hindko Dialects

| *Location of Testing* | *Place Tape Was Made* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Balakot | Jammun | Talagang | Kohat | Wad Pagga |
| Balakot | (92) | 94 | 93 | 83 | 88 |
| Jammun | 83 | (96) | 91 | 83 | 95 |
| Talagang | 78 | 94 | (98) | 96 | 96 |
| Kohat | 71 | 71 | 92 | (98) | 91 |
| Wad Pagga | 74 | 87 | 90 | 85 | (96) |

(Scores in percent correct)

Ignoring the score made on each test when it was administered in the locality where it was developed (i.e., the hometown test, shown in parentheses in the chart), it is possible to explore the extent to which each dialect is understood in the other localities. For each test the scores on that text of the other four test points have been averaged to find the average degree to which the text was understood in the other areas. Those averages are displayed in figure (4.6).

**(4.6)** Average of Intelligibility Scores in Other Test Points for Five Hindko Dialects

| | Balakot | Jammun | Talagang | Kohat | Wad Pagga |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ave. score | 76.4% | 86.5% | 91.4% | 86.6% | 92.4% |

From the scores displayed in figure (4.6) it may be seen that Talagang and Wad Pagga were understood best, on the average, by speakers of the other dialects in this

five-dialect network. The Balakot subjects understood Talagang (93 percent) better than they did Wad Pagga (88 percent), while Jammun subjects understood Wad Pagga (95 percent) better than they did Talagang (91 percent). It is interesting to note that Wad Pagga and Jammun dialects are the only ones of these five whose lexical similarity count with any of the other four representative dialects does not fall below seventy percent (figure 4.1). However, even though Jammun shows high lexical similarity with all the other four representative dialects, it is not well understood in Kohat, as shown by intelligibility testing scores (71 percent). Perhaps lexical similarity is a significant factor in explaining why, on the average, Wad Pagga is understood best, by a slight margin, in the other four dialect areas.

The dialects of Jammun and Kohat were also understood over a wide area, but noticeably less well than those of Talagang and Wad Pagga. The dialect of Balakot was, on the average, considerably less well understood by speakers of other dialects than any other.

## 4.3 Comparison of Lexical Similarity and Dialect Intelligibility Results

Lexical similarity counts suggest five Hindko dialect areas: Hazara, Attock, Kohat city, Peshawar rural and Peshawar city. Dialect intelligibility testing also clearly indicates the separation of the northern (Hazara) group of dialects from the group of dialects farther south and west.

Somewhat lower scores on the northern dialect tests by Peshawar city subjects may suggest the existence of a separate Peshawar city area. However, since the Peshawar city test was not administered in many test points, the evidence from dialect intelligibility testing for a separate Peshawar city area is not clear.

Lexical counts show Jammun to be lexically the most central of the five dialects. That is, it has the highest average percentage of lexical similarity with the other four dialects. Intelligibility testing, however, shows the dialects a bit farther south and west, i.e., Talagang and Wad Pagga, to be more central in terms of intelligibility. From both standpoints the northern Hazara dialect of Balakot is the most peripheral.

# ATTITUDES OF HINDKO SPEAKERS TOWARD OTHER LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

As has been discussed in previous chapters, a complex interplay of linguistic and social factors, often difficult to distinguish, results in differing levels of intelligibility among related dialects and in different levels of second language proficiency in speakers of those dialects. This chapter will discuss attitudes expressed by Hindko-speakers that may affect their proficiency in and use of other languages and dialects.

Interviews were conducted in Jammun, Singo Di Garhi, Sherpur and Balakot in order to attempt to learn what attitudes the respondents have toward their own language and other languages used in their communities or areas. Some of the interview questions were designed to discover which language is preferred in various contexts. Others were designed to elicit attitudes toward specific languages or dialects.

## 5.1 Language Preference

During the course of the study it became evident that listening to the radio is a common practice in Hindko-speaking communities and that radio is a common source of exposure to languages other than Hindko. In Sherpur 56 percent of the households have radios, but in Singo Di Garhi only 27 percent have them. (In Balakot 71 percent of the small group of 48 men interviewed report having

radios, and 27 percent of that group report having a television. In Jammun this topic was not investigated.)

Respondents in Singo Di Garhi, Sherpur and Balakot were asked to name the language(s) of radio broadcasts to which they customarily listen. Responses are summarized in figure (5.1).

**(5.1)** Language(s) Preferred for Radio Listening in Three Hindko-Speaking Villages

| *Preferred Language(s) For Radio* | Singo Di Garhi n = 20 | Sherpur n = 31 | Balakot n = 48 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Urdu | 100% | 55% | 81% |
| Urdu/Pashto | 0 | 24 | 0 |
| Urdu/Pashto/ Panjabi | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Urdu/Panjabi | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Urdu/English | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Urdu/Hindko | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Urdu/Gujari | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Pashto/Hindko | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| Panjabi | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Panjabi/Hindko | 0 | 0 | 2 |

Although various languages and combinations of languages appeal to the respondents in these villages, it is evident that Urdu is the overwhelming favorite for radio listening. In Singo Di Garhi it is the only radio language for which a preference was expressed. Hindko was mentioned

only in combination with other languages and then by few respondents: nine percent in Sherpur, four percent in Balakot and no one in Singo Di Garhi. It must be noted, of course, that the majority of radio programming is in Urdu. Hindko speakers may prefer listening to Urdu programs for their quality or in order to learn more Urdu. It may also be difficult for Hindko speakers to develop a practice of listening to radio programs in Hindko when they are aired quite infrequently. On the other hand, these responses may indicate that for Hindko speakers radio is thought to be a public function, similar to other official settings in which Urdu is considered appropriate. If that were the case, Hindko, which is very strong in the home setting, would not be expected for use in official roles.

The fact that thirty-three percent of the Sherpur respondents report listening to Pashto on the radio, while no one in Singo Di Garhi or Balakot mentions it, is further confirmation of the importance that people of Sherpur attach to Pashto, something not found in the other two towns.

## 5.2 Attitudes Toward Specific Languages

Respondents were also asked to answer a set of questions which approach the matter of language attitudes indirectly. These questions deal with specifically named languages: Hindko itself, including some of its dialects, and also Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi and Gojri.

### 5.2.1 Attitudes toward Languages Other than Hindko

Each respondent was asked to demonstrate language attitudes by indicating whether he would be willing for his son to marry a girl who speaks certain languages other than his own. The languages mentioned were Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi and Gojri. The premise underlying this type of question is that a positive response to the question indicates a positive attitude toward the language mentioned.

Although these questions were asked in all four communities, the responses from Jammun and Singo Di Garhi did not reveal anything about language attitudes. The respondents from Jammun replied that they marry, at least ideally, only within their own ethnic group. Those from Singo Di Garhi said that they marry only their cousins. Those from Sherpur and Balakot, however, were prepared to consider intermarriage with others and gave a variety of responses.

Respondents from Sherpur and Balakot were asked whether they would want their sons to marry Urdu-speaking girls. Their responses are summarized in figure (5.2).

**(5.2)** Responses from Two Hindko Villages to the Question: "Would you want your son to marry an Urdu-speaking girl?"

| *Community* | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Sherpur n = 27 | 63% | 33% |
| Balakot n = 48 | 58 | 42 |

The responses from the two locations are similar and indicate that respondents in both communities have favorable attitudes toward Urdu speakers. An examination of the reasons given by those who gave a positive response shows that the most commonly mentioned reason is that Urdu speakers are "civilized" people. Such responses indicate that the Urdu language holds a high degree of prestige due to its role in education and literature and its association with social and economic advancement.

Many of those who replied that they would not favor intermarriage with Urdu speakers said that they do not understand Urdu or that the bride would not understand them. This response indicates that they believe they have low proficiency in Urdu but does not necessarily reveal a negative attitude toward the language.

Respondents were also asked whether they would be willing for their sons to marry Pashto-speaking girls, Panjabi-speaking girls, or Gojri -speaking girls. Their responses are summarized in figure (5.3).

**(5.3)** Responses from Two Hindko Villages to the Question: "Would you want your son to marry a Pashto-, a Panjabi-, or a Gujari-speaking girl?"

| | *Pashto* | | *Panjabi* | | *Gujari* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Community* | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Sherpur n = 27 | 78% | 22% | 26% | 74% | 11% | 89% |
| Balakot n = 48 | 2 | 96 | 29 | 69 | 10 | 90 |

From these responses it is evident that respondents from Sherpur have much more favorable attitudes toward Pashto than do respondents from Balakot. The reasons Sherpur residents gave for their positive responses show that they welcome their sons' marrying Pashto-speaking girls because they themselves speak and understand Pashto. Curiously, one person commented that Pashtoons speak Hindko. Another mentioned that he already has other Pashto speakers in his family. Another said that Pashto is the language of their forefathers, i.e., they were Swati Pathans.

The Balakot respondents mentioned the fact that they do not know Pashto as a reason for not wanting their sons to marry Pashto-speaking girls. Presumably communication would be too difficult. Others expressed the belief that a Pashto-speaking girl would be "dirty".

Responses from both localities show a markedly negative attitude toward intermarriage with Panjabi speakers. This fits with the fact that only about one-third of the respondents from Sherpur and twelve percent of those from Balakot report that they ever use Panjabi with speakers of Panjabi. The response, however, contrasts with the more favorable attitude toward Urdu speakers exhibited in both of these communities.

In explaining their responses most of the Balakot respondents said that they have no relatives who are Panjabis and that they marry only within their own group. Several of the Sherpur respondents said that Panjabi is a different language and, therefore, intermarriage is not desirable.

Responses concerning intermarriage with Gojri speakers exhibit sharply negative attitudes in both Sherpur and Balakot. Each location produced greater than eighty-five percent negative responses. It should be noted, however, that in Balakot the prospect of a Gojri -speaking daughter-in-law was more welcome than that of a Pashto-speaking daughter-in-law.

Several respondents from Sherpur indicate that they believe the Gujjar people to be “crude and uncivilized”. This contrasts sharply with the attitude also expressed in Sherpur, that Urduspeaking people are “educated and civilized”.

Respondents were also asked their opinions regarding the usefulness of being able to speak various languages. Their responses are summarized in figure (5.4).

**(5.4a)** Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question: "Are there advantages to speaking Hindko, Urdu?"[27]

| | *Hindko* | | *Urdu* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Community* | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Jammun n = 40 | 88% | 7% | 88% | 0% |
| Singo Di Garhi n = 14 | 100 | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| Sherpur n = 30 | 97 | 3 | 90 | 3 |
| Balakot n = 48 | 98 | 2 | 98 | 2 |

**(5.4b)** Responses from Three Hindko Communities to the Question: "Are there advantages to speaking Pashto, Panjabi, Gujari?"

| | *Pashto* | | *Panjabi* | | *Gujari* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Community* | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Singo Di Garhi | 30% n = 10 | 70% | 75% n = 8 | 25% | 37.5% n = 8 | 62.5% |
| Sherpur | 76 n = 29 | 21 | 55 n = 29 | 41 | 16.6 n = 30 | 80 |
| Balakot | 20 n = 46 | 80 | 70 n = 47 | 30 | 30 n = 46 | 70 |

Clearly, Hindko and Urdu are widely viewed by Hindko speakers as languages that carry advantages. In

every community, at least 88 percent of the respondents viewed it as advantageous to speak both. As might be expected, nearly all the reasons stating the advantages of Hindko were affective — “It feels easy,” “it is a good language,” “I like Hindko,” “it is our mother tongue.” On the other hand, the reasons given as advantages for Urdu were largely effective or instrumental — “it is understood all over Pakistan,” “useful in cities, offices and bazaars,” “it is used in schools,” “it is easy to write,” “with it we can speak with people who have different mother tongues.” Counter to this generalization, however, a few respondents when speaking of Urdu said, “it is sweet,” “I like the language,” while a few when speaking of Hindko said, “with it we can easily communicate our message,” “with it we can communicate with Panjabis.”

There was much less agreement about whether it is advantageous to speak Pashto, Panjabi, or Gojri. Respondents in Sherpur were much more in favor of speaking Pashto than were those in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot, where there are few Pashtospeaking people. The positive respondents in Sherpur see an advantage in being able to communicate with Pashto-speaking people. Two respondents also mentioned that it is the language of their ancestors, Swati Pathans, revealing a factor of ethnolinguistic loyalty.

Conversely, Panjabi and Gojri are viewed as advantageous by many in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot but

by fewer in Sherpur. For Balakot at least, this may reflect the frequent need for communication with Gujjars. The percentage of positive replies was considerably lower for Gojri than for Panjabi, perhaps reflecting generally less positive attitudes toward Gujjars than toward Panjabis. One of the advantages of speaking Panjabi was said to be its usefulness when traveling in the Panjab.

### 5.2.2 Attitudes Toward the Hindko Language

Three questions were asked to elicit attitudes toward Hindko, two of them regarding the language in written form and one regarding the language in oral form.

In the first question the respondent was asked, "Would you like books and newspapers in the Hindko language?" The responses from the four communities are summarized in figure (5.5).

**(5.5)** Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question: "Would you like to have books and newspapers in the Hindko language?"

| *Community* | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jammun n = 40 | 45% | 35% |
| Singo Di Garhi n = 14 | 93 | 7 |
| Sherpur n = 30 | 63 | 33 |
| Balakot n = 47 | 81 | 19 |

The highest percentage of positive responses came from the village of Singo Di Garhi (93 percent), followed by

Balakot (81 percent), Sherpur (63 percent) and Jammun (45 percent). The positive attitude of the people of Singo Di Garhi may be related to the fact that higher percentages of the respondents from Singo Di Garhi state that they use Hindko with speakers of other languages. They are apparently more dependent on their own language and perhaps more loyal to it. It is interesting to note that Jammun and Sherpur, the localities in which many respondents report using Pashto, are less enthusiastic about books and magazines in their own language. It is perhaps even more significant that both of those communities report rather frequent use of Urdu.

Reasons stated for favoring the development of books and magazines in Hindko include the following:

– so that the language will develop
– they would be easier to understand (than in other languages)
– our children would read them
– they would provide information for people who know Hindko
– it's our language
– we love our language.

Another response, "so that we can learn Hindko", highlights the frequently encountered opinion that languages are written so that other people can learn them. This opinion is probably related to the fact that, for many linguistic groups, written materials are often not in the

mother tongue of the readers. The result is that reading is associated with school, where learning the literary language and learning the skills of reading usually go hand in hand.

Respondents were also asked, "Would you like your children to learn to read and write in the Hindko language?". The responses from the four localities are summarized in figure (5.6).

**(5.6)** Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question "Would you like your children to learn to read and write in the Hindko language?"

| *Community* | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jammun | 47.5% | 42.5% |
| n = 40 | | |
| Singo Di Garhi | 57 | 43 |
| n = 14 | | |
| Sherpur | 47 | 53 |
| n = 30 | | |
| Balakot | 62 | 38 |
| n = 47 | | |

Interestingly enough, the respondents were considerably less enthusiastic about having their children learn to read and write in Hindko than they were about having books and magazines available in that language. They also seem to be less interested in having their children learn to read and write in Hindko than they are in their learning to speak other languages (see §5.2.1). This is perhaps due to the fact that people who become bilingual by informal means often view learning to speak additional

languages as a natural thing but learning to read more than one language as difficult. In other words, they believe it is normal to read just one language, but normal to speak more than one. If such is their view, learning to read and write in Hindko could imply to them not learning to read and write in Urdu, the accepted language of literacy. It would be interesting to investigate what the responses would have been if the question had introduced reading and writing as skills which are possible and useful in the mother tongue in addition to the language of wider communication.

One respondent, replying in the negative, explained his lack of enthusiasm for written Hindko by saying that books are all in Urdu. Some of the negative responses may reflect the fact that respondents could not conceive of having reading material available in Hindko. It would be interesting to ask the same question after showing the respondents the books of Hindko poetry and perhaps other writings which have been produced in the Peshawar and Abbottabad areas.

Other negative responses were based on the fact that reading and writing in Hindko do not bring employment benefits. These responses seem to indicate that the respondents are unacquainted with other benefits of literacy, such as gaining knowledge, pleasure, communication through letters, etc.

## 5.3 Attitudes Toward Other Hindko Dialects

The study of language attitudes is intrinsically one of the most subjective areas of inquiry in the field of sociolinguistics. Directly questioning subjects through the use of questionnaires is often ineffective in revealing attitudes of which the subjects themselves are only vaguely aware and usually not accustomed to verbalizing. Consequently, more indirect techniques must be brought to bear, and the results of these are frequently expressed in qualitative rather than quantitative terms.

Since the dialects spoken in the southern part of the Hindkospeaking area seem to be more widely understood than those of the northern part (see §4.3), it is of considerable interest to learn what the more numerous group in the north (i.e., Hazara) feel about the more widely understood dialects of rural Peshawar and Talagang. On an experimental basis a small sampling of sixteen Hindko speakers from Balakot, Sherpur, Singo Di Garhi and Abbottabad were interviewed for the purpose of discovering something of their attitudes toward more southerly dialects of Hindko. Each respondent was asked to listen to a pair of tape recorded texts. One was spoken by an educated young man from Wad Pagga and the other by a somewhat less educated young man from Talagang.

The names of the source communities of the texts were not divulged. The respondent was asked several questions designed to reveal his attitudes about each

speaker and the speaker's text.**29** He was asked whether he thought that the speaker is educated or not, whether the place where the speaker comes from is a good place, and whether the people in that place are good, friendly people. The responses from each community are presented in figure (5.7).

**(5.7)** Responses from Four Hindko Communities to Recorded Speech Samples from Wad Pagga and Talagang

| | *Is speaker educated?* | | *Come from good place?* | | *Good, friendly people in that place?* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Wad Pagga | Tala-gang | Wad Pagga | Tala-gang | Wad Pagga | Tala-gang |
| Balakot | 5+ | 2+ | 3+ | 3+ | 5+ | 2+ |
| n = 6 | 1– | 4– | 0– | 2– | 1– | 2– |
| Sherpur | 2+ | 1+ | 6+ | 4+ | 6+ | 2+ |
| n = 6 | 4– | 5– | 0– | 2– | 0– | 2– |
| Singo di Garhi | 1+ | 0+ | 2+ | 1+ | 1+ | |
| n = 2 | 1– | 2– | 0– | 1– | 1– | |
| Abbottabad | 0+ | 0+ | 1+ | 1+ | 1+ | |
| n = 2 | 1– | 1– | 0– | 0– | 1– | |

+ = positive comment (educated, good place, friendly people, etc.)
– = negative comment (uneducated, not good place, not friendly people, etc.)

The response of any individual to any one question is not significant. Certainly the questions may have different connotations to different respondents. The questions may appear to be overlapping to some respondents and not to others. However, the cumulative effect of the responses may well indicate attitudes.

The responses to the Wad Pagga speech sample were generally positive (33+ and 10–) while the responses to the Talagang speech sample were more mixed, with negative responses outnumbering positive (16+ and 21–). From this pilot study we may draw the tentative conclusions that attitudes of Hindko speakers in Hazara Division are not negative toward the two southern dialects sampled and that attitudes toward the Wad Pagga dialect (rural Peshawar) are more favorable than those toward Talagang (Attock District).

Respondents were also asked to state where the best Hindko is spoken. Since all fourteen respondents are from Hazara Division, it is perhaps not surprising that five of them said

> "Abbottabad" and four said "Mansehra". More surprisingly, seven named Peshawar as the place where the best Hindko is spoken. This may reflect the prestige of a city dialect and may be further evidence that the Peshawar dialect is acquiring the status of the standard, prestige dialect.

## 5.4 The Vitality of Hindko

Finally, the respondents in the four communities where most of the interviewing was conducted were asked whether they believe that the day will come when Hindko will no longer be spoken. Their responses are presented in figure (5.8).

**(5.8)** Responses from Four Hindko Communities to the Question: "Will the Hindko language ever cease to be spoken?"

| *Community* | *Yes* | *No* |
|---|---|---|
| Jammun n = 40 | 17% | 83% |
| Singo Di Garhi n = 15 | 0 | 100 |
| Sherpur n = 30 | 3 | 97 |
| Balakot n = 47 | 9 | 91 |

These figures show that nearly all respondents from three of the communities view Hindko as vital and its continuation as assured. The respondents from Jammun were a bit less sure of its vitality. Since their village is on the border of the Panjab and also close to many Pashto-speaking communities, they may feel more keenly the language competition from Panjabi and Pashto. In contrast, Sherpur appears to be characterized by a situation of stable bilingualism and Singo Di Garhi by low bilingualism and single-minded commitment to the mother tongue.

Thus, in spite of a few doubts on the part of some respondents from Jammun, it appears that Hindko speakers in general exhibit great loyalty to their mother tongue and that they expect their language to continue being spoken. Most, it appears, would like to see it developed in written form even though they do not want it to be the language of (beginning) education.

When faced with the question of whether Hindko will be replaced by other languages in the future, one man from Singo Di Garhi flatly stated that it “can’t be replaced.” Another, from the same town, said it won’t happen, “not even after one hundred years”. Another, from Balakot, said simply, “Never!”

# SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Hindko, a member of the Indic family of languages, is spoken in north central Pakistan in the most northerly plains of the Indus Valley. The language is spoken generally to the east of the Pashto-speaking area and in some cases in the same communities with Pashto. Hindko speakers belong to a variety of ethnic groups. Many identify themselves as Pashtoons, especially Swati Pathans. Others, especially in the Peshawar area are Saiyids. Other ethnic identifications include Avans and Gujjars.

## 6.1 Use of Multiple Languages

Studies of multilingualism were carried out in four Hindkospeaking communities in the northern (Hazara Division) section of the area, where the largest concentration of Hindko speakers is found. In each of the four communities studied, Hindko is the unchallenged language of the home. In addition, Urdu is widely used by the men of these communities to communicate with speakers of other languages. In two of the communities Pashto is also used with outsiders.

The percentage of respondents who report speaking other languages with speakers of those languages is displayed in figure (6.1).

**(6.1)** Percentages of Respondents Who Report Speaking Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi or Gujari with Speakers of Those Languages

| *Respondents from* | *with Urdu speakers* | *with Pashto speakers* | *with Panjabi speakers* | *with Gujari speakers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jammun | 60% | 40% | | |
| Singo Di Garhi | 47 | 7 | 7 | |
| Sherpur | 87 | 87 | 20 | 7 |
| Balakot | 71 | | 12 | 19 |

From figure (6.1) it can be seen that the vast majority of Sherpur men speak Urdu and Pashto with speakers of those languages. A majority of Balakot and Jammun men also report speaking Urdu with Urdu speakers. A sizable minority of Jammun men also speak Pashto with Pashto speakers. Nearly half the Singo Di Garhi men report using Urdu with Urdu speakers.

However, multilingualism is not universal in these Hindkospeaking communities. Some respondents in each community report using Hindko when communicating with speakers of Urdu and Pashto. The percentage of respondents in each community who report using Hindko in such encounters is displayed in figure (6.2).

**(6.2)** Percentage of Respondents Who Report Speaking Hindko With Urdu and Pashto Speakers

| | *Speak Hindko With Urdu and Pashto Speakers* |
|---|---|
| Jammun | 27.5% |
| Singo Di Garhi | 46.5 |
| Sherpur | 5.0 |
| Balakot | 35.5 |

From these data it is evident that Singo Di Garhi respondents are much more dependent on Hindko than are Sherpur respondents. Respondents from the other two villages occupy an intermediate position.

In the Hindko-speaking communities studied, Urdu is the most common second language, followed by Pashto. The principal source of proficiency in Urdu seems clearly to be formal education. Travel outside the home area apparently contributes to proficiency in both Urdu and Pashto, but this connection is more difficult to demonstrate. In Sherpur in particular, radio and television also seem to contribute to proficiency in Urdu. This may be an especially significant factor for women.

Access to education clearly varies from one community to another. The percentage of men and women who have received at least some education is displayed in figure (6.3).

**(6.3)** Percentage of Men and Women With Some Education

| | *Men* | *Women* |
|---|---|---|
| Jammun | 58.7% | 21.6% |
| Singo Di Garhi | 61.4 | 2.3 |
| Sherpur | 71.7 | 15.0 |
| Balakot | 60.7 | not known |

From figure (6.3) it is evident that the highest percentage of educated men is found in Sherpur, with each of the other three communities having about ten percent fewer educated men. Furthermore, in Sherpur the median of the male population falls in the six to ten years of education group, whereas in the other three communities the median falls in the one to five years of education group.

The women of Singo Di Garhi have had the least access to education. It is interesting to observe that the percentage of women in Jammun with education is ten times as great, even surpassing the percentage for women in the educationally advantaged community of Sherpur.

The percentage of educated men in each of five age groups is displayed in figure (6.4).

**(6.4)** Percentage of Educated Men In Each Age Group in Four Hindko Communities

| | *Age Groups* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 13-19 years | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | 40-49 years | 50+ years |
| Jammun | 82.4% | 66.7% | 68.0% | 32.1% | 26.2% |
| Singo Di Garhi | 91.7 | 69.2 | 58.3 | 50.0 | 14.3 |
| Sherpur | 84.6 | 80.0 | 90.0 | 50.0 | 40.0 |
| Balakot | 100.0 | 75.0 | 55.6 | 38.5 | 33.3 |

From figure (6.4) we can observe that the percentage of men who have received some education decreases as age increases, as one might expect. Only in Sherpur is there an older group of men (30-39 years) who have a higher education percentage than the teenage men. It is interesting to observe that in Jammun and Singo Di Garhi there is a rather sharp drop at the point where the percentage falls below about 50 percent. From these figures one can guess that the 30-39 year old men in Jammun are the first generation to have general access to education, since less than one-third of the 40-49 year old men have any education. Similarly, one can guess that the 40-49 year old men in Singo Di Garhi are the first generation to have general access to education, since only 14 percent of the oldest age group have education. By contrast, there does not seem to be a point where there is a single sharp drop in the figures for Sherpur. Presumably education has been available in that community for a longer period, with the result that even many of the oldest

group of men have had access to it. The situation is similar in Balakot.

Nearly all respondents from the four communities report having traveled to Rawalpindi. A much smaller percentage have traveled to the much more distant city of Karachi, and an intermediate percentage (in most localities) to the provincial capital of Peshawar. In general, longer periods of time were spent in the more distant cities of Karachi and Lahore. These longer stays have probably had a greater impact on the learning of Urdu than have the shorter but much more frequent visits to Rawalpindi/Islamabad.

## 6.2 Measuring Bilingual Proficiency

In Singo Di Garhi levels of proficiency in Urdu were studied while in Sherpur levels of proficiency in both Urdu and Pashto were studied. The highest level of proficiency which the Sentence Repetition Tests that were used are capable of measuring is RPE level 3+-and-above, which covers a range between high functional control and near mother-tongue proficiency. The percentage of the subjects from these two communities who demonstrated proficiency at this highest level is displayed in figure (6.5).

**(6.5)** Percentage of Educated and Uneducated Subjects in Sherpur and Singo Di Garhi Scoring at the Highest Level in Urdu SRT

| | *educated* | *uneducated* |
|---|---|---|
| Sherpur | 87.8% | 50.0% |
| Singo Di Garhi | 89.0% | 10.0% |

From figure (6.5) it can be observed that the men of Singo Di Garhi who have not had access to education have not in general found other means of learning Urdu. Few of them have attained the higher levels of Urdu proficiency. On the other hand, half the uneducated men of Sherpur have found other, informal means for learning.

The average scores on the Urdu SRT (expressed in RPE levels) for educated and uneducated men and women are displayed in figure (6.6).

**(6.6)** Average RPE Scores of Educated and Uneducated Men and Women in Two Hindko Villages

| | *men* | | *women* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | educated | uneducated | educated | uneducated |
| Singo Di Garhi | 3 | 2 | none | 0+ |
| Sherpur | 3+ | 2+ | 2+ to 3+ | 2 |

From figure (6.6) it can be observed that educated men in both communities have attained a high level of proficiency in Urdu. Almost half the educated women of Sherpur have also attained that level, but more than half have not. Neither uneducated men nor uneducated women have been able to achieve those same levels, although men scored higher than women.

Pashto is learned in Hindko-speaking communities through informal means. That learning continues over the years. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that in each progressively older group of Sherpur men the percentage

of those who have attained the highest level of Pashto proficiency is larger. The percentages of Sherpur men in the various age groups who have attained the RPE 3+-or-above level are indicated in figure (6.7).

**(6.7)** Percentages of Each Age Group of Sherpur Men Who Have Attained the RPE 3+-or-above Level

| | 13-19 years | 20-29 years | 30-39 years | 40+ years |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RPE 3+ or above | 14.3% | 30.0% | 66.7% | none tested |

The second languages most commonly encountered in the Hindko-speaking area are Urdu and Pashto. The former is learned primarily in a formal way, while the latter is learned informally.

## 6.3 Hindko Dialects

The Hindko dialect question was examined by comparing word lists and by dialect intelligibility testing. On the basis of lexical similarity counts, five major dialect areas have emerged: Hazara, Attock, Kohat, Peshawar rural and Peshawar city. The second, third and fourth seem to constitute a central dialect area. Especially in some of their sub-areas these are rather different from both Hazara and Peshawar-city dialects.

Testing of inherent intelligibility among Hindko dialects through the use of recorded text tests has shown that there is a northern (Hazara) dialect group and a southern dialect group. The southern dialects are more

widely understood throughout the dialect network than are the northern dialects. The dialects of rural Peshawar and Talagang are the most widely understood of the dialects tested; Balakot is the least widely understood.

## 6.4 Attitudes Toward Hindko and Other Languages

Attitudes of Hindko speakers toward other languages were probed through interviews conducted in several villages. Respondents were asked whether they would be willing for their sons to marry Urdu-speaking or Pashto-speaking women. Their attitudes toward a possible Urdu-speaking daughter-in-law were positive in both Sherpur and Balakot. (The responses in the other two villages did not reveal language attitudes.) The attitudes toward a Pashto-speaking daughter-in-law were positive in Sherpur, but quite negative in Balakot.

The respondents were asked to state whether there are advantages to speaking several possible second languages. Their responses are indicated in figure (6.8).

**(6.8)** Attitudes Expressed About the Value of Speaking Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi and Gujari

| | *Urdu* | *Pashto* | *Panjabi* | *Gujari* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Singo Di Garhi | high | low | high | low |
| Sherpur | high | high | moderate | low |
| Balakot | high | low | high | low |

Each community views Urdu as a useful language. Pashto is valued only in Sherpur. Conversely, Panjabi is

valued highly in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot but only moderately in Sherpur. No community sees great value in learning Gojri.

Attitudes toward the Hindko speakers' own language were also studied. Respondents were asked whether they see advantages in speaking Hindko. In every community the responses were positive. They were asked whether they would like to have books and newspapers in Hindko. The responses in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot were highly positive but in Sherpur and Jammun were mildly positive to mildly negative. When asked whether they would like their children to learn to read and write in Hindko, respondents in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot were mildly positive, but those in Sherpur and Jammun were mildly negative. In general, attitudes toward Hindko are uniformly high in Singo Di Garhi and Balakot, where Hindko is relatively unchallenged (except to some degree by Urdu, especially in Balakot). Attitudes toward Hindko are less strong in Sherpur and weaker yet in Jammun, the two communities where Pashto is a stronger challenge to Hindko.

When respondents were asked to listen to tape recordings of speech samples from Wad Pagga and Talagang, the two dialects most widely understood throughout the Hindko-speaking region, and to comment about their impressions of the speaker and the place from which he comes, attitudes expressed toward Wad Pagga

were quite positive, while those toward Talagang were mildly negative.

Finally, respondents were asked for their opinions as to whether the Hindko language will continue to be spoken. In every community there was a positive outlook concerning the vitality of the language, especially in Singo Di Garhi and Sherpur.

## 6.5 Directions for Future Research

From this study a picture has emerged of how various languages are used in the lives of Hindko speakers as well as some information about the distribution of bilingual proficiency in Urdu and Pashto among the various segments of the Hindkospeaking communities. The study has also pointed out some areas for future research that merit mention:

The Hindko dialects, while seeming to form a cohesive dialect grouping, are clearly only one part of an extensive string of dialects that are called by various names, such as Panjabi, Siraiki, Pothohari, Pahari and perhaps others. The linguistic relationships of these dialects and especially the levels of intelligibility that unite – or separate – them are urgent topics for investigation. In this dialect network, which may be termed *Greater Panjabi*, there have emerged and are emerging recognized standard dialects. Attitudes toward these standard dialects and the degree to which each standard is understood throughout the area which it is thought to serve are

matters which should be studied, as is the question of the extent to which there is movement in the direction of standardization resulting from increasing communication, travel and media development. It also remains to be seen whether dialect clusters within Greater Panjabi which bear the same name are internally any closer in terms of linguistic similarity and intelligibility than are adjacent dialects of neighboring clusters which bear different names.

Returning, finally, to Hindko itself, there is a need for further study of the Peshawar dialect, which is coming to be recognized for some purposes as a standard for Hindko. The intelligibility studies presented here suggest that the conservative dialect of the Khalisa villages (Shackle's *Tappa Khalsa*) near Peshawar (e.g., Wad Pagga) is more widely understood than the more eclectic dialect of the city. In view of the move to establish the dialect of the city as a standard, it would be of considerable interest to determine whether the city dialect of Peshawar, ideally of a rather conservative variety, can be widely understood throughout the Hindko-speaking region to an extent equal to that of the rural Peshawar dialects.

# DIALECT VARIATION AND MULTILINGUALISM AMONG GUJJARS OF PAKISTAN

*Calinda E. Hallberg*
*Clare F. O'Leary*

## 1.1 Scope of the Study

The Gujjar people are spread from northwestern and central India, across northern Pakistan, and into northeastern Afghanistan. Their language, Gojri, belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family.**Gojri** -speaking communities in Pakistan are generally located in areas where other languages are more dominant. There are other Indo-Aryan languages in the eastern end of their range, including varieties of Hindko and of Panjabi, as well as some from the Dardic branch: Kashmiri, Shina, and several forms called Kohistani. In the west, Gujjar communities are located in areas dominated by the Iranian language, Pashto. Thus, a sociolinguistic survey of Gujjars in Pakistan should encompass both the variation within Gojri itself and the patterns of multilingualism that are exhibited within Gujjar communities.

Data for this survey were gathered between 1986 and 1989, involving the participation of several researchers. Word lists in Gojri varieties were collected from twelve locations. Narrative texts in the local Gojri variety were tape-recorded in five locations. These recorded texts were

used to evaluate the patterns of intelligibility within Gojri, by testing members of these five Gujjar communities as to how well they understood texts from other regions. In addition, interviews were accomplished with respondents from these communities, regarding perceived dialect differences and similarities.

Multilingualism was investigated by focussing on patterns of second language proficiency and use in two communities. Although there are different variables which affect multilingualism in the many regions where Gojri is spoken, the investigations in these two areas permit comparison between levels of proficiency and reported use of Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, and of the respective local languages of wider communication. A census of each community was taken to construct demographic profiles for these two locations. These profiles uncovered significant social factors, such as gender roles, access to education, patterns of travel, and types of contacts with non-Gujjars; such factors help explain the differing multilingual situations for these two communities. Spoken language proficiency was tested in two languages in each community and orally-administered questionnaires were given regarding use of these other languages.

The underlying questions which motivated this research center on effective communication, both within the wider community of Gujjars in Pakistan and between

Gujjars and those from other language backgrounds. Are there identifiable dialect areas within Gojri? How well can Gujjars within Pakistan understand the varieties of Gojri spoken in regions remote from their own? Is there widespread proficiency in one or more other languages which is exhibited by major portions of the Gujjar population? Is there evidence of language shift from the use of Gojri toward the dominant use of another language? These sociolinguistic issues frame this study and have implications for the future directions of the Gojri - speaking people in Pakistan.

## 1.2 Language Classification

Grierson (LSI IX:10,925) describes Gojri as closely related to the Rajasthani dialects spoken mainly in northwestern India. Bailey (1903) pointed out the similarity of Gojri to Mewari. Grierson (LSI IX:925) states that the grammar is almost identical to another Rajasthani dialect, Mewati, differing in only one or two details and at those points it agrees with Mewari. He notes that Gojri appears to be a more archaic form than Mewati; many Gojri words are at an older stage of development. Grierson also notes (LSI IX:10) that one clan of the Gujjars in Swat Valley, northwestern Pakistan, is called Chauhan; the dominant race in Mewar also belongs to the Chauhan clan of Rajputs. This affinity between two language groups, separated by hundreds of miles and several different languages, raises a number of historical questions as to who the Gujjars are and where they came from.

Before turning to historical origins of Gujjars, however, the relationship between Gojri and some of the other Indo-Aryan languages of Pakistan needs to be addressed. Scholars have had difficulty classifying Northern Hindko, Western Panjabi, and Gojri. Some classifications have followed Grierson in labeling Northern Hindko as part of the Lahnda family although the usefulness of the term "Lahnda" has been disputed. (See Rensch this volume. Also Shackle 1980, Varma 1936.)

The linguistic boundaries between Western Panjabi and Northern Hindko have not been fully established by clear comparative evidence. Many scholars, beginning with Grierson, have noted the inappropriateness of assuming that they are as distinct as is implied by their assignations to separate subbranches of Indo-Aryan.**3** Although Gojri has been classified as a Rajasthani variety, similar problems exist in marking it as if it were clearly differentiated from Western Panjabi and Lahnda varieties. J. C. Sharma (1982:7-8) notes that Gojri /Gujjari

> …shares certain common retentions with Panjabi within [the] Central group of [the] Inner-sub-branch and Lahnda and Sindhi of [the] North-Western group. Besides it has some shared innovation exclusively with Panjabi and its dialects.

He goes on to outline some of the shared features, especially noting that it "shares most of the phonological

features with various geographically contiguous languages" although the morphology is more similar to Rajasthani (1982:8). Sharma (1982:9) concludes by suggesting, "If we take the total features in view, then we may place it [Gujjari/ Gojri] between Panjabi and Rajasthani."

Thus, Panjabi, Hindko, and Gojri pose classification problems; however, they are known to share some phonological and morphological features and vocabulary common among Indo-Aryan languages from the Central and Northwest Indic Zones (Grierson LSI VIII & IX, J. C. Sharma 1982, Masica 1991).**4**

## 1.3 Historical Background of Gujjars

There is much controversy over the origin of the Gujjars. Many scholars support the theory of a Central Asian origin. (See Ibbetson et al., 1911; Grierson LSI IX; Caroe 1958.) Caroe (1958:83) describes the ancestors of the Gujjars, the Gurjaras, as "a sort of vassal or helot group of tribes" which accompanied the Ephthalites (or White Huns) on their invasion of India in the fifth century. (Grierson dates it sixth century, LSI IX:6.) The Ephthalites came from Mongolia where they served as vassals and auxiliaries to the Avars in the fourth century. "The Avars probably spoke a Mongol language and their ruler assumed the title of Khagan or Khan, a title which the Ephthalites brought with them on their travels from Central Asia" (Caroe 1958:82). These invading tribes were

very powerful. They made their primary settlements in Rajputana and the Panjab (Smith quoted in Caroe 1958:85). The ruling families were identified with the Kshatriyas and were called Rajputs by the Brahmans. The subordinate agricultural castes were called Jats, and the pastoral castes were called Gurjaras or, in more modern terms, Gujjars (Grierson LSI IX:9, Smith in Grierson LSI IX:11, Smith in Caroe 1958:86).

Manku (1986:3) cites several authors who oppose the theory of Central Asian origin. They argue that Gurjaras were of Indian origin and Aryan stock. They inhabited the area around Mount Abu in Rajasthan and migrated out from there. For an in-depth presentation of this point of view, see Temple and Bhandarkar 1914.

Grierson presents two theories to explain the presence of a Rajasthani dialect similar to Mewati in such a distant place as Swat Valley. One theory is that some of the Gurjaras, who came into India with the Huns, stayed behind in the Swat region where they retained their language. The others continued on into Rajputana, bringing this same language with them (LSI IX:10). The other theory, espoused by Smith and Grierson, is that the Gujjars emigrated west from Rajputana, probably during the ninth century when the Gurjara-Rajput rule extended across northern and northwestern India. They carried with them the Rajasthani language which was the language of

the court and capital (Smith in Grierson LSI IX:12). Grierson (LSI IX:15) proposes how this language developed:

> The Gurjaras settled among a people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Inner Group akin to Western Hindi. They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech. The result was Rajasthani, a mixed language in which, as has been shown elsewhere, the influence of the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north-east of Rajputana, in Alwar and Mewat, the influence of the Inner Group is strongest.

Grierson (LSI IX:16) proposes that some Mewat Gujjars moved up the Jamna Valley and settled in the Panjab plains, mixing with the local people and losing their local language. Others settled in the submontane area of Gujrat, Gujranwala, and Kangra. They retained some of their own language resulting in a broken mixture of Panjabi and Hindostani. And still others went further into the mountains of Kashmir and westward.

## 1.4 Population

Official population figures for Gujjars in Pakistan are not available, particularly for Gujjars who have maintained the Gojri language, as opposed to those who have not. There is a large number and high concentration of Gojri -speaking Gujjars in the eastern area of north Pakistan, particularly in Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir

and also in the Kaghan Valley in Hazara. J.C. Sharma (1982) guessed that there may be around 200,000 Gojri speakers in Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir. In 1989, a Pakistani Gujjar writer and radio-broadcaster interviewed for this study estimated the population to be around 700,000 for that same area. The 1981 census figure for Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir is 1,980,000, representing all language groups in the region. In the western region of Pakistan (Swat, Dir, Chitral) and also in Indus Kohistan and Gilgit Agency, Gujjars tend to be fewer in number, living in scattered pockets. The issue of Gojri speakers versus ethnic Gujjars who no longer maintain the Gojri language seems to be especially significant in areas of the Panjab and southern Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir.

Gujjars are known to live beyond the borders of Pakistan, both to the east and west. Hasan (1986) explains that there are Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh Gujjars widely spread over northern and central India. Muslim Gujjars are primarily located in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh. The Gujjar population in Jammu and Kashmir is known to be sizeable.

Population estimates for Gujjars in India are more available but are sometimes the subject of some amount of dispute. The 1961 Indian census reported Bakarwali speakers (nomadic Gujjars) separately from Gojri speakers, listing approximately 6,000 and 209,000 respectively for these language groups. J.C. Sharma (1979)

considers Bakarwali a form of Gojri (Gujjari) with little variation. The 1971 Indian census figures (quoted in J.C. Sharma 1982) indicate approximately 330,000. D. Sharma (1988:36) says the 1971 figures are not reliable but that rough estimates can be made based on the 1981 census. He cites dissertation reseach by Bisaria, who estimates that the Gujjar population is about ten per cent of the total population, which comes to about 598,000. He says transhumant (nomadic) Gujjars are approximately one fourth of the total Gujjar population, yielding a figure of approximately 115,000. Breaking things down by states, J.C. Sharma reported that the 1961 census listed approximately 5,000 Gojri -speaking nomads in Himachal Pradesh, 1,450 in Uttar Pradesh, and 450 in Madhya Pradesh. Hasan (1986:7) cites *The Centre for Research, Planning and Action*, New Delhi, which estimates the Gujjar population of Himachel Pradesh to be approximately 47,000, approximately 18,000 of which are migratory, most of these being Muslims. According to Hasan, forest officials in Uttar Pradesh say that Muslim Gujjars from Himachel Pradesh started coming to the area no more than seventy or eighty years ago. The forest officials' figure for Jammu Gujjars in Uttar Pradesh is 7,278. Hasan says the actual population is probably higher but not higher than 10,000.**5** The Gojri spoken by these Indian Gujjars may be somewhat different from the Gojri data presented in this study.

Preliminary evidence indicates that there are surely fewer Gujjars in Afghanistan than in India or Pakistan, perhaps only a small community. The war in Afghanistan has undoubtedly affected this population. Afghan Gujjar interview subjects have reported that Gujjars were located in Nuristan, Kunar Province, and Badakhshan. In general, less concrete data are available about the population and distribution of Afghan Gujjars than about Indian or Pakistani Gujjars. Edelberg and Jones (1979:100- 101) discuss the competition for resources between Nuristanis and Gujjars in Nuristan, stating that by 1964, Gujjars were to be found utlizing the high pastures as far as central Nuristan. These authors mention that some of these Gujjars came from the Swat region through northern Chitral. Unfortunately, the turmoil in Afghanistan has prohibited access to these communities and has made it impossible to evaluate the current population there.

## 1.5 Gujjar Ways of Life

Gujjars in northern Pakistan traditionally have been pastoralists, moving with their herds of goats and sheep or buffalo. Today, however, there is a spectrum of lifestyles among the Gujjars of Pakistan, ranging from nomadic shepherds found among the *Bakarwals* in the east and the *Ajars* in the west to completely settled Gujjars.**6** Many Gujjars are agriculturalists, some with small land holdings; others work as tenant farmers. Many practice traditional transhumance patterns, living in a lower elevation settlement with their crops and animals during the winter

months, and moving to higher mountain pastures in the summer. The focus of this study is primarily on communities of settled and semi-settled Gujjars scattered across the rural areas of northern Pakistan.

## 1.6 Socioeconomic Status of Gujjars

One impression gained through the course of this study is that the socioeconomic situation of Gujjars in Pak occopied Kashmir is considerably different from that of Gojri -speaking Gujjars in the rest of Pakistan. Gujjars are generally considered to have low socioeconomic status in relation to other ethnic groups around them (Ahmed 1986). They often work as tenants or servants to these other groups. Many of the settled Gujjars own land, but only a minority of the men are educated, and few hold high positions in the larger community (outside their own village). Gujjars seem to take pride in their language and ethnicity, but outsiders tend to devalue them and their language. One Pashtoon school teacher in the Gujjar town of Peshmal told the principal field researcher that he should learn a significant language such as Pashto or Urdu, not an “insignificant” language like Gojri. Another Pashtoon told him that the Gojri language has no grammar.

Evidence from informal interviews and personal observation of field researchers indicates that Gujjars in Pak occopied Kashmir enjoy much higher status than Gojri speakers in the rest of Pakistan. Gujjars in Pak occopied

Kashmir are found in every level of society, from servants to government leaders. Many are landed and educated. Indications are that more people are being educated and are achieving higher levels of education in Pak occopied Kashmir than in areas to the west. In Pak occopied Kashmir there are reported to be many schools, and it appears that most of the children among the settled Gujjars are attending school, girls as well as boys. The evidence from the western areas indicates that the majority of Gujjars there are uneducated. There are fewer schools in Gujjar communities, and hardly any girls are educated at all.

Researchers asked one young Gujjar man from Patikha in Pak occopied Kashmir why he thought Gojri is prestigious in his area. He responded:

> Because Gujjars are in the majority; the Gujjars are doing much business; they own much land; they are richer than many of the other people in the area. Other ethnic groups even want to call themselves Gujjars.

This man reported that he had read in a book that Gujjars were backward and poor, but that it is not true in his area. He also reported having seen and read materials written in Gojri . The significance of having written materials in Gojri is seen in the comment of another young man from Trarkhel. He said that Gojri has more

prestige in the area than Pahari because Gojri is written and Pahari is not.

## 1.7 Language Maintenance

Gujjars throughout northern Pakistan, regardless of their status, appear to take pride in their identity as Gujjars and in their history, culture and language. The primary example to the contrary is in the Panjab where Gujjars are reportedly embarrassed to speak Gojri . It is also reported that most Gujjars who migrated to that area at partition are no longer speaking Gojri . Scholars from the turn of the century have mentioned the loss of the Gojri language by Panjab Gujjars who have lived in that area for many years (Bailey 1903, Grierson LSI IX). Areas of reported language shift are in the Panjab, Mirpur, and some villages near Muzaffarabad. In general, though, the language is being used and well maintained in many communities throughout the North-West Frontier Province, Pak occopied Kashmir, and the Northern Areas.

The general impression from the interviews in Pak occopied Kashmir is that in the more rural areas where Gujjars are concentrated or are in a majority, the language is being maintained. In the western areas, however, it seems that Gojri is being maintained even though Gujjars live in more scattered communities and are in the minority relative to the dominant groups in those regions.

## 1.8 Development and Promotion of Gojri

Gujjar ethnic identity is encouraged in various ways in Pakistan. The Gujjar Association based in Lahore and their publication, *The Gujjar Gazette*, serve to help promote and unite Gujjars as a people. Gujjar men from as far away as Chitral reported attending Gujjar conventions. Gojri radio programs help to promote Gojri language, literature, and music. Gujjars and even some non-Gujjars are writing poems and stories in Gojri for radio. Gojri is broadcast in northern Pakistan from Peshawar, Rawalpindi (one half hour daily), and Muzaffarabad (one half hour daily). It is also reportedly broadcast from Srinagar and Jammu on the Indian side of the line of control. A Gujjar radio broadcaster in Rawalpindi reported that a Gojri television program is broadcast from Srinagar and can be received in Mirpur. The radio programs are popular among the Gujjar people. Generally, people across northern Pakistan reported no difficulty understanding the programs from the various Pakistan stations.

There is an expressed interest among some members of the wider Gujjar comunity of northern Pakistan in promoting more written materials in Gojri . There is a small number of authors who are writing and publishing Gojri poetry and stories in a modified Urdu script. Many Gujjars in the east, particularly in Pak occopied Kashmir, are aware of these writings and have read them. Two men from Trarkhel who are writing speeches in Gojri said they would like to see more

publications in Gojri . They are trying to get more published themselves. Another young man said he writes poetry and stories in Gojri and would like to write more. A sixty-year-old man from Subri said books and poetry are available and he gets them and reads them; so do other educated people.

Although Gojri literature has made a beginning in Pakistan, it appears that more work in developing and promoting Gojri is taking place further east in Srinagar. Interviewees reported that the Academy of Culture and Language in Srinagar is publishing many works in Gojri . Awareness of these language development efforts across the line of control have undoubtedly encouraged the aspiring writers and educated Gujjars who are interested in promoting Gojri in Pakistan. The literary efforts of these members of the Gojri -speaking community in Pakistan are significant and should be monitored to evaluate the possible development of a standardized form of Gojri .

## 1.9 Outline of Present Research

The present chapter sets the stage for the subsequent ones by providing initial background information on the Gojri language and the Gujjar people. The analysis of the data regarding dialect variation is presented in chapter 2. Chapter 3 displays the profiles of two Gujjar communities: Peshmal in Swat Valley, and Mittikot in the Kaghan Valley, Hazara. The types of

multilingualism and the levels of proficiency exhibited in these communities are discussed in chapter 4.

# DIALECTS OF Gojri

## 2.1 Introduction

The Gujjar people are spread throughout northern Pakistan, from concentrations in the easternmost areas of Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir to scattered pockets throughout the north and west including villages in the Chitral area along the north-western frontier. In addition, there are Gojri speakers in India, in Jammu and Kashmir, and in Afghanistan, extending beyond the borders of Pakistan both to the east and to the west. With such widespread dispersion in the population, dialectal differentiation in Gojri would be somewhat expected.

This study of dialect variation within Gojri utilized three distinct approaches. First, lexical similarities and differences were evaluated to get an initial index of overall linguistic similarity. The primary motivation for these word list comparisons was to discover evidence of synchronic similarity in lexical usage, rather than of historical relatedness. The second approach was the investigation of the extent to which speakers of selected regional varieties understand the speech of Gujjars from other regions. This was measured by testing Gujjar men from selected regions on their comprehension of tape recorded speech samples consisting of personal-experience narratives. Third, small samples of speakers from various regions were interviewed regarding dialect opinions. Most interviews were given after participants had listened to the taped

narratives; respondents were asked to try to identify the location from which the taped speaker might come, to give their personal opinion as to the quality of the Gojri spoken, and to rate how similar or different the Gojri on the taped sample is from their own variety. Evidence from these three types of indicators is combined in order to infer patterns of dialect intelligibility for the Gojri language as spoken in Pakistan.

## 2.2 Lexical Similarity

### 2.2.1 Word List Collection and Principles of Analysis

Local Gojri equivalents to the items on a 210-item standard word list were elicited from participants representing twelve Gojri -speaking communities. A speaker from each community was asked to provide the most natural Gojri equivalent to each item on the list. These elicitations were later independently checked with another Gojri speaker from the same location. A listing of the items and the general elicitation procedure is presented in appendix A.1.

The methodology for comparison of the word lists is also detailed in appendix A.1. Principles for consistent comparison are based on phonetic similarity of elicited lexical items currently in common use in that location. A synchronic perspective was chosen in order to better understand current patterns of dialect intelligibility in Gojri . The results of this analysis, then, differ somewhat from

the more common diachronic picture expressed in a historical cognate count.**7**

## 2.2.2 Locations of Word List Collection

Word lists were collected from the following localities. The word lists are presented in the general order of their west to east geographic location. See map 3.

1. Kunar Gojri (Kunar Province, Afghanistan)
2. Chitral Gojri (Ashriki)
3. Dir Gojri (near Sheringal)
4. Settled Swat Gojri (Peshmal)
5. Transhumant Swat Gojri (Ragushu)
6. Gilgit Gojri (Naltar Bala)
7. Kaghan Gojri (Mittikot)
8. Southern Hazara Gojri (Tarchatti)
9. Northern Pak occopied Kashmir Gojri (Subri)
10. Central Pak occopied Kashmir Gojri (Trarkhel)
11. Southern Pak occopied Kashmir Gojri (Kotli)
12. Gujranwala Gojri (immigrants from Agra area, India)
13. Poonch Gojri (Mendhar, Poonch District, Indian-Side of Jammu and Kashmir)

All of these lists come from settled Gujjar communities; however, many of them are from locations where the inhabitants practice some sort of seasonal migration. For some communities, seasonal migration involves moving to nearby higher altitudes, perhaps only a few miles above their winter villages. One list, which has been labelled as *Transhumant* Swat Gojri , was collected

from a Gujjar group which could be called seminomadic since their seasonal migration takes them from one end of the Swat Valley to the other.

The Kunar word list was elicited from a refugee from Kunar Province in Afghanistan. He had been living in Chitral, outside his homeland, for two years. The man seemed language-aware and stated his opinion that there is very little difference between his language and the Gojri spoken in the Chitral area and in Peshmal, Swat Valley.

The Chitral word list was elicited and checked in Ashriki village near the roadside town of Tharo in Shishi Koh Valley, approximately twenty kilometers northeast of Drosh. These Gujjars are said to have migrated from Peshmal and Kalam in Swat Kohistan and from Arandu in the lower Chitral River Valley. There are a few thousand Gujjars located in southern Chitral, in the area bordering Afghanistan, especially near Arandu, but this area was inaccessible for research at the time data were collected.

The Dir word list was elicited and checked in the town of Dir with Gujjars who live just a few hours traveling time up the Panjkora Valley in the hills near Sheringal.

Two lists were collected from Swat District. The Settled Swat word list was elicited and checked in Peshmal, a Gujjar town two kilometers south of Kalam in Swat Kohistan. The Transhumant Swat word list, discussed above, was elicited from Gujjar herders, referred to as

*Ajars*, who live in Ragushu village in Lower Swat Valley during the winter months and shift to northern Swat during the summer months in search of pastures for their sheep and goats. The original elicited Transhumant Swat list and the check were taken in Peshmal while these herders were passing through scouting out pastures.

The Gilgit word list was elicited and checked in Naltar Bala, a village in Naltar Valley, which opens into the Hunza River valley, approximately forty kilometers north of Gilgit. The village headman claims that the forefathers of the Naltar Bala Gujjars came from Swat Valley and from the Indus River valley, from such places as Chilas, Komela, Darel, and Tangir. Every winter about half the community of approximately 400 people travels down to Sultanabad, about six kilometers from Gilgit; in the summer, all but a few families go back to Naltar where they have small farms.

The Kaghan word list was elicited and checked in Mittikot, a village three hours walking distance up into the mountains above Balakot, a town in northern Hazara at the mouth of the Kaghan Valley. The Southern Hazara list was elicited from an elderly man in the village of Tarchatti, located in the Haripur *tehsil* of Abbottabad District. It was checked in the village of Choigari, in the same *tehsil* and district.

Three word lists were elicited from Gujjar communities within Pak occopied Kashmir. The Northern Pak occopied

Kashmir word list was elicited in Muzaffarabad from a Gujjar man from Sutband village, approximately sixteen kilometers south of Muzaffarabad. It was checked with a man from Subri village, approximately six kilometers south of Muzaffarabad. The Central Pak occopied Kashmir word list was first given in Rawalakot, the district headquarters of Poonch District, by an educated man from Khrang, twentythree kilometers south of Rawalakot. The list was then checked with a group of five educated men in Trarkhel, a Gujjar village approximately eighteen kilometers south of Rawalakot. The Southern Pak occopied Kashmir word list was given by a man from Kotli, the district headquarters of Kotli District.

One word list comes from an area not contiguous to the other Gojri -speaking communities; as might be expected, it shows the greatest amount of lexical deviation. The Gujranwala word list was elicited and checked with post-partition immigrants who had come from the Jamna River area, near Agra, India, south of Delhi. These people now reside in Kotshera village on the outskirts of the Panjab city of Gujranwala. There are many people of Gujjar ethnicity in this province. Some immigrated from East Panjab (Amritsar, Ludhiana) and Jammu and Kashmir during the time that Pakistan was founded; others have lived in the area for hundreds of years. Unlike the Gujranwala community of Gujjars from the Agra area, however, the majority of Gujjars in the

Panjab are reported to speak Panjabi as their first language.

The elicitation and checking procedure described above was accomplished for each of the lists with two exceptions: the lists from Kunar and from Southern Pak occopied Kashmir. Neither list was elicited on location, nor were there opportunities to check either one. For these reasons, these lists may be less reliable than the others included in this study.

One additional word list was gleaned from publications of the Central Institute of Indian Languages written by J. C. Sharma (1979, 1982). Sharma describes the Poonch variety of *Gojri* (according to the author's spelling), as spoken in several villages in the Suran Valley area across the line of control in disputed Jammu and Kashmir. He notes that, according to his local sources, the Gojri spoken in the Poonch District, particulary in the Suran Valley, was considered to be "more acceptable" (1982:6), being "the purest" (1979:3) form of the language. He explains that this perception of purity is based on the belief that in Poonch District, Gojri /Gujari "has lesser influence of other languages such as Urdu, Dogri and Kashmiri" (1979:3). The villages from which Sharma's data were collected are in Haveli and Mendhar *tehsils*, within Poonch District of Indian-Side of Jammu and Jammu and Kashmir. Because this list was compiled from published analyses of the grammar and phonology of Gojri /Gujari, only 160 Poonch

word list forms were available for comparison, rather than the full 210-item set.

It should be noted that this is not intended to be an exhaustive listing of significant locations where Gojri is spoken, even within Pakistan. As mentioned before, Gujjar communities are scattered throughout the northern part of the country; a complete sampling of locations where Gujjars are known to live would be an unrealistic research goal. There are known to be landless Gujjars continuing to pursue a nomadic herding lifestyle, particularly the *Bakarwals* in Pak occopied Kashmir. The general opinion of settled Gujjars in Pak occopied Kashmir was that the Bakarwal Gojri was only slightly different from their own, the lifestyle being the main difference between the peoples. However no linguistic evidence has been collected to substantiate these opinions.

### 2.2.3 Other Linguistic Varieties included in the Lexical Similarity Comparisons

Four additional word lists from related or significant languages were included in the final lexical similarity comparison with Gojri . Two lists were collected in the process of other research projects undertaken by the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan: Balakot Hindko and Lahore Panjabi. Balakot Hindko represents the northernmost Hindko variety as is spoken in the Kaghan Valley, Hazara region; Balakot is a neighboring major town near Mittikot, where the Kaghan Gojri list was collected.

Hindko is an important language of wider communication in the Hazara region.

The commonality due to shared genetic history between Western Panjabi, Hindko, and Gojri is overlaid with a very long history of mutual borrowings, creating patterns of divergence and convergence that many scholars have noted as being extremely difficult to sort out. Therefore the Lahore Panjabi and the Balakot Hindko word lists were included in the analysis in order to assess the relative levels of similarity between the collected Gojri varieties and these two lists which are labelled as distinct languages. Again, the purpose is to evaluate synchronic lexical similarity according to the phonetic similarities between word list items sampled, not to provide support for historical classification based on cognicity.

Two lists represent major, standardized languages in northern Pakistan, Urdu and Yusufzai Pashto. Both of these languages are used for communication with non-Gujjari speakers by certain segments of the Gujjar communities in some locations. In addition to being the national language and the language of education in Pakistan, Urdu was used for cueing bilingual respondents when elicitating lexical items in Gojri. Like Western Panjabi, Hindko, and Gojri, Urdu is also part of the Indo-Aryan or Indic branch of the Indo-European family. Several Gujjar respondents spoke of the similarity between Urdu and Gojri during interviews, mentioning such opinions as

Urdu being easier to learn and understand because it is similar to Gojri .

In contrast, Pashto is classified as part of the Iranian branch, and is clearly more distinct from Gojri than the other varieties being compared. Being the major language of wider communication in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, Pashto is spoken as a second language by many Gujjars from the western word list locations. Grierson (LSI IX.4:941) and others (e.g., Varma 1978) have suggested that Pashto borrowings intrude on the Gojri spoken in some of these Western locations, particularly in Swat District. In support of such borrowings, several interview subjects in this study from non-Pashto speaking areas mentioned the use of Pashto words in the recorded text from Swat.

### 2.2.4 Lexical Similarity Counts

After the word list data were gathered, each list was compared with each of the others, pair by pair, in order to determine the similarity between corresponding lexical items. The similarity decisions were made according to the synchronic principles mentioned above, using the method for ensuring consistency which is described in appendix A.1. After all pairs of items on two word lists were compared, the percentage of similar items was calculated. This procedure was repeated for each pair of word list locations. The percentage of phonetically similar

items for each pair of Gojri word list locations is displayed in figure (1)

**Figure (1)** Lexical similarity percentages for Gujari word lists

Kunar, Afghanistan
88 Chitral
93 92 Dir *Western cluster*
84 85 89 Peshmal Swat
85 88 90 94 Transhumant Swat
85 90 87 87 92 Gilgit
74 79 76 81 83 81 Kaghan
70 73 73 74 75 73 85 Southern Hazara *Eastern cluster*
69 72 72 71 74 73 88 83 Northern Azad Kashmir
71 74 74 75 80 75 83 85 86 Central Azad Kashmir
64 66 66 65 69 66 73 78 79 91 Southern Azad Kashmir
67 71 70 69 74 71 77 75 81 91 81 Poonch Gojri, India
54 58 56 58 58 57 61 60 60 68 61 61 Gujranwala
62 65 63 66 71 67 79 81 80 77 71 71 53 Balakot Hindko *Other*
51 56 55 57 61 56 64 71 64 73 67 63 58 70 Panjabi *Languages*
47 52 50 54 56 53 62 59 57 71 63 64 65 56 56 Urdu
10 11 11 11 12 10 11 13 10 12 10 8 9 11 9 13 Yusufzai Pashto

## 2.2.5 Evidence of Gojri Dialect Groupings: East-West Continuum

The lexical similarity counts suggest that there is a continuum of similarity between varieties of Gojri ranging in a general east to west direction across northern Pakistan. The Gujranwala list deviates from this pattern and will be discussed separately. The east-west word list continuum can be analyzed in terms of two dialect clusters although the percentages are not as neatly separable as such a division might suggest. Nonetheless, with the

exception of the Kaghan word list discussed as a border area below, the range of similarity percentages for each location shows higher counts for comparisons within its dialect cluster than are shown between that location and those locations outside that cluster. Thus *Western* locations display higher similarity to other Western locations than they display to any *Eastern* locations, and vice versa. The lexical similarity percentages within each tentative dialect cluster are generally between 80 and 100 percent. In contrast, the range of percentages between all Western and Eastern locations is 64 to 83 percent.

These tentative clusters can be outlined as follows. The Western dialect group includes the sampled varieties of Gojri spoken in Chitral, Dir, Swat (two lists), and Gilgit. The Kunar list from Afghanistan also falls into this Western grouping. The range of similarity between the Western lists, including the Kunar list, is 94 to 84 percent, with the average within-group similarity at 89 percent.

The Eastern group clusters less tightly than the Western group. Sampled Gojri varieties from Northern, Central, and Southern Pak occopied Kashmir, and Southern Hazara group together to form an *Eastern* dialect cluster. The range of similarity between these lists is 91 to 78 percent, with an average similarity of 83 percent. The lowest similarity counts within this group are from comparisons with the Southern Pak occopied Kashmir list, which was noted above as possibly less reliable since it

was neither elicited on location, nor checked. If the Southern Pak occopied Kashmir list were excluded on the basis of being less reliable, the range within the Eastern group is narrower, 83 to 86 percent, and the average similarity is slightly higher at 85 percent. Even so, word list comparisons indicate more lexical variation among the Eastern Gojri varieties.

The Gojri spoken in the Kaghan Valley and represented in the list from Mittikot could be viewed as a border variety between the Western and Eastern clusters.**13** The lexical similarity percentages are slightly higher between Kaghan Gojri and Eastern varieties (88 to 73 percent range, 82 percent average) than between Kaghan Gojri and Western varieties (83 to 74 percent range, 79 percent average). This slight tendency towards greater similarity between the Kaghan list and the Eastern lists is supported by other types of evidence which indicate that the Kaghan variety may be viewed as a member of that cluster.

These indicators include the dialect opinions expressed by both Eastern and Western variety speakers, and those of the interviewed participants from Mittikot itself. Mittikot subjects evaluated the text from Pak occopied Kashmir as “pure” Gojri , identical to their own speech. While Eastern area participants from Pak occopied Kashmir evaluated the Kaghan text as very similar to their own speech, Gujjars from the Western areas said that the

Kaghan text mixes forms from Hindko or Panjabi. As is discussed in a subsequent section, the word list comparisons between Kaghan Gojri and other related Indo-Aryan languages (Urdu, Hindko, and Lahore Panjabi) display similar patterns to those of other Eastern group varieties. In addition, the language of wider communication of the Kaghan area is Hindko, an Indo-Aryan language which falls on the eastward direction of the linguistic "fault line" separating Indic from Iranian languages (see Rensch this volume). In contrast, Pashto, which fills the *lingua franca* role for much of the Western dialect area, falls on the western side of the linguistic divide as an Iranian language.**14** These facts indicate that in various ways the sociolinguistic situation of Kaghan Gojri is more similar to that of the Eastern dialect cluster than to the Western.

The *Gojri* list from Poonch District in Indian-Side of Jammu and Kashmir is quite similar to the word lists from Pak occopied Kashmir, particulary the Central Pak occopied Kashmir list with which it shares 91 percent similarity; the Northern and Southern Pak occopied Kashmir lists are both at 81 percent similarity with Poonch District Gojri . The comparisons with the two Hazara lists, Kaghan and Southern Hazara, drop to 77 and 75 percent respectively. The range of similarity percentages between the Gojri list and the Western lists falls to between 67 and 74 percent. Thus, the published Poonch Gojri list also

follows the general pattern of higher similarity with Eastern than with Western varieties of Gojri .

The one elicited Gojri word list that has been excluded from this Western and Eastern cluster analysis is the list from Gujranwala. As noted above, Gujranwala is not contiguous to the rest of the communities, and represents a different sociolinguistic situation, especially since this is a fairly recent settlement of Gujjars originating from India. This list is perhaps more representative of the Gojri spoken in the Agra area from which this community came. Panjabi is the language of wider communication in the Gujranwala area, and most ethnic Gujjars throughout the Panjab have Panjabi as their first language. Gujranwala Gujjars are completely settled, and practice lifestyles similar to those of their surrounding Panjabi neighbors. The lexical similarity count indicates that the Gujranwala list is most similar to the Central Pak occopied Kashmir list, with a moderately low percentage of 68 percent similarity. It is slightly more similar to the Eastern cluster than to the Western one. Gujranwala with all the Eastern lists excluding Central Pak occopied Kashmir falls at 60 or 61 percent, and there is a range of 54 to 58 percent between it and all the Western lists. These percentages are considerably lower than those from comparisons between the other Gojri lists, and thus it stands outside the east-west continuum of dialects proposed above. Comments from Gujranwala Gujjars in response to the Western recorded text from Peshmal, Swat support the

conclusion that the Gojri spoken in their community is markedly different from that of Swat.

### 2.2.6 Additional Comparisons with Related and Neighboring Languages

Although borrowings and inherently related forms are not distinguished when doing word list similarity counts, consistent patterns in phonetic similarity counts are observable when the Eastern and Western dialect clusters of Gojri are compared with lists in Balakot Hindko, Lahore Panjabi, and Urdu. Gojri word lists from Eastern and Western locations both displayed low percentages of similarity with Yusufzai Pashto, a range of 10 to 13 percent.

The most surprising result of this comparison with other named languages is the relatively high similarity between Eastern Gojri varieties and Balakot Hindko. The lexical similarity counts between Balakot Hindko and Gojri varieties in the Eastern cluster range between 71 and 81 percent, with an average of 78 percent. In contrast, similarity percentages between Balakot Hindko and the Western Gojri varieties range between 62 and 71 percent, with an average similarity of 66 percent. This east-west contrast is explainable since Hindko is a widely spoken language in parts of the eastern region, which is not the case in the areas of the west where there are Gujjar communities.

It is interesting to note that the percentages between many Eastern Gojri varieties and Balakot Hindko are higher than those between these same Eastern varieties and many of the Western Gojri varieties. The Balakot Hindko list with those of the Eastern group ranges between 72 and 81 percent similarity, with an average similarity of 78 percent. Western Gojri varieties compare with Eastern varieties with a range of 64 to 83 percent and an average similarity of 73 percent. These figures indicate that the lexical inventories of some Eastern varieties of Gojri may be slightly more similar to that of Balakot Hindko than they are to those of Western varieties of Gojri .

A likely explanation is that borrowings from Hindko have made their way into the lexicon of Gujjar communities in close proximity to Hindko speakers, contributing to the divergence of Eastern and Western dialects of Gojri . However, since Hindko and Gojri are also related languages, there is a foundation of similarity between them because of their genetic relatedness. In their effects on the moderately high similarity counts between Eastern Gojri and Balakot Hindko, the contribution of the magnitude of borrowings is not separable from that of historical relatedness.

Similar patterns of higher similarity with the Eastern cluster are seen when comparisons are made with Lahore Panjabi and Urdu. Lahore Panjabi word list

percentages indicate more similarity with Eastern Gojri varieties than with Western Gojri varieties. The lexical similarity percentages with the Eastern group range between 64 and 73 percent, with an average similarity of 68 percent. The comparisons with the Western group are approximately 10 percent lower, ranging from 51 to 61 percent, and averaging at 56 percent.

Percentages from the comparison of Gojri and Urdu word lists show somewhat less similarity than was shown by the comparison with Panjabi. However there is a replication of the pattern of an approximate 10 percent increase in lexical similarity between Urdu and Eastern Gojri varieties than between Urdu and Western Gojri varieties. Urdu with the Eastern group ranges between 57 and 71 percent similarity, with an average at 62 percent. Urdu with the Western group falls to a range of 47 to 56 percent and an average of 52 percent.

The word list evidence presented here is insufficient for the definite identification of processes of linguistic divergence and convergence. There remain questions related to differing tendencies toward maintenance of traditional forms which have brought about these east-west dialect patterns. However, there is definite lexical evidence for the increased similarity between Eastern varieties of Gojri and their related linguistic neighbors on the east side of the Iranian-Indic fault line.

## 2.3 Comprehension of Recorded Speech

Both linguistic and extralinguistic factors affect a hearer's comprehension of the spoken forms of related linguistic varieties. Shared linguistic features in the lexicon, phonology, and grammar contribute to the ability to decode meaning from oral texts. Social factors influence patterns of intelligibility as well, such as frequency and depth of contact with members of the speech community represented, the necessity or motivation to communicate with such speakers, and the social prestige or stigmatization associated with certain speech forms. A combination of these linguistic and social factors serve to differentiate spoken forms of Gojri .

### 2.3.1 Recorded Text Testing of Regional Varieties of Gojri

In order to evaluate the intelligibility of varieties of Gojri spoken in different locations, tape-recorded texts were collected from five locations and constructed into simple, orallyadministered comprehension tests. In each case, a short, personal-experience narrative was elicited from a speaker of the target speech variety and tape recorded. A set of comprehension questions was then constructed based on various semantic areas covered in the text. The averaged scores on this *recorded text test* (RTT) from the speakers of other varieties of Gojri represent their ability to comprehend the test variety. From this, extrapolations could be made regarding intelligibility between the varieties. A more detailed

description of the methodology is given in appendix A.2 of this volume.

These recorded text tests were developed in the regional varieties of Gojri spoken in specific sites in Chitral, Swat, Gilgit, Kaghan, and Pak occopied Kashmir. Each test was first administered in the area where it was developed in order to verify that the text represents a good, natural sample of local speech and that the test questions are clear and can be easily answered by local speakers. The RTTs were then administered in the other regions. The Chitral, Swat, Gilgit, and Kaghan RTTs were all administered in each of these four locations; thus, there is a complete four-way comparison between these locations with four RTTs administered in each. The Pak occopied Kashmir testing was limited in that only two texts were tested in the Central Pak occopied Kashmir location; these were the Swat and the Kaghan RTTs. The Pak occopied Kashmir text was tested in three of the other regions, Chitral, Swat, and Kaghan, in addition to the initial validation testing in the Central Pak occopied Kashmir area. In terms of the dialect continuum tentatively proposed on the basis of the word lists, three of the RTT sites are in the Western region (Chitral, Swat, and Gilgit) and the remaining two are in the Eastern region (Kaghan, Pak occopied Kashmir).

### 2.3.2 Mean Comprehension Scores on Recorded Text Tests

The results of recorded text testing in the five Gojri locations are shown in figure (2). The mean comprehension score is listed for each recorded text test (RTT) given in each test location. In addition, a 95 percent confidence interval is given as an estimate of the range within which the comprehension score for the total population would fall, based on the distribution of scores in the sample. The number of test subjects per sample and the standard deviation are indicated for each mean score. The RTT means are given as percentages of correct answers. Standard deviations for each mean indicate the amount of variation within each sample.

**Figure (2)** Mean Scores on Gujari Recorded Text Tests

| TEXTS: | TEST LOCATIONS:[17] *Chitral* | *Swat* | *Gilgit* | *Kaghan* | *Central Azad Kashmir* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Chitral* | m = 95<br>CI 92-99<br>sd = 8<br>n = 24 | m = 94<br>CI 89-99<br>sd = 7<br>n = 10 | m = 83<br>CI 72-94<br>sd = 16<br>n = 10 | m = 73<br>CI 60-86<br>sd = 18<br>n = 10 | |
| *Swat* | m = 97<br>CI 93-100<br>sd = 5<br>n = 9 | m = 96<br>CI 94-99<br>sd = 7<br>n = 33 | m = 96<br>CI 92-100<br>sd = 5<br>n = 10 | m = 88<br>CI 81-95<br>sd = 9<br>n = 10 | m = 53<br>CI 42-63<br>sd = 13<br>n = 8 |
| *Gilgit* | m = 93<br>CI 87-99<br>sd = 8<br>n = 10 | m = 95<br>CI 91-98<br>sd = 5<br>n = 10 | m = 97<br>CI 94-100<br>sd = 5<br>n = 11 | m = 86<br>CI 81-91<br>sd = 7<br>n = 10 | |
| *Kaghan* | m = 82<br>CI 73-91<br>sd = 13<br>n = 10 | m = 95<br>CI 90-100<br>sd = 7<br>n = 10 | m = 93<br>CI 86-100<br>sd = 11<br>n = 11 | m = 97<br>CI 95-99<br>sd = 5<br>n = 29 | m = 86<br>CI 77-95<br>sd = 11<br>n = 8 |
| *Central Azad Kashmir* | m = 80<br>CI 72-87<br>sd = 8<br>n = 7 | m = 85<br>CI 77-93<br>sd = 12<br>n = 10 | | m = 87<br>CI 81-93<br>sd = 8<br>n = 10 | m = 100<br>CI 100<br>sd = 0<br>n = 8 |

m = RTT mean sd = standard deviation n = number of test subject
CI = 95% confidence interval — range estimate based on RTT mean

## 2.3.3 Recorded Text Test Analysis

The RTT analysis shows the same general continuum of East-West variation as shown in the analysis

of the Gojri word lists. Mean scores from Western texts tested in Western locations (Chitral, Swat, Gilgit) are higher than the mean scores from Eastern texts tested in Western locations. Excluding the hometown RTTs used as validation tests in the locations from which that spoken form was recorded, the Western texts tested in Western locations display means ranging from 93 to 97 percent in all but one case. The performance of Gilgit Gujjars on the Chitral text, both within the posited Western region, is somewhat lower with a mean of 83 percent; the Chitral Gujjars perform well on the Gilgit Gojri text, however, with a mean score of 93 percent. Overall these Western RTT results seem to indicate fairly high intelligibility of spoken forms of Gojri within the Western region, with a tentative indication of some comprehension loss between Gilgit and Chitral varieties of Gojri .

In comparison to the scores on RTTs within the Western region, the range of RTT means for Eastern texts tested in Western locations is still high overall, but shows a slight drop, between 80 percent and 95 percent. The high mean scores within this range are seen in the results of the Kaghan RTT tested in the Gilgit and Swat regions, with means of 93 percent and 95 percent respectively. Such results support the position of Kaghan Gojri as a border variety between Eastern and Western dialect clusters. The Kaghan RTT mean dips to 82 percent in the far western test site of Chitral. The Pak occopied Kashmir RTT shows lower results in both the Chitral and Swat test sites, at 80

and 85 percent. These means tentatively indicate moderate to fairly high comprehension by Western Gujjars listening to the speech forms exemplified in the Eastern Gojri texts.

Eastern texts tested in Eastern locations (Kaghan, Central Pak occopied Kashmir) show higher means than Western texts in Eastern locations. Within-group means for the Eastern regional texts are 86 percent for Central Pak occopied Kashmir subjects on the Kaghan text and 87 percent for Kaghan subjects on the Central Pak occopied Kashmir text. These means are not as high as the within-region RTT means for the Western dialect cluster (93 to 97 percent); however, they also point to moderate to fairly high intelligibility among the Eastern varieties tested. Thus, means and ranges based on confidence intervals on RTTs from within the region tend to be higher than those on RTTs from the other region.

In comparing the two regions by their scores on texts from outside their dialect cluster, it appears that the subjects living in Western regions had relatively less trouble on the Eastern texts (means ranging from 80 to 95 percent), than the opposite case. In other words, the subjects living in Eastern regions had quite a bit of trouble understanding some of the Western texts (means ranging from 53 to 88 percent). The Chitral text was not well understood in the only Eastern location where it was tested, Kaghan.

The striking indicator of Eastern subjects' limited understanding of Western varieties was the 53 percent mean on the Swat text tested in the farthest Eastern area, Central Pak occopied Kashmir. The Swat text shows the highest mean scores within the Western group (96 to 97 percent), drops to 88 percent in the Eastern border area of Kaghan, then to 53 percent in Central Pak occopied Kashmir. The presence of certain unfamiliar lexical items in this Swat Gojri text is a partial explanation for the sharp drop in comprehension scores. As is discussed in the following section, the importance of these lexical items in causing a loss of comprehension is supported by the performance of RTT subjects and by the opinions expressed by these subjects and others who listened to the text.

The other two Western texts (Chitral, Gilgit) were tested only in Kaghan and not in the farther east location of Central Pak occopied Kashmir. However the means for these two Western texts in the Eastern-border area of Kaghan are lower as well. In Kaghan, the Chitral RTT mean was 73 percent, versus 83 and 94 percent for the other Western locations. In Kaghan, the Gilgit RTT mean was 86 percent, in contrast to 93 and 95 percent for the Gilgit test in other Western locations.

The Kaghan text displays higher scores in the Western region than the further Eastern text, Central Pak occopied Kashmir, does. This supports the indicators that

Kaghan Gojri is a border variety between the Eastern and Western regions. Less testing of Western varieties in the Eastern region was accomplished, so it is difficult to say which Western variety may be better understood in the East.

There is tentative evidence of variation in intelligibility indicated by different means on RTTs in different regional varieties of Gojri ; but since there is some amount of variation in the levels of difficulty between these texts, it is difficult to interpret the significance of such comparisons between comprehension scores. Nevertheless, the overall pattern of an east-west dialect continuum is consistent with the pattern of recorded text test scores.

## 2.4 Dialect Opinions in Reference to Recorded Texts

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, recorded text test participants were also asked to give their opinions of the texts they heard. Open ended questions were presented to elicit attitudes and perceptions after the testing was completed; in a few cases, these same questions were asked of Gujjar men who had not fully participated in the comprehension testing, but who had listened to the story texts as part of a more informal interview. The questions focussed on the following areas: Was the recorded story “good Gojri ”? Why or why not? Where did the respondent think the

storyteller was from? Is the Gojri in the story the same or different from the way the respondent speaks? Which story represented the most different variety of Gojri ? How well did the respondents feel that they understood the variety of Gojri in the story? These dialect perceptions and attitudes round out the patterns of intelligibility indicated by the more quantitative evidence presented above.

Comments expressed by subjects regarding RTT texts and general opinions given regarding perceived Gojri dialects support the word list and RTT results. Although these comments undoubtedly have some bearing in linguistic reality, the specific frequencies of divergent versus shared linguistic forms between spoken forms of Gojri and related or surrounding linguistic varieties have not been fully investigated. Thus these comments are included as supportive evidence of perceived dialect differences.

The general pattern was that interviewees from the East felt that Gojri spoken in the West was somewhat different from their own and likewise, those from the West recognized differences in the Gojri spoken in the East. The few individuals tested from the extreme ends of the East-West continuum (coming from regions outside the scope of the formal study, from Afghanistan or from Indian-Side of Jammu and Kashmir) expressed even greater difficulty understanding the Gojri from the opposite side. In addition to these perceptions of

difference, the respondents' perceptions of similarity support the clustering of Eastern varieties and the clustering of Western ones. Subjects' comments regarding Kaghan Gojri support the grouping of this borderline variety with the Eastern rather than the Western dialect cluster.

Respondents who listened to the recorded texts from various areas often compared them by giving opinions on the relative purity, correctness, or overall goodness of the Gojri represented in the recording. There were no expressions by those interviewed of negative attitudes toward their own local variety of Gojri in comparison to some prestige associated with another regional variety. Instead, many respondents specified that their own regional variety was the best Gojri . The most frequent comment about the recorded texts from outside the participant's dialect cluster was that these forms of Gojri were a little different or perhaps very different. Interestingly, the perceptions of most subjects who listened to the recordings were relatively accurate with regards to their identification of the general region from which these texts came. Western recordings were generally recognized as similar to other texts from the Western dialect cluster and vice versa.

Some Western dialect speakers explained that the Gojri spoken in the East was a different variety, in contrast to the similarity they perceived with speech forms

between Swat, Dir and Chitral. This support for the East-West difference is also seen in the reverse direction, in responses of Eastern speakers toward Western forms of Gojri . Two of the men interviewed independently in Pak occopied Kashmir spoke of “two dialects” of Gojri within Pakistan, separating the Gojri spoken in Swat and Chitral (one included Gilgit in this dialect group as well) from that spoken in Hazara and Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir.

The issue of “pure” versus “mixed” Gojri was often mentioned by RTT subjects and interviewees, lending further support to the East-West split hypothesis described in the word list analysis. RTT subjects repeatedly commented regarding code-mixing in the recorded texts. Several subjects from the West described the Gojri in the Eastern recorded texts as mixing Hindko, Pahari, Panjabi, or Urdu. As mentioned above, the Eastern word lists do display higher similarity counts with these other languages than do the Western ones. Two respondents also mentioned the influence of Kashmiri in the Trarkhel text. Some subjects in the East describe the Peshmal text as mixing Pashto, though the word list counts do not support this pattern. Some subjects also mentioned the influence of Swat Kohistani words in the Peshmal text, and one subject mentioned some Khowar words in the Chitral Gojri text. Lexical borrowing from regional languages is to be expected, but we have no measure as to the extent that borrowed forms actually occur in the recorded texts to compare with the perceptions mentioned by some

subjects. It is likely that even a few unfamiliar loan words would stand out and provoke comment by listeners from regions where the loaning language is not spoken.

Lexical influence on some Gojri varieties from the national language, Urdu, and from the widely spoken Panjabi could improve the comprehension of such varieties by those Gujjars with education or greater contact with those languages. The exposure to Urdu was mentioned by one respondent from Chitral as boosting his comprehension of the recorded text from Central Pak occopied Kashmir. Another interview respondent stated that the Gojri radio broadcasts from Muzaffarabad and from Rawalpindi are mixed with some Urdu because the announcers are literate; but that these Urdu loans make "only one percent difference" from the dialect spoken by the Gujjars in Pak occopied Kashmir. There were several supporting comments from other Gujjars interviewed who gave opinions such as the belief of widespread ability to understand Urdu, even among the uneducated Gujjars, because their languages are similar, or the comment that Urduspeaking girls would make suitable wives for their sons because Urdu is similar to their language. The opinion that Gojri is similar to Panjabi was widely voiced as well, with one of the Gujjars interviewed in the Panjab stating that Gojri was really a "dialect of Panjabi".

"Pure" Gojri was identified by various Eastern interviewees as coming from areas within the posited

Eastern region, or further east into Jammu and Kashmir. One man, a radio announcer for Gojri broadcasts from Rawalpindi, mentioned that the Gojri spoken in the Kaghan area, Upper Hazara, was the purest form of Gojri within Pakistan. Other Eastern dialect speakers pinpointed the spoken forms from locations in Jammu and Kashmir, or identified the speech of the Bakarwals as the purest form of their language. Some more sophisticated and educated Gujjars from the Panjab or from Pak occopied Kashmir were aware of Gojri language promotion in Srinagar or other locations across the eastern frontier. The historical ties tracing Pakistani Gujjars as migrating from areas south and east were acknowledged by some interviewees from both the east and the west. Thus there is some evidence for the perceptions of more traditional Gojri being centered toward the easterly direction, rather than the west.

Overarching this attention to the differences between varieties of Gojri , there appeared to be a common perception of shared ethnic identity between Gujjars and the assertion that they speak their own Gojri language. Many respondents commented on the texts from other areas by stating that the speech on the tape was “my language, but different”. Gujjars from various locations mentioned listening to the radio broadcasts; one man reported that these broadcasts originate in Peshawar, in Muzaffarabad, in Srinagar, and in Jammu, and that he can understand the Gojri from all these place because the

language is essentially the same everywhere. The importance of Gujjar unity is supported by the existence of organizations, such as the *Union for the Gujjar Gazette* and the *Gujjar Association*. These associations hold regular conventions; attendance at such conventions was reported by participants even from the farthest extremes of dialect areas represented in this study, from Chitral to Gujranwala. Thus the perception of a unifying Gojri language and identity seems to be significant to the Gujjar community.

## 2.5 Indications of Dialect Intelligibility Patterns and Directions for Future Research

Overall, both the word list analysis and the recorded text test results support the pattern of declining comprehension as distance between regional varieties of Gojri increases. This pattern of increasing difficulty in comprehension of more distant Gojri varieties is supported by opinions and perceptions of interview participants as well. However, Gujjars are distinguished by a strong and unified ethnic identity, and they seem to regard the language spoken by various Gujjar communities as one unifying and distinguishing feature of their common ethnicity. It seems apparent that Gojri speakers regard their language as having regional variance, but as one common tongue.

A common view regarding the distinction between different languages versus dialects of the same language is

based on the premise that dialects of the same language are intelligible to the speakers of variant dialects, whereas different languages are not sufficiently intelligible for speakers to understand each other without the opportunity for acquisition or learning. Although the evidence gathered on linguistic varieties labeled as Gojri cannot uncontrovertably prove that the investigated spoken forms are merely different dialects, i.e., sufficiently intelligible not to be labeled as Gojri languages, it appears that this is the case. There is clearly some loss of comprehension between the more distant varieties of Gojri within Pakistan. How much adjustment Gojri speakers must make to accomodate to dialectal differences is an avenue for further research.

Although both the Eastern and Western Gojri spoken varieties show some divergence and are undoubtedly affected by their surrounding languages, there is tentative evidence that Western Gojri speakers better understand the speech forms of Eastern Gujjars, than the Easterners understand the Western varieties. One possible explanation could be that if the Eastern Gojri varieties are closer to the historical form from which all forms of Gojri have derived, then perhaps Western Gujjars retain some level of receptive competence to comprehend such varieties though their productive competence may reflect more divergence. Another explanation might be that since the Eastern varieties of Gojri are more similar to Urdu and Panjabi, any knowlege

of Urdu or exposure to Panjabi among Western Gujjars is likely to improve their understanding of Eastern Gojri . Whether these language contact factors have significantly impacted the investigation of intelligibility is difficult to say. Verification of such speculation requires further research.

Being that the Kaghan variety of Gojri shows evidence of being a border dialect in the East-West continuum of Gojri varieties, it may represent the most central and widely understood form of the Gojri language as spoken within Pakistan. However, the Gojri variety spoken to the east of Kaghan in Pak occopied Kashmir is significant for two reasons. Speakers there are more numerous and concentrated. In addition, some educated Gujjars from Pak occopied Jammu and Kashmir are aware of the development efforts in Srinagar where some Gojri literature is being produced, and they are committed to the development and promotion of Gojri in Pakistan.

As has been noted, Gojri is spoken by a significant number of speakers outside of Pakistan, particularly towards the east in the disputed area of Jammu and Kashmir, and in India. A more complete picture of the extent of intelligiblity for the full range of Gojri varieties requires investigation beyond the borders of Pakistan.

# PROFILES OF TWO GUJJAR COMMUNITIES

## 3.1 Introduction

Two Gujjar communities were studied in depth in order to examine social features relevant to sociolinguistic patterns in these communities. The first community was Peshmal, a small Gujjar town in northern Swat Valley near Kalam. The second was Mittikot, a village in the mountains above Balakot, near the mouth of the Kaghan Valley. For the purposes of this study, the Peshmal community, in the proposed Western dialect area, represents Gujjars living in a small town which is easily accessable and is set in a dominant Pashtoon region with Pashto as the language of wider communication. The Mittikot community, in the proposed Eastern dialect area, represents Gujjars in a small, more isolated village set in a region where Hindko is the dominant language of wider communication.

## 3.2 Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to present a general description of each Gujjar community and a profile of social factors, such as gender, age, and education which are relevant to the sociolinguistic patterns seen in these communities. In each community, a census was taken, second language proficiency was tested, and interviews were conducted regarding language use and attitudes and travel experience.

The census for Peshmal does not include the entire Peshmal area. Rather, census data was gathered in Gush, a

settlement in larger Peshmal, as representative of the Peshmal area in general. The Gush census information is complete in that every household is included. A Gojri - speaking, middle school teacher and lifelong resident of the community provided all the data on each household, giving information for each member as to age, gender, education level, khel, and relationship to the head of the household. In Mittikot, a representative from each household was interviewed regarding each household member. The census counted all the residents, including those residing in the lower village of Mittikot, as well as those in the high summer settlement.

## 3.3 Peshmal

Peshmal is a small Gujjar town located approximately two kilometers south of Kalam along the Swat River. It is situated on the main road into northern Swat and is frequented by tourists and others passing through on their way to Kalam. The regional language spoken in the area is Pashto. The village immediately across the river from Peshmal, called Ariani, has a majority Pashtoon population. Kohistani people also live in the area and speak their own Kohistani language. The nearby town of Kalam is predominantly Kohistani speaking.

### 3.3.1 Peshmal Population

An estimate of the population of greater Peshmal is approximately 3,500. According to the 1987 census taken by the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan, Gush

has a total population of 268: 150 males and 118 females, with 43 households, averaging 6.2 people per household. Similarly, the 1981 government census lists the Gush population as 210 people with 37 households. The distribution of the 1987 Gush population by age and gender is displayed in figure (1).

**(1)** Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987): Distribution of Males and Females in Age Groups

| | *Males* | | *Females* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age in Years | *n* | Percentage of Males | *n* | Percentage of Females |
| 1- 9 | 42 | 28% | 39 | 33% |
| 10-19 | 41 | 27 | 22 | 19 |
| 20-29 | 25 | 17 | 23 | 20 |
| 30-39 | 13 | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| 40+ | 29 | 19 | 21 | 18 |
| Unknown | | | 4 | 3 |
| *Total* | 150 | | 118 | |

## 3.3.2 General Background on Peshmal Gujjars

One leading Gujjar family in Gush, managers and partial owners of the Peshmal Hotel, traces their ancestral migration into the area from Gujjarat, Rajasthan, and the Panjab. Another man, the young middle school teacher, explains that the Peshmal Gujjars have been settled in the area for hundreds of years. Two or three Gujjars came and settled in the area from the Kana *khel*. According to the teacher, the people do not have a tradition as nomadic herdsmen. The Gujjars in the Peshmal area today are

farmers of small land holdings. The crops are primarily maize, potatoes, and turnips. The people also grow smaller amounts of other vegetables. Gujjar men travel to Lahore and Rawalpindi to sell potatoes. Beans, turnips, and walnuts are also sold. Peshmal Gujjars do not have herds of goats or sheep; generally there is only one or two per family. The people have cows and buffaloes for milk and for plowing.

Peshmal Gujjars own land in the upper regions above Peshmal. Transhumant or semi-nomadic Gujjars, referred to by locals as *Ajris* or in the literature as *Ajars*, come up into the area from Lower Swat during the summer months and pay the settled Peshmal Gujjars for permission to graze their herds on the land.**23** Peshmal Gujjars also own forest land. They cut the timber and sell it to people from Bahrain, Mingora, and other places further down the valley. The government also buys timber directly from the Gujjars.

Many Peshmal Gujjars (preliminary questionnaire data indicate approximately half the population) leave Peshmal for about six months in the winter to escape the cold and snow and to seek employment. They travel to lower areas such as Malakand, Peshawar, Nowshera, and Rawalpindi. Often whole families travel south.

Peshmal has a small bazaar with seven shops where basic supplies can be purchased. Many items, such as fresh meat and medicine, must be obtained from the

larger bazaar in Kalam. There is a hotel and restaurant in Peshmal, also a police station and power house. The middle school (classes one through eight) where Gujjar children are educated, is located across the river in Ariani. A mosque school (classes one through three) is located in Peshmal. There are eight small mosques located throughout the area for prayer. The local people report that Gojri is generally spoken in the mosque. Friday prayers, however, are given in Pashto because people come from other areas who do not speak Gojri .

There is electricity in Peshmal in the summer months when there is sufficient snow melt for hydro-electric power. There is no television; however, radio broadcasts are received from Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and also Muzaffarabad. The people listen to Urdu, Pashto, and Gojri broadcasts. Generally, they report no trouble understanding the Gojri broadcasts from these locations. Many of the homes also have tape players; people listen to Urdu and Pashto songs.

Additional services are available in nearby Kalam. There are two primary schools there, one for boys and one for girls, and a high school for boys only.

### 3.3.3 Education in Peshmal

In the 1987 language survey census of Gush, 40 percent of the total male population was reported to have received some form of formal education (approximately half of those school age and older). Only one female,

thirteen years old, was reported to have received any formal education (five years). Figure (2) below presents the distribution of the Gush population according to gender and education level. The majority of educated men received one to five years education. Only 12 percent of the male population received more than five years; more than ten years was rare, comprising only 1 percent of the population.

**(2)** Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987): Distribution of Males and Females in Education Groups

| | *Males* | | *Females* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Level of Education* | *n* | Percentage of Males | *n* | Percentage of Females |
| Under age | 20 | 13% | 26 | 22% |
| No formal ed. | 63 | 42 | 84 | 71 |
| 1-5 yrs. ed | 42 | 28 | 1 | 1 |
| 6-10 yrs. ed. | 16 | 11 | – | – |
| 11-12 yrs.ed. | 2 | 1 | – | – |
| Unknown | 7 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| *Total* | 150 | | 118 | |

Figure (3) presents the distribution of the population by sex, age, and education level. As might be expected, the data indicate that more young Gujjar males are receiving education now than in the past. In 1987, only three Gush men over thirty years of age had received any formal education.

**(3)** Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987): Distribution of Males and Females in Age and Education Groups

**(3)** Population of Gush settlement, Peshmal (1987): Distribution of Males and Females in Age and Education Groups

| **Men** | | | *Years of formal education* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age Groups* | Under age | No formal education | 1- 5 | 6-10 | 11-12 | Unknown | *Total* |
| 1- 5 | 20 | | | | | | 20 |
| 6- 9 | | 9 | 12 | | | 1 | 22 |
| 10-19 | | 8 | 23 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 41 |
| 20-29 | | 10 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| 30-39 | | 11 | | 2 | | | 13 |
| 40+ | | 25 | 1 | | | 3 | 29 |
| *Total* | 20 | 63 | 42 | 16 | 2 | 7 | 150 |

| **Women** | | | *Years of formal education* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age Groups* | Under age | No formal education | 1- 5 | 6-10 | 11-12 | Unknown | *Total* |
| 1- 5 | 26 | | | | | | 26 |
| 6- 9 | | 13 | | | | | 13 |
| 10-19 | | 20 | 1 | | | 1 | 22 |
| 20-29 | | 21 | | | | 2 | 23 |
| 30-39 | | 9 | | | | | 9 |
| 40+ | | 20 | | | | 1 | 21 |
| Unknown | | 1 | | | | 3 | 4 |
| *Total* | 26 | 84 | 1 | | | 7 | 118 |

In 1989, the middle school teacher who gave the census information estimated that there were approximately 400 boys enrolled in the middle school in Peshmal, approximately 300 of which were Gujjars. Other students were Pashtoons and Kohistanis. Enrollment gradually decreased from an estimate of approximately

eighty students in class one, to fifteen in class eight. The medium of instruction is Pashto in classes one through five. Urdu is taught as a subject, as well as Pashto. Many of the teachers are Pashtoons and communicate with their students in Pashto. If the first class teacher is a Gujjar, he will use some Gojri to explain new or difficult concepts. Urdu is the medium of instruction in classes six through eight. Urdu and Pashto are also taught as subjects. The teacher estimated that there were approximately sixty Gujjar boys in ninth and tenth class in Kalam. There were four or five boys enrolled in Mingora High School and another four or five in Mingora College.

The mosque school teaches classes one through three. Pashto is the medium of instruction. Subjects such as Islamic studies, Pakistan studies, English, math, and Urdu are taught.

Quranic education is provided at the mosque for boys beginning at age five or six with some continuing until age thirteen or fourteen. The boys receive religious instruction. They learn some Arabic and learn to read and recite the Quran. The medium of instruction is Gojri . Girls receive Quranic education at home. Some boys also are trained at home.

## 3.4 Mittikot

Mittikot is a Gujjar village located approximately six kilometers west of Balakot in the mountains near the mouth of the Kaghan Valley in Mansehra District, Hazara.

It is a more isolated village than Peshmal. There is no road and no transport, except by donkey, to the village which is a two to three-hour walk up a steep mountain path from Balakot. Mittikot is one of many Gujjar villages in the area. Balakot is the main town, stretching along the Kunhar River at the mouth of the steep valley. The majority of people in Balakot are Hindko speakers. Hindko is the regional language of the area.

The Mittikot Gujjars are transhumant pastoralists and agriculturalists. They are settled in Mittikot in the winter months when the snows are heavy and move to their summer settlement, called Danna or Mali, about eight kilometers further up the mountain during the summer months. In the past, the whole village moved with the herds. Now only 50 percent of the population moves up the mountain in the summer. Arif (1987:3) reported a "decrease in the upward migration and some changes in their subsistence patterns due to adopting occupations other than agriculture and animal husbandry, such as labour, service, woodcutting and selling."**25** The winter village covers an area of approximately eight square kilometers and the summer settlement covers approximately 8 to 10 square kilometers with a total area of 18 to 25 square kilometers. The stone and mud houses in Mittikot are scattered over the hilly land in an area surrounded by forests. Only small tracts of land are arable. This land is terraced and used primarily to grow corn, and also fodder, wheat, rice, and vegetables. The winter

settlement is rather congested and once the maize crop is growing, there is little room for grazing. The buffalo, sheep, and goats are taken up to the summer settlement where there are fields but also a wide open grazing area. On the other side of the mountain is a Swati village called Shinkiari. The people there are Hindko speakers. There is a jeep road from Shinkiari leading up to the Mittikot summer settlement. In the summer, some Mittikot Gujjars take the road to Shinkiari for Friday prayers, errands in the bazaar, or for work.

### 3.4.1 Mittikot Population

The total number of households in Arif's 1986 census was 141; 71 households stayed in the main village of Mittikot and 70 migrated to the summer site. The total population was 742: 377 males and 365 females with an average of 5.3 people per household. These figures are very similar to those obtained two years later by the Sociolinguistic Survey of Northern Pakistan. In the 1988 language survey census, there was a total population of 734: 374 males and 360 females. Figure (4) presents the distribution of the population by gender and age group.

**(4)** Population of Mittikot (1988)
Distribution of Males and Females in Age Groups

| | *Males* | | *Females* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age Group | *n* | Percentage of Males | *n* | Percentage of Females |
| 1- 9 yrs. | 81 | 22% | 108 | 30% |
| 10-19 | 83 | 22 | 76 | 21 |
| 20-29 | 68 | 18 | 62 | 17 |
| 30-39 | 48 | 13 | 54 | 15 |
| 40+ | 94 | 25 | 60 | 17 |
| *Total* | 374 | | 360 | |

## 3.4.2 General Background on Mittikot Gujjars

The Gujjars claim to be the oldest inhabitants in the Hazara area (Imperial Gazetteer of India, NWFP, circa 1905). Some of the older Gujjar villagers informed Arif (1987:13) that Mittikot is approximately 200 years old. They say that when the famous Syed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed came to Balakot in 1831, there were three households settled in the place called Mittikot, which means “place of clay and mud”. Balakot is well known as the burial place of these men. According to the older villagers, Baba Ransi Ullah of the Bakarwals was the first person to settle in Mittikot. Later the Bakarwals brought in Dedar Gujjars for defense purposes. Then later, Khatana, Chechi, Kohli and Thekri Gujjars came and settled in Mittikot. When the Swatis moved into the area, they took over almost all the land. The Gujjars became tenants to the Swatis. Not until the land reforms of Khan Abdul

Qayyum Khan, former Chief Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, were the Gujjars given rights to land and forest. At that time, the Mittikot Gujjars obtained the land near their winter settlement. The land and forest in the upper area, however, are still owned by Swati landlords from Balakot. In exchange for the use of the land, the Gujjars must give a certain amount of livestock, produce, field labor, and household service to the landlords each year (Arif 1987).

The Gujjars were traditionally nomadic herdsmen of goats and sheep. When they settled in Mittikot, they took up agriculture. They have also since shifted toward raising buffaloes. In 1986, only nine families had flocks of goats and sheep. Most families have just a few animals. Arif (1987) explains that the population in Mittikot is growing and the Gujjars there are not able to subsist on just their crops and livestock. Therefore, most families are engaged in wood cutting. Both adults and children, male and female, collect wood and carry it down to Balakot where they sell it to local people. In addition to woodcutting, many people sell the by-products of their livestock, such as milk and ghee. Many men are working outside of Mittikot, primarily in Balakot and Mansehra, as laborers and some as skilled workers. Some Gujjars, including women, also are working in the homes of Swati landlords. All of these outside activities, in addition to interaction with the Balakot landlords, bring most Mittikot Gujjars into regular contact with Hindko speakers. Some

men are working as laborers in the main cities in Pakistan, such as Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi, where they are undoubtedly exposed to Urdu. A few work as laborers in the Middle East.

There are very limited public services available in Mittikot. Mittikot has no electricity and, therefore, no television. A few families are reported to have tape recorders and some have radios. The people listen to Gojri radio programs broadcasted from Muzaffarabad in Pak occopied Kashmir. They report clear understanding of the Gojri programs. The villagers have access to general public services in Balakot. Arif reports that there are two mosques in Mittikot where the men gather for daily prayers. Most men travel to Balakot for Friday prayers. Gojri is spoken in the Mittikot mosques, and Urdu and Hindko are spoken in the Balakot mosques.

### 3.4.3 Education in Mittikot

There is one primary school in the village. Arif (1987) reports that in 1986 there was one male teacher teaching preschool through fifth class. The teacher is a Hindko speaker from Balakot. The medium of instruction in the school is Urdu with some explanation provided by the teacher in Gojri (Arif 1989, personal communication). The school enrollment figures for 1986 are presented in figure (5) below:

# (5) Student Enrollment in the Mittikot Primary School in 1986

| *Class* | *Number of Students* |
|---|---|
| Preschool | 22 |
| 1st class | 16 |
| 2nd | 10 |
| 3rd | 4 |
| 4th | 4 |
| 5th | 8 |
| *1st-5th Total* | 42 |

The total primary school-age population was 150. Only 42 students, 28 percent of the school-age population, were enrolled. Of those enrolled, 62 percent were in first and second class. Enrollment figures dropped off sharply at the third and fourth class level.

In Balakot there is a middle school (classes six through eight), a high school (through class ten), and an intermediate school (two-year college) for boys. There is one school (classes one through ten) for girls. The medium of instruction in Balakot is Urdu with some explanation provided in Hindko. The majority of the students are Hindko speakers. In 1986, seven Mittikot students were enrolled in sixth class, four in ninth class, and two in intermediate. The Mittikot students attending school in Balakot were boys from the families of *muqaddams* (village leaders).

Figure (6) presents the distribution of the Mittikot population by education groups according to the 1988 language survey census. The data indicate that the majority of the population has received no formal education. Of the males, 27 percent have received one to ten years of education, contrasted with 5 percent of the females. Only two males (brothers and sons of the *muqaddam*) have completed eleven to twelve years of education.

## **(6)** Population of Mittikot (1988): Distribution of Males and Females in Education Groups

| | *Males* | | *Females* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Level of Education* | *n* | Percentage of Males | *n* | Percentage of Females |
| Under age | 33 | 9% | 56 | 16% |
| No formal ed. | 236 | 63 | 284 | 79 |
| 1-5 yrs. ed | 68 | 19 | 14 | 4 |
| 6-10 yrs. | 32 | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| 11-12 yrs. | 2 | 1 | – | – |
| Unknown | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| *Total* | 374 | | 360 | |

Figure (7) presents the distribution of the Mittikot population in both age and education groups. Again, as was seen in Peshmal, more young Mittikot males are receiving education now and to higher levels. Interestingly, more females are also being educated although they still represent only a small fraction

**(7) Population of Mittikot (1988):**

**Distribution of Males and Females in Age and Education Groups**

| **Men** | | *Years of formal education* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age Groups* | Under age | No formal education | 1- 5 | 6-10 | 11-12 | Unknown | *Total* |
| 1- 5 | 33 | | | | | | 33 |
| 6- 9 | | 29 | 19 | | | | 48 |
| 10-19 | | 35 | 34 | 13 | | 1 | 83 |
| 20-29 | | 39 | 12 | 16 | 1 | | 68 |
| 30-39 | | 42 | 2 | 3 | 1 | | 48 |
| 40+ | | 91 | 1 | | | 2 | 94 |
| *Total* | 33 | 236 | 68 | 32 | 2 | 3 | 374 |

| **Women** | | *Years of formal education* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age Groups* | Under age | No formal education | 1- 5 | 6-10 | 11-12 | Unknown | *Total* |
| 1- 5 | 56 | | | | | | 56 |
| 6- 9 | | 43 | 6 | | | 3 | 52 |
| 10-19 | | 67 | 6 | 2 | | 1 | 76 |
| 20-29 | | 60 | 2 | | | | 62 |
| 30-39 | | 54 | | | | | 54 |
| 40+ | | 60 | | | | | 60 |
| *Total* | 56 | 284 | 14 | 2 | | 4 | 360 |

Arif (1987) explains that there is economic incentive to keep children out of school. At approximately nine years of age, they can help with household duties and with collecting wood. The wood provides not only income for the family but also direct cash to the children themselves.

## 3.5 Summary

In this examination of two Gujjar communities, many similarities and differences are seen. In both areas, the Gujjar people are a low socioeconomic status minority in a region with a more dominant culture and language. Both groups maintain their Gujjar identity and language and see themselves as part of a larger Gujjar community. Both groups are settled, yet their lifestyles involve certain migratory aspects. Many Peshmal Gujjars move their families south in the winter for economic reasons and to get out of the cold and snow. Mittikot Gujjars practice more traditional transhumance patterns in a seasonal shift up and down the mountain. Neither are nomadic pastoralists such as some of the Ajars of Swat or the Bakarwals of Kashmir.

Both the Peshmal and Mittikot communities have large segments of the population which are uneducated. In Peshmal there is more of an even split between educated and uneducated males than there is in Mittikot where fewer males are formally educated. In both groups more males are receiving education now than in the past. Women remain the markedly uneducated population in both communities, although in Mittikot a small percentage of girls are beginning to receive education.

The most far-reaching difference between the two Gujjar communities is the nature of the dominant ethnic group in each region. As the principal researcher in this

study points out, the Gujjars have conformed to the surrounding culture. Peshmal Gujjars live in the west in the midst of a more conservative, Pashtoon culture. They are relatively less economically dependent on the Pashtoons. For example, Peshmal Gujjars own their own land, in contrast to Mittikot Gujjars whose summer settlement belongs to Swati landlords. While some Mittikot Gujjars are employed in landlords' homes, Pashtoon culture discourages outsiders from working for Pashtoons in their homes. Because of this independence, then, the Peshmal Gujjars seem to be better off. They are more economically self-sufficient and see themselves as more or less equal to the Pashtoons. Another effect of the conservative Pashtoon culture is that Peshmal Gujjar women observe rather strict *purdah*. It is viewed as improper for Peshmal Gujjar females to attend school or to be employed outside the home. So even though more males are educated in Peshmal than in Mittikot, fewer females, virtually none, are educated.

Another difference is the language of each dominant group. Peshmal Gujjars live alongside Pashto, an Iranian language, which is quite a linguistic contrast from their own. Gojri stands out as markedly different from the surrounding regional language. Peshmal Gujjars have developed a strong ethnicity, perhaps partially in response to this contrastiveness. They feel that their Gojri is more pure and that Hazara Gujjars are "mixing" their Gojri with other languages.

Mittikot Gujjars, in contrast, live in the east in an area where Hindko-speaking people are dominant. In this cultural setting, there is a more clear-cut socioeconomic hierarchy with the dominated groups doing “low” work for higher groups. There is more economic dependence by the low-status Gujjars on the dominant majority. The Hindko speakers, particularly Swatis, are the landlords so Mittikot Gujjars must pay fees in cash and services. It is very difficult for them to move up in this system. The cultural milieu is more open, however, in the sense that women take more public roles and are active in earning income outside the home. There is also a greater openness to the idea of females receiving education.

Mittikot Gujjars are much more similar in physical appearance to the dominant group and, as discussed in chapter two on dialects, their language is much more linguistically similar to Hindko, the regional language, than it is to Pashto, the dominant language in the west. The development of a distinct Gujjar identity, however, is becoming more of a social and political issue in the Hazara region (see Ahmed 1986).

In the following chapter the subject of multilingualism is explored. Social factors in the community profiles are examined to demonstrate how such factors as gender, education, and age are related to patterns of language use and proficiency.

# MULTILINGUALISM IN TWO GUJJAR COMMUNITIES

## 4.1 Introduction

An examination of the language situation of the Gujjar people would be incomplete without some investigation of the other languages in use by them in addition to their own. To this end, two Gujjar communities were selected for conducting more focussed bilingualism research: Peshmal, in northern Swat Valley, and Mittikot, at the mouth of the Kaghan Valley in Hazara. The motivating questions for this research center on discovering the extent of proficiency in and use of Urdu, the national language, and Pashto or Hindko, the languages of wider communication in the respective communities. This research investigates patterns of language proficiency according to such factors as gender, education, and age. In addition, levels of proficiency in each community were evaluated in light of subjects' reports of travel to non-Gujjari speaking areas and frequencies of speaking and hearing other languages.

Underlying the analysis of the data are questions relating to effective communication within the large Gujjar ethnolinguistic community and to issues of language maintenance or shift. How widespread are the abilities to comprehend and use these languages? Does widespread bilingualism threaten the future maintenance of Gojri in these communities? Or, are Urdu and the local languages

of wider communication used exclusively with non-Gujjar 'outsiders'? If this is the case, proficiency in these other languages should pattern according to the extent of contact that community members have with non-Gujjars in situations where these languages must be used. These underlying questions are broad in scope and thus require longer-term and more in-depth research than was accomplished in this limited study. However, available evidence points to the conclusion that there are large segments of the Gujjar population that are not proficient in any language other than their own, and that Gojri language vitality is not yet threatened by encroaching widespread use of more widely spoken languages.

A sample of people from each community was tested for second language proficiency in Urdu and in the local language of wider communication. Urdu and Pashto were tested by means of a *sentence repetition test* (Radloff 1991). Hindko was tested by means of a *recorded text test* (Casad 1974). These tests are described in more detail in appendices A.2 and A.3. To the extent that the available data allow, scores on these proficiency tests are treated as dependent variables in assessing the effects on second language proficiency of the following independent variables: gender, education, and age. Where relevant, there is discussion of observed patterning in proficiency test results and subjects' reports of travel, and of frequency of second language use. The analysis of bilingualism in the Peshmal Gujjar community will be

presented first, then a similar order will be followed for the Mittikot data analysis. For each community, variables related to Urdu proficiency will be discussed first; subsequently, these same variables will be presented as they relate to proficiency in the local language of wider communication. In Peshmal, gender-related differences in second language proficiency are the most clearly marked, and thus for the purposes of presentation, the patterns observed among men and women will be discussed separately. The data from Mittikot are from males only; it was not possible to collect data from women in that community. After each community has been analyzed separately, the patterns in the two communities will be compared.

## 4.2 Multilingualism in Peshmal

### 4.2.1 Distribution of Test Subjects in Peshmal Sample

In order to obtain a general assessment of Urdu and Pashto bilingualism among Gujjars in Peshmal, sentence repetition tests (SRTs) in these languages were administered to a sample of forty-eight males from the Peshmal community. Because random sampling was impossible in these field work situations, judgment (or quota) sampling was used. The demographic characteristics of age and education define the sampling cells. In order to obtain sufficient data for statistical

analysis, at least five subjects were included in each age and education cell wherever possible.

As was presented in chapter three, a complete census of Gush, a settlement within Peshmal, was collected and has been taken to be representative of the wider Peshmal area. In figure (8) the distribution of the male test subjects according to various age and education categories, by percentage and number, is compared with the distribution of the Gush population as a whole, shown in percents. From this chart it is evident that the stratification of subjects in the test sample generally parallels that of the general Gush population.

**(8) Gush settlement, Peshmal**
**Distribution of male population compared with test subjects in percentages**

| *Age Groups* | *Years of formal education* | | | | | | | | | *Totals by age group* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Uneducated | | | 1-5 years | | | 6-12 years | | | | | |
| | Pop. | Sample | | Pop. | Sample | | Pop. | Sample | | Pop. | Sample | |
| | % | % | n | % | % | n | % | % | n | % | % | n |
| 14-19 | 4 | 10 | 5 | 23 | 10 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 36 | 30 | 15 |
| 20-29 | 10 | 15 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 24 | 38 | 18 |
| 30-39 | 11 | 15 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 13 | 17 | 8 |
| 40 & older | 26 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 27 | 15 | 7 |
| *Total by ed. group* | 51 | 52 | 25 | 30 | 23 | 11 | 18 | 25 | 12 | | | 48 |

Population n=98

According to the community profile of Gush, approximately half of the men school age and above have received some education. Likewise, the test sample of forty-eight males contains a similar division: twenty-five

uneducated and twentythree educated men. Subdividing the educated men according to age, the chart shows that there are very few older men with education in the Gush population; thus, few such subjects were available to be included in the test sample. Because of such limitations in the actual features of the population, it is difficult to assess the possible interaction of age with education and their combined influence on the patterns of second language proficiency. Consequently, the effect of age as an independent variable is undertaken with uneducated male subjects only.

Collecting data among women was much more difficult than among men, since cultural constraints require such testing to take place in the home using female researchers only. Building trust to enable such access takes time; and once inside the home, it is much more difficult to control the testing situation and to ensure that sampling quotas are appropriately filled. Thus the data for women are limited and the distribution is skewed, including mostly young women in their twenties. In all, twenty Peshmal women participated in the Pashto sentence repetition testing; only eleven of these felt they knew any Urdu and were willing to participate in the Urdu SRT. Only one female in the Gush population was reported to have received any education. All female test subjects were uneducated. The sample distributions are compared to those in the Gush population, as shown in figure (9) below.

(9) Gush settlement, Peshmal
Distribution of female population compared with test subjects for Pashto and Urdu SRTs

| *Age Groups* | Pop. % | Pashto SRT Sample % | n | Urdu SRT Sample % | n |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14-19 | 16% | 15% | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 20-29 | 37 | 60 | 12 | 73 | 8 |
| 30-39 | 14 | 15 | 3 | 9 | 1 |
| 40 & older | 33 | 10 | 2 | 18 | 2 |
| *Total* | | | 20 | | 11 |

Population n=63 (above 14 years of age)

### 4.2.2 Peshmal Urdu Proficiency

Figure (10) presents the mean scores of the Peshmal male subjects on the Urdu sentence repetition test, grouped according to age groups and education levels. Groups are presented in terms of number of subjects (n), mean SRT score (m), and standard deviation (sd). The range and median Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels which correspond to the SRT scores are provided for each education group. SRT scores range from zero to forty-five, and can be interpreted on the basis

of the corresponding RPE levels. The RPE levels range from 0+ (very minimal proficiency, inadequate for even basic conversation) to 4+ (approaching native speaker proficiency). See appendix A.3 for further description of both the Sentence Repetition Test and the Reported Proficiency Evaluation.

## (10) Scores of Peshmal male subjects on Urdu SRT

| | | | | *Years of formal education* | | | | | | *Totals by* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age* | Uneducated | | | 1-5 years | | | 6 or more years | | | *age group* | | |
| *Groups* | n | m | sd | n | m | sd | n | m | sd | n | m | sd |
| 14-19 | 5 | 22 | 12.4 | 5 | 27 | 5.8 | 5 | 38 | 6.8 | 15 | 29 | 10.8 |
| 20-29 | 7 | 18 | 8.6 | 6 | 26 | 9.8 | 5 | 36 | 5.8 | 18 | 25 | 10.9 |
| 30-39 | 7 | 29 | 11.9 | 0 | | | 1 | 36 | | 8 | 30 | 11.3 |
| 40 & older | 6 | 25 | 8.2 | 0 | | | 1 | 35 | | 7 | 26 | 8.5 |
| *Total by* | | | | | | | | | | *Overall Total* | | |
| *ed. group* | 25 | 23 | 10.7 | 11 | 26 | 7.9 | 12 | 37 | 5.5 | 48 | 27 | 10.5 |
| RPE Range: | | 0+ to 3+ | | | 0+ to 3 | | | 2+ to 3+ | | | | |
| Median: | | 2/2+ | | | 2+ | | | 3/3+ | | | | |

n=number of subjects, m=mean SRT score, sd=standard deviation
RPE Range and Median=RPE levels corresponding to SRT scores

From figure (10) it is evident that education is an important factor in the distribution of Urdu SRT scores. The average scores in all age groups consistently increase with education. The oneway analysis of variance test was applied to this data revealing education as having a statistically significant effect on Urdu SRT proficiency scores ($F=8.83$, $p<.01$). This significant effect is displayed in the comparison of the scores of those with 6 to 10 years education with both the lesser educated groups; the mean

score for the group with only 1 to 5 years education is not significantly greater than that of the uneducated group. These data indicate a threshold between primary level (1 to 5 years) and middle and high school level (6 to 10 years) education.

The significant effect of education is not surprising, since schooling is the principal means for learning Urdu. In Peshmal, it was reported that Pashto is used as the medium for instruction in the earlier grades, classes 1 through 5, while Urdu is taught as a subject in those years. In contrast, Urdu is used as the principal medium in class 6 and above. These patterns of language use in schools support the threshold of higher proficiency in Urdu at six years or more as demonstrated in the Peshmal data.

This highest education group shows the greatest withingroup consistency in their scores, with a standard deviation of only 5.5; no one in this group scored below 26 on the SRT, which is equivalent to RPE level 2+, indicating good, basic proficiency. Thus, those with substantial education tend to have similarly high levels of proficiency in Urdu.

The lesser educated group and the uneducated group show higher standard deviations: 7.9 for the primary level education group, and 10.7 for the uneducated group. These higher measures of dispersion indicate greater variability in the Urdu proficiency levels of subjects within each of these groups; a few men with little

or no schooling do succeed in acquiring good Urdu. Only 28 percent of the uneducated and lesser-educated subjects' performances on the Urdu SRT indicate RPE levels of 3 or above, while 83 percent of the highly educated group do so. These results correspond with expectations that the less educated groups would not reflect the relatively uniform influence of exposure to Urdu through years of education, but that their Urdu proficiency is more seriously affected by their varied amounts of language contact and use as a result of employment, travel, etc.

***Age and Urdu Proficiency***

Although one might expect Urdu proficiency to be affected by age, the Peshmal data indicate no clear age patterning. In order to overcome these limitations in the data distribution (in that there are fewer older test subjects, especially in the educated groups) and to control for the effect of education, the scores for the uneducated subjects were isolated and evaluated according to age groups, but no statistically significant differences between the mean Urdu SRT scores were found for these age groups. The standard deviations ranging from 8.2 to 12.4 indicate relatively great variablity of SRT scores within each age group of uneducated subjects. It is possible that factors reflecting levels of language contact and use are acting as uncontrolled intervening variables and obscuring any age patterning that might exist. However, on the basis

of these data, there is no indication that Urdu proficiency is affected by age, and thus no evidence of a shift toward increased use of Urdu among the younger generation.

***Travel and Urdu Proficiency***

In order to investigate potential contact with languages of wider communication while they were away from Peshmal, subjects were asked questions about their travel to areas where these languages are widely spoken. Subjects were asked to list where they had traveled outside of their home area. For each location mentioned they were asked to report the length of stay and the frequency of travel to this place. The selected locations where a subject could have come into frequent contact with Urdu speakers were Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi, all of which were reported as places of temporary employment by some Peshmal men.

It was hypothesized that travel contact might explain the variation in Urdu proficiency scores, particularly among uneducated subjects. Thus, the responses of the uneducated subjects were isolated and their travel reports were examined. These were then separated into two groups: those subjects reporting little or no travel, meaning less than two week stays in any of the cities mentioned above, and those reporting more extensive travel to any of these same locations. Although the mean Urdu SRT score was slightly higher for the relatively welltraveled group (25 rather than 21), the

difference between the two groups was not statistically significant. A simple examination of the scores for the individuals in each group reveals too much within-group variation, as is reflected in standard deviations of 10.6 for both the traveled and the untraveled groups. In and of itself, travel to areas where Urdu is more widely spoken does not significantly influence measured proficiency. Further investigation of language use while staying in such an area should reveal more definite patterns.

### 4.2.3 Reported Use of Urdu by Peshmal Men

In addition to straightforward proficiency testing, Peshmal subjects were asked to answer questions which would indicate their exposure to and use of Urdu. These questions are given below in (11). As the subject answered the numbered questions in his own words, the interviewer chose the frequency level which best fit his response. The seven frequency levels used by the interviewer are listed below the questions regarding frequency of hearing and speaking Urdu. Similarly, the five levels of conversation length are listed below the appropriate question.

These questions approach Urdu use from two angles, one more quantitative and the other qualitative. The quantitative angle is an attempt to measure the relative frequency of hearing and speaking Urdu reported by these subjects. Included in this general approach to quantifying the frequency of Urdu use is the question regarding the approximate duration of the longest Urdu

conversation for each subject. The duration of the conversation tells us something frequency does not: it gives an indication of the quality of the interaction. For example, if the subject is speaking Urdu many times per day but only for five minutes while shopping in the bazaar, the domain and time involved are quite limited and not much skill is required.

**(11)** Questions about Urdu use

1. How much do you hear Urdu?
2. How much do you speak Urdu?
    i. never
    ii. one time per month
    iii. one time per two weeks
    iv. one time per week
    v. 2 or 3 times per week
    vi. one time per day
    vii. many times per day

Think about the person you've had the longest conversation with in Urdu in Peshmal:

1. What is the occupation of the person you speak Urdu with?
2. What relation do you have with this person? Is he your *khan*? Your teacher? Your relative?
3. What did you talk about with this man? About local politics? Sports? What?
4. How much time did you talk with this man in Urdu at one time?

i. never
ii. less than 5 minutes
iii. between 5 and 20 minutes
iv. between 20 and 60 minutes
v. more than 60 minutes

***Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Urdu***

Figure (12) presents the tabulation of reported frequency of hearing and speaking Urdu in the sample of forty-eight Peshmal males.

(12) Peshmal men:
reported frequencies for hearing and speaking Urdu *percent and number responding at each level*

| | Hear Urdu | | Speak Urdu | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | *n* | *Percent* | *n* |
| never | 0% | 0 | 6% | 3 |
| 1x/month | 6 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| 1x/2wks. | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 1x/wk. | 13 | 6 | 13 | 6 |
| 2-3x/wk. | 10 | 5 | 27 | 13 |
| 1x/day | 29 | 14 | 33 | 16 |
| many x/day | 40 | 19 | 13 | 6 |
| *Total* | | 48 | | 48 |

Consistent with general expectations, subjects reported hearing Urdu more frequently than actually

speaking it; 69 percent reported hearing Urdu at least once per day, while only 46 percent reported speaking Urdu so frequently. The fact that less than half of the subjects report speaking any amount of Urdu on a daily or more frequent basis is in stark contrast to their reported frequency of speaking Pashto. The relative importance of Pashto will be discussed in the next section. Figure (13) compares their reported frequency of speaking Urdu with their scores on the Urdu SRT.

**(13)** Mean Urdu SRT for Peshmal male subjects grouped by reported frequency of speaking Urdu

| *Frequency* | *Percent* | *n* | *USRT m* | *sd* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| never to 1x/2wks. | 14% | 7 | 14 | 9.1 |
| 1x/wk. | 13 | 6 | 23 | 10.9 |
| 2-3x/wk. | 27 | 13 | 29 | 6.0 |
| 1x/day | 33 | 16 | 29 | 9.3 |
| many x/day | 13 | 6 | 39 | 4.0 |
| *Total* | | 48 | 27 | 10.5 |

The mean Urdu SRT scores show a general rise as reported frequency of speaking and hearing Urdu increase. The mean SRT scores for each of the three highest frequency of speaking groups are significantly higher than the mean for those who claim to speak Urdu either never, or not more than once every two weeks ($F=8.29$, $p<.001$). These consistent results indicate that the selfreported estimates of frequency of speaking and hearing Urdu are valuable indicators of the relative amounts of Urdu used;

in general, those who report infrequent use of Urdu do not seem to have sufficient proficiency to get beyond the level of basic communication in that language.

***Urdu Conversation Duration***

The Urdu conversation duration data substantiate this limitation in proficiency. Figure (14) shows the distribution of responses regarding the longest Urdu conversation reported by Peshmal subjects. These data are compared with the mean Urdu SRT score for subjects responding at each level of conversation duration.

**(14)** Percent of Peshmal men:
length of longest reported Urdu conversation
*with Urdu SRT means*

| *Longest Urdu* | | | *Urdu SRT* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Conversation* | *Percent* | *n* | *m* | *sd* |
| never | 10% | 5 | | – |
| <5 min. | 8 | 4 | 16* | 8.4 |
| 5-20 min. | 29 | 14 | 29 | 8.8 |
| 20-60 min. | 25 | 12 | 27 | 9.9 |
| >60 min. | 27 | 13 | 33 | 7.8 |
| *Total* | | 48 | 27 | 10.5 |

*combined mean for two shortest conversation length groups

According to these reports, few subjects have had long conversations in Urdu; only 27 percent report having an Urdu conversation which extended over one hour.

Eighteen percent reported that their longest Urdu conversation lasted less than five minutes. Again — as will be seen in (18), below — these figures are striking in relation to the comparable ones for Pashto, and substantiate the role of Pashto, not the national language Urdu, as the commonly used *lingua franca* in the area.

The mean scores on the Urdu SRT for those who responded that they never had conversations in Urdu or that their longest Urdu conversation was less than five minutes duration are significantly lower than those who reported longer conversations ($F=7.74$, $p<.001$). Such quantitative comparisons indicate the consistency of the data: subjects reporting more frequent and more lengthy conversations in Urdu also perform better on the Urdu SRT. Thus, the differences between subgroups in terms of their reported use of Urdu can be more confidently interpreted as reflecting the sociolinguistic reality of differing levels of bilingual proficiency within the Peshmal community.

***Conversational Domains for Urdu***

The issue of conversational domain provides a qualitative angle on the data regarding reported Urdu use: with whom is Urdu spoken and for which kinds of topics is it considered appropriate. Among the Peshmal Gujjars, Urdu is an 'outsider' language, spoken with non-Gujjars, in dealing with topics that imply contact with the outside world. When asked with whom they spoke Urdu the most

while in Peshmal, subjects uniformly listed persons outside the Peshmal community: guests or friends from other areas, or teachers. The most commonly reported topic mentioned by these subjects concerned the Peshmal or general Kalam area and the people living there, obviously some kind of explanation to people unfamiliar with these things. Another similar kind of outsider-directed topic is the next most commonly reported: hotels or renting of rooms. Those who reported speaking Urdu with teachers gave topics such as lessons in school or discussions concerning meanings of words. The fact that Urdu is the medium of instruction in class 6 and above makes it the obvious choice for many such conversations. From these data, it is apparent that Urdu is not making inroads into the domains of family and peer usage; Gujjars maintain the use of Gojri except when they are forced to use a more widely spoken language in order to communicate with non-Gujjars.

### 4.2.4 Urdu Proficiency of Peshmal Women

Testing of Gujjar women in Peshmal was restricted to the home environment. Thus, it was possible to test only half as many women as men. Twenty Peshmal women participated in bilingualism testing there, working with female researchers in a home setting. However, only eleven of these twenty were willing to attempt the Urdu SRT; the others claimed that they had no knowlege of Urdu and did not wish to participate. The distribution of these subjects according to age consequently does not

represent the wider female population: there are no teenage subjects, eight women are in their twenties, one in her thirties and two older women over forty. All of the women are uneducated, which is consistent with the census reports for this area.**37** Thus, the potential effect of education or age on women's Urdu SRT scores could not be investigated.

The scores range from a low of 0, below even minimal proficiency, to a high of 22, representing level 2 RPE proficiency, adequate for basic needs when projected on the RPE scale. The distribution of Peshmal women's Urdu SRT scores are listed below in figure (15).

## (15) Peshmal female subjects on Urdu SRT with equivalent RPE levels

**(15)** Peshmal female subjects on Urdu SRT with equivalent RPE levels

| Urdu RPE level | *n* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 5 | ***** | Total *n* = 11 |
| 0+ | 4 | **** | Mean Urdu SRT = 4.7 |
| 1 | 0 | | sd = 6.9 |
| 1+ | 1 | * | Median RPE = 0+ |
| 2 | 1 | * | |

Four of the eleven female subjects scored at RPE level 0+, very minimal proficiency; five were below the minimum on the RPE scale, testing at zero or one on the Urdu SRT. Only two women scored higher than 0+; they

each gave different explanations for their knowlege of Urdu. The subject with limited basic proficiency at RPE level 1+, stressed that although Peshmal women are uneducated, they are able to communicate a bit in Urdu because Urdu and Gojri are closely related languages. Other women also made this comment. The low scores of these women indicate, however, that the linguistic affinity that exists between the languages does not by itself enable a speaker of Gojri to function in Urdu, even at an elementary level. The most proficient female subject, with an RPE level of 2, indicating adequate basic proficiency for simple, everyday communication, mentioned radio broadcasting as a major opportunity for exposure to Urdu. She stated that she listens to Pashto and Urdu radio all day. This subject is also relatively well-traveled, although the locations she has visited are primarily Pashto-speaking areas. Some other ladies also mentioned listening to the radio while performing their household duties. Another stated that her sons recite their Urdu lessons aloud and so she has learned some Urdu that way. One other mentioned having an uncle who had taught her a little Urdu.

Clearly, Peshmal Gujjar women have little exposure to Urdu and little skill in the language. This situation is unlikely to change in the near future, because of the prevailing attitude that it is undesirable for women to be educated. However, lack of education alone does not account for the extremely low Urdu SRT scores. The mean

score for the Peshmal women can be compared to that of the uneducated Peshmal men to emphasize this point. The mean score for female subjects is 4.7 or a level of 0+, very minimal proficiency on the RPE scale; the mean for uneducated male subjects is 23.3, representing RPE level 2, knowlege of Urdu sufficient for basic, everyday communication. The difference between these scores is highly significant, as is demonstrated by the results of the analysis of variance ($F=27.87$, $p<.001$). Differences in opportunities for exposure to Urdu and the corresponding differences in informal language learning that such opportunities provide must account for the disparate Urdu proficiency scores of uneducated men and women in Peshmal. (See chapter 3 for more discussion of cultural parameters for women in Peshmal.)

### 4.2.5 Peshmal Pashto Proficiency

In order to assess the general ability of Peshmal Gujjars in Pashto, the regional language of the area, a sample of forty-eight males and twenty females was tested on the Pashto sentence repetition test (PSRT). The males are the same subjects who were tested on the Urdu SRT, thus a comparison can be made of their relative proficiency in each language by looking at the RPE levels attained. Since the USRT and PSRT subjects are identical, there is no change in the distribution of the sample population for Peshmal male subjects in relation to the Gush census population; this information was previously presented in figure (8), showing the general

correspondence between population and sample in terms of age and education groups.

As with the Urdu SRT, the Pashto SRT scores are evaluated according to education levels and age groups. The distribution of mean Pashto SRT scores and corresponding RPE levels are displayed according to these age and education subgroups in figure (16) below.

## (16) Peshmal male subjects on Pashto SRT

| | *Years of formal education* | | | | | | | | | *Totals by* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age* | Uneducated | | | 1-5 years | | | 6-12 years | | | *age group* | | |
| *Groups* | *n* | *m* | *sd* | *n* | *m* | *sd* | *n* | *m* | *sd* | *n* | *m* | *sd* |
| 14-19 | 5 | 29 | 8.1 | 5 | 30 | 4.1 | 5 | 37 | 5.9 | 15 | 32 | 6.8 |
| 20-29 | 7 | 30 | 2.8 | 6 | 30 | 5.5 | 5 | 39 | 1.5 | 18 | 33 | 5.3 |
| 30-39 | 7 | 32 | 3.8 | 0 | | | 1 | 36 | | 8 | 33 | 3.8 |
| 40 + | 6 | 30 | 7.2 | 0 | | | 1 | 35 | | 7 | 31 | 6.8 |
| *Total by* | | | | | | | | | | *Overall Total* | | |
| *ed. group* | 25 | 30 | 5.3 | 11 | 30 | 4.7 | 12 | 38 | 3.8 | 48 | 32 | 5.7 |
| RPE Range: | | 1 to 3+ | | | 2 to 3+ | | | 2 to 3+ | | | | |
| Median: | | 2+ | | | 2+ | | | 3+ | | | | |

n=number of subjects, m=mean SRT score, sd=standard deviation
RPE range and median=RPE levels corresponding to SRT scores

***Education and Pashto Proficiency***

An examination of the mean Pashto SRT scores indicates that education is the major factor influencing Pashto proficiency. The mean PSRT score for those with six to ten years education is significantly higher than the means for the lesser educated group and the uneducated group ($F=9.90$, $p<.001$). As was the case with Urdu proficiency, the Pashto proficiency scores indicate a threshold between primary level education or less and middle school level education or more, with those having higher education attaining good to very good levels of general proficiency in Pashto, RPE levels 3 to 3+ and above. Although some of those with little or no education achieve very good levels of Pashto proficiency, the vast majority of the more educated men do so. Forty-two percent of the uneducated and lesser educated group performed at level 3 or above, while 92 percent (all but one) of the more educated subjects did so. Those with no education and those with primary level education (one to five years) averaged the same on the Pashto SRT: the median RPE level for both the less educated and the uneducated group reflect competence in Pashto sufficient for basic, everyday communication. Again, the correspondence between Pashto proficiency and education is not surprising since Pashto is used as the medium of instruction in Peshmal through class five, and is taught as a subject in school in classes six through eight. After class eight, Peshmal boys attend school in Kalam, a

Kohistanispeaking town where Pashto is the language of wider communication.

For each education group, there is less dispersion in Pashto proficiency scores than was shown in the Urdu scores. The standard deviations range from 5.3 for the uneducated subjects, to 3.8 for the more educated subjects. Only two of the total of 48 subjects, both uneducated, performed below the RPE level of 2 in Pashto, in contrast with nine performing below that level on the Urdu SRT. These indicators are consistent with the interpretation that, generally, Peshmal men achieve at least adequate basic proficiency in Pashto, and many men achieve good to very good proficiency.

***Age and Pashto Proficiency***

Again as with the Urdu SRT scores, there is no age patterning shown in the distribution of Pashto SRT scores. The absence of age patterning supports the interpretation that Pashto proficiency has not become more widespread in the Peshmal community over the past few generations. It does not seem to be the case that younger men are increasing in their use of Pashto as a result of increased contact with and possible integration into the Pashto-speaking mainstream. Rather, the use of Pashto appears to be stable across age groups, arguing against any indication of language shift among Peshmal Gujjars away from Gojri towards Pashto.

***Travel and Pashto Proficiency***

The influence of extended language contact due to traveling and/or prolonged stays in Pashto-speaking areas away from Peshmal was investigated in light of potential effects on Pashto SRT scores. As was mentioned in the discussion of travel to Urdu-speaking areas, subjects were asked to tell the researcher where they had traveled and the length of stay in that location. Travel reports to six locations were examined, all places where Pashto is the *lingua franca*. Two were close to Peshmal, the neighboring village of Ariani (which virtually all subjects have visited), and Bahrain, the *tehsil* headquarters two hours away. Mingora is the district headquarters and the largest town in the Swat valley, providing employment opportunities for Gujjars. Malakand and Mardan are south of Swat, locations where Peshmal Gujjars reported traveling for seasonal employment during the months that Peshmal is snowbound. Peshawar is the closest major city to Peshmal, and is the most important Pashtodominant metropolis in Pakistan. The Peshmal Gujjars have easy access to the road and to means of transportation; they are generally well-traveled, both to these towns in the Swat region and to the frontier city of Peshawar.

As in the case of Urdu, it was hypothesized that travel contact might explain the variation in Pashto proficiency scores, particularly among the uneducated subjects. However, when the PSRT scores for the

uneducated subjects were isolated, and their travel reports were examined, there was no evidence to support the expected pattern of higher proficiency levels linked to reports of more frequent and lengthy travel. Thus, the simple fact that some subjects have traveled rather extensively to Pashtospeaking areas does not affect their Pashto SRT scores; more detailed questioning regarding their language use patterns while they were in these locations might reveal some significant but currently obscured factors. However, since Pashto is the local language of wider communication in Swat, Peshmal subjects have many more opportunities to come in contact with that language than with Urdu.

### 4.2.6 Reported Use of Pashto by Peshmal Men

Peshmal male subjects were asked the same set of language use questions for Pashto as those recounted in the above section on frequency of use and contact for Urdu. (Listed above in figure (11).) Subjects reported how frequently they hear and speak Pashto, the approximate duration of their longest Pashto conversation, and the interlocutor and topic involved in this conversation. *Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Pashto* Patterns of language contact and use are quite different for Pashto than Urdu, with Pashto being reported at much higher frequencies of use than Urdu. Figure (17) presents the reported frequencies of hearing and speaking Pashto for the Peshmal male sample.

**(17)** Peshmal male subjects:
reported frequencies for hearing and speaking Pashto
*percent and number responding at each level*

| | Hear Pashto | | Speak Pashto | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | *n* | *Percent* | *n* |
| never | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 |
| 1x/month | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1x/2wks. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1x/wk. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2-3x/wk. | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1x/day | 13 | 6 | 2 | 1 |
| many x/day | 85 | 41 | 98 | 47 |
| *Total* | | 48 | | 48 |

Whereas with Urdu, presented above in (12), the sample is spread out among the various categories of frequency of use, with Pashto the entire sample reports frequent exposure and use. Every subject except one reported hearing Pashto at least once a day; all but one also reported speaking Pashto many times a day. Subjects use their Pashto whether it is very proficient or not, because they are living in a Pashto-dominant region. In any case, Peshmal men generally achieve at least adequate proficiency in Pashto for basic conversation.

***Pashto Conversation Duration***

The conversation duration data for Pashto shows a similar skewing, with virtually all subjects reporting conversations of longer than sixty minutes. The

distribution is shown in figure (18) below. It provides a striking contrast to the spread shown for Urdu conversation length reported above in figure (14). Again, with only two subjects reporting that their longest Pashto conversation lasted less than one hour, no relationship can be shown between PSRT scores and reported conversation length.

**(18)** Percent of Peshmal men:
length of longest reported Pashto conversation

| Longest Pashto Conversation | *Percent* | *n* |
|---|---|---|
| never | 0% | 0 |
| <5 min. | 0 | 0 |
| 5-20 min. | 2 | 1 |
| 20-60 min. | 2 | 1 |
| >60 min. | 96 | 46 |
| *Total* | | 48 |

The contrast between the reported conversation length for Pashto versus Urdu is most noticeable in the comparison between the percentages of subjects reporting conversations of over one hour in length. Recall that these reports come from the same set of Peshmal males, giving their estimates for each of their two non-mother tongue languages; 98 percent report these lengthy conversations in Pashto, while only 27 percent report such in Urdu.

These self-reported estimates of frequency of use and conversation length conform to the sociolinguistic realities of living in a Pashto-dominant area. Peshmal Gujjars live along the main road and have frequent contact with Pashtoons traveling through their area. Pashto is also the language of communication between Gujjars and neighboring Kohistanis.

***Conversational Domains for Pashto***

This widespread and frequent use of Pashto is corroborated in the data on conversational domains. Peshmal males reported speaking Pashto to a much greater variety of interlocutors: guests, neighbors from Ariani, friends, relatives, local Pashtoons, police, teachers, school fellows, contacts in the bazaar, etc. Topics discussed also showed a much wider variety, including many issues relating to daily life and personal interests. Reported topics include daily and local problems; home, families, and marriage; school lessons and education; land, crops, food, and water; business, jobs, and work; the people and culture of this area; religion; weather; and sports. Thus, in contrast to Urdu use, Pashto use is not restricted to contact with outsiders from other areas nor to topics which relate local life to those unfamiliar with it. However, there is no evidence suggesting that the interlocutors are fellow Gujjars; rather they are mostly 'local outsiders', non- Gujjars whose lives are in close contact with these Peshmal residents. On the basis of this

evidence, there appears to be no indication of any threat to the maintenance of Gojri as the exclusive, in-group language among the Gujjar residents of Peshmal.

### 4.2.7 Pashto Proficiency of Peshmal Women

Twenty Gujjar women residing in Peshmal participated in Pashto bilingualism testing, including informal interviews with female researchers. These women displayed a greater readiness to undergo proficiency testing in Pashto than in Urdu, and indeed their Pashto SRT scores show much higher competence in Pashto than in Urdu. The overall mean for Pashto proficiency and the median RPE level of 2, indicate adequate proficiency for basic, everyday conversation; the median level for Urdu, based only on the scores of those few who did not exclude themselves from taking the Urdu SRT by claiming lack of skill, was level 0+, the minimal proficiency level. The distribution of PSRT scores for female subjects in Peshmal is displayed in figure (19).

**(19)** Peshmal female subjects on Pashto SRT with equivalent RPE levels

| Pashto RPE level | n | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0+ | 1 | * | |
| 1 | 4 | **** | Total n = 20 |
| 1+ | 9 | ********* | Mean Urdu SRT = 26 |
| 2 | 3 | *** | sd = 6.5 |
| 2+ | 1 | * | Median RPE = 2 |
| 3 | 0 | | |
| 3+ | 2 | ** | |

As mentioned above, none of the female subjects in Peshmal have received any education, as is typical of the women there. Thus the role of education in the acquisition of Pashto is not explanatory in terms of the variation of women's proficiency scores. The distribution in terms of women's ages is skewed and therefore it is difficult to assess the possible effect of age on PSRT scores. However there appears to be no more indication of age patterning here than there was in the proficiency scores of the male subjects. Thus other factors must be considered in interpreting the variation in Pashto proficiency of female subjects. During informal discussions with Peshmal women concerning their knowlege and use of Pashto, two potentially important factors became apparent: intermarriage with Pashtoons among the subject's close

kin and employment-related travel to Pashto-speaking areas for several months.

Intermarriage between Peshmal Gujjars and Pashtoons is quite common: eight of the twenty female subjects reported having Pashtoon relatives. This presence of a Pashto mother tongue relative in a subject's close kin does not have a statistically significant effect on PSRT scores in this sample, however. The eight women with Pashtoon relatives show a full range of proficiency levels, from RPE level 1 to level 3+. Thus although some women explained their knowlege of Pashto by referring to the presence of Pashtoons in their families, this factor did not exhibit a uniformly beneficial effect on proficiency. It is interesting to note these ladies' reports that in cases of intermarriage between a Gujjar man and a Pashtoon woman, the language of the father tends to be dominant in the home. It is reported that new Pashto-speaking daughters-in-law usually learn to communicate in Gojri ; preference is not given to the higher status Pashto. These reports seem to indicate that the Gujjars take pride in their language and help explain why the simple presence of Pashtoon relatives does not consistently correspond with higher PSRT scores. The dominance of Gojri over Pashto in these cases of intermarriage also argues for the maintenance of the Gojri language over time.

There is a significant trend indicated in the PSRT scores when they are grouped according to travel to

Pashto-speaking areas. Eleven women migrate south with their families during winter months, accompanying their husbands as they seek employment in Pashto-dominant locations. Of these eleven, seven reported going to Nowshera (or nearby Risalpur), where they reported a sizeable Gujjar community gathers. The other four women spent winter months in Lower Swat or in Peshawar. The women were divided into three groups: those who do not travel to Pashto-speaking areas, those traveling to Nowshera area, and those traveling to Lower Swat or Peshawar. The mean PSRT scores show an upward trend from a low for the untraveled group of 23 (sd=4.6), and a slightly higher 26 (sd=5.0) for those going to Nowshera, to a high of 33 (sd=8.5) for those going to Lower Swat or Peshawar. Although the sample size is small, the difference between the Pashto SRT scores of the untraveled group and those of the women traveling to Peshawar and Lower Swat is statistically significant ($F=4.18$, $p<.05$). These results indicate that periods of residence in Pashto-dominant areas can have a significant influence on the acquisition of Pashto by Gujjar women.

A comparison of women's Pashto SRT scores with those of the uneducated men in Peshmal shows that women tend to have slightly lower proficiency in Pashto, though the gap between men's and women's scores is not nearly as wide in Pashto as it is in Urdu. The overall PSRT mean for Peshmal female subjects is 26, in contrast to a mean of 31 for uneducated male subjects ($F=6.75$, $p<.05$).

This corresponds to a median Pashto RPE level of 2 for the women, versus between 2 and 2+ for the uneducated men. Again, lack of education alone cannot account for the difference between the proficiency levels of men and women since uneducated men as a group perform significantly better than uneducated women on the Pashto SRT. As compared to that of the men, the lifestyle of Peshmal Gujjar women limits their exposure to any language of wider communication. They live most of their lives at home, tending to household duties, children, and field work. It is likely that a woman's role also limits the range of topics commonly discussed which, in turn, may limit the breadth of proficiency attained in Pashto or any second language. Keeping these language contact limitations in mind, it is interesting that the women achieved as high levels in Pashto as their PSRT results indicate. Although Peshmal women are restricted in comparison to men, they do have considerable contact with Pashto through neighbors, relatives and travel; the majority of women sampled seem to acquire sufficient command of Pashto to carry on basic conversations about everyday topics.

## 4.3 Multilingualism in Mittikot

### 4.3.1 Distribution of Test Subjects in Mittikot Sample

In order to obtain a general assessment of Urdu ability among Gujjars living in Mittikot, proficiency testing

was conducted with a sample of forty-two males from that community. As mentioned above, no women were tested. The demographic distribution of the Mittikot male population according to age and education groups was presented in chapter two. Figure (20) below presents a comparison between the percentages for each age and education cell for the male population and for the sample of Urdu SRT subjects. From this chart it is evident that the stratification of subjects in the test sample generally parallels that of the Mittikot male population.

**(20)** Mittikot: distribution of male population compared with test subjects in percentages

| | | | | *Years of formal education* | | | | | | *Total by* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age* | Uneducated | | | 1-5 years | | | 6-12 years | | | *age group* | | |
| *Groups* | Pop. | Sample | | Pop. | Sample | | Pop. | Sample | | Pop. | Sample | |
| | % | % | n | % | % | n | % | % | n | % | % | n |
| 14-19 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 4 | 18 | 24 | 10 |
| 20-29 | 15 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 27 | 21 | 9 |
| 30-39 | 17 | 24 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 19 | 29 | 12 |
| 40 & older | 36 | 26 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 26 | 11 |
| *Total by ed. group* | 75 | 69 | 29 | 13 | 14 | 6 | 12 | 17 | 7 | | | 42 |

Population n = 253

There were 52 men included in the Hindko recorded text test (RTT) sample; unfortunately these samples of subjects for Hindko and Urdu proficiency testing are not exactly equivalent. Fourteen men who participated in the Hindko RTT did not participate in the Urdu testing; four men who were included in the Urdu

testing were not included in the Hindko testing. The distribution of Hindko RTT testing according to age and education cells is quite similar to that of the Urdu test subjects, and generally corresponds to that in the Mittikot male population: 75 percent uneducated (the same as in the total Mittikot population); 12 percent with one to five years education (versus 13 percent in the population); and 13 percent with six or more years education (versus 12 percent in the population). The age distribution for the Hindko test subjects is quite even, yielding between 23 and 27 percent of the sample in each of the four age subgroups.

### 4.3.2 Mittikot Urdu Proficiency

Figure (21) presents the mean scores (m) of the Mittikot subjects on the Urdu sentence repetition test of bilingual proficiency, according to age and education subgroups. Figure (21) also records the number of subjects (n), and standard deviation of mean Urdu SRT scores (sd). In addition, median and range of corresponding Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) levels are included for each education subgroup.

**(21)** Mean scores of Mittikot subjects on Urdu SRT

| | *Years of formal education* | | | | | | | | | *Totals by* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age* | Uneducated | | | 1-5 years | | | 6 or more years | | | *age group* | | |
| *Groups* | n | m | sd | n | m | sd | n | m | sd | n | m | sd |
| 10-19 | 2 | 20 | 14.8 | 4 | 19 | 5.5 | 4 | 29 | 3.1 | 10 | 23 | 7.9 |
| 20-29 | 6 | 12 | 9.9 | 1 | 18 | | 2 | 37 | 2.8 | 9 | 18 | 13.3 |
| 30-39 | 10 | 12 | 9.4 | 1 | 40 | | 1 | 41 | | 12 | 17 | 13.9 |
| 40 + | 11 | 11 | 7.2 | 0 | | | 0 | | | 11 | 11 | 7.2 |
| *Total by* | | | | | | | | | | *Overall Total* | | |
| *ed. group* | 29 | 12 | 8.8 | 6 | 23 | 9.7 | 7 | 33 | 5.8 | 42 | 17 | 11.5 |
| RPE Range: | | 0 to 2+ | | | 1+ to 3+ | | | 2+ to 3+ | | | | |
| Median: | | 1 | | | 1+/2 | | | 2+/3 | | | | |

n=number of subjects, m=mean SRT score, sd=standard deviation,
RPE range and median=corresponding RPE levels

### *Education and Urdu Proficiency*

From figure (21) it is evident that education is the key factor in explaining the distribution of the Mittikot Urdu SRT scores; mean SRT scores consistently increase with education. The importance of education is demonstrated by the the one-way analysis of variance test which yields highly significant results ($F=18.1$, $p<.001$). The major difference in Urdu proficiency as measured by the SRT is seen in the comparison of the scores of the highest education group with those of the uneducated subjects. The highest education group has a mean Urdu SRT score of 33, and a corresponding RPE median of between 2+ and 3. In contrast, the primary education group mean is 23, median RPE level between 1+ and 2, and the uneducated group mean is 12, with a median RPE level 1. The large gap between the mean SRT scores for the primary education group and for the more highly educated group support the

threshold posited in the discussion of the Peshmal Urdu SRT results: available data indicate that moderate or better proficiency in Urdu is only occasionally attained by those with a primary level education or less, but generally attained by those with more education. The importance of higher levels of education is not surprising since schooling is the primary means for males to learn Urdu in Mittikot. Since Mittikot is a more isolated village than Peshmal, there are very few contacts with Urdu-speaking outsiders and no tourists passing through. Thus education has even more of an impact on Urdu proficiency in Mittikot.

The higher education group, although small in number of subjects, shows more internal consistency in Urdu proficiency, with a standard deviation of 5.8, lower than the standard deviation of 8.8 for the uneducated group. This relative reduction of within-group variation supports the role of schooling in producing consistently higher levels of Urdu proficiency. The greater variation in Urdu ability among the uneducated and lesser educated subjects must be explained by other more individual factors, such as periods of residence in or travel to Urduspeaking areas, or differing exposure to Urdu through occupational contacts.

***Age and Urdu Proficiency***

Age does not have a significant effect on Urdu ability in Mittikot, which is consistent with the data in Peshmal. There is no apparent age pattern in the Mittikot

bilingualism data, thus no evidence that there is any increase in use of Urdu by the younger generations. From these data, we have no indication of a shift away from the use of Gojri toward the use of Urdu in the Mittikot speech community, nor any trend indicating that men gain Urdu skill with age and experience.

***Travel and Urdu Proficiency***

As in the case of the Peshmal data, the Urdu proficiency of Mittikot subjects was examined to uncover measurable effects of language contact through exposure during travel to Urduspeaking areas. Mittikot men were asked about the locations to which they had traveled, the longest stay in that place, and the frequency of travel to that location. Trips to Rawalpindi, Lahore, and Karachi were considered as potentially affecting a subject's Urdu exposure; trips to these same three cities were examined in the Peshmal data.

In order to control for the effect of education in improving a subject's Urdu proficiency, the Urdu SRT scores of uneducated subjects only were examined. Subjects were divided into two groups according to their reports of travel duration: those who had been to any of the three cities for less than one month were put in the relatively untraveled group (n=17), and those who had stayed for three months or more in one of these locations were put in the more traveled group (n=12). There was a statistically significant difference between the Urdu

proficiency scores of these two groups as measured by one-way analysis of variance ($F=4.84$, $p<.05$). The mean Urdu SRT score for the more traveled group (16, sd=9.5) is higher than that of the untraveled group (9, sd=7.2). These mean scores correspond with a full level difference in median RPE levels between the two groups, from level 0+ (very minimal proficiency) to level 1+ (limited basic proficiency).

### 4.3.3 Reported Use of Urdu by Mittikot Men

Parallel to the sections in the Peshmal questionnaire dealing with language use, questions were included in the Mittikot questionnaire concerning a subject's use of Urdu. The actual questions concerning frequency of speaking and hearing Urdu and a subject's longest conversation in Urdu were the same as those listed for Peshmal in the preceding figure (11). However when investigating the longest reported conversations in Urdu, Mittikot subjects were asked specifically to report about their longest duration Urdu conversations held in three different locations: in Mittikot itself, in the nearby and larger town of Balakot, and in locations outside of those two specified places. As stated above, the frequencies of speaking and hearing Urdu and the reported durations of the longest Urdu conversations were included as more quantitative angles on the language use data. More qualitative information was also gathered by asking subjects to report their Urdu-speaking

interlocutors, and the topics which were discussed in these Urdu conversations.

***Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Urdu***

Figure (22) presents the frequencies of hearing and speaking Urdu in the sample of fifty-eight Mittikot male subjects. Of these fifty-eight subjects, forty-two participated in the Urdu SRT testing; thus the second part of this figure displays the frequency distribution of these forty-two subjects and the mean Urdu SRT scores of these subjects separated into three groups according to relative frequency of speaking Urdu. The mean Urdu SRT score for the subjects reporting relatively higher frequency of speaking Urdu is significantly higher than the mean scores of the two groups reporting lower Urdu speaking frequency ($F=6.75$, $p<.01$).

**(22)** Mittikot men: reported frequencies for hearing and speaking Urdu
*percent and number responding at each level*
compared to Urdu SRT means

| | Hear Urdu | | Speak Urdu | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | *n* | *Percent* | *n* |
| never | 31% | 18 | 48% | 28 |
| 1x/month | 28 | 16 | 14 | 8 |
| 1x/2wks. | 9 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| 1x/wk. | 7 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 2-3x/wk. | 14 | 8 | 12 | 7 |
| 1x/day | 2 | 1 | 7 | 4 |
| many x/day | 10 | 6 | 12 | 7 |
| *Total* | | 58 | | 58 |

| Reported frequency of Speaking Urdu | Urdu SRT *n* | *SRT m* | *sd* |
|---|---|---|---|
| never | 19 | 13 | 10.1 |
| 1 or 2x/month | 9 | 14 | 10.0 |
| 2x/week to many x/day | 14 | 25 | 10.4 |
| *Total* | 42 | | |

Notice that the reports of Urdu use are much less frequent for Mittikot men than for Peshmal men. Almost half report that they never speak Urdu, in contrast to only 6 percent who reported no use of Urdu among the Peshmal men. Considering only those who participated in the Urdu SRT testing as shown in the second half of this figure, the highest frequency group consists of all those

who reported speaking Urdu twice or three times a week combined with those few reporting that they speak it once or many times a day, since all such reports were relatively infrequent; there were no patterned differences between those combined into this group. It is only this group which shows a significantly higher Urdu SRT mean. Again this reflects the paucity of subjects reporting frequent use of Urdu in Mittikot. As in the Peshmal data, the significant differences between the measures of Urdu proficiency for those who report using Urdu more often, in contrast to those who report using it less often, substantiate the consistency of the Mittikot data. Although these results are not strong enough to indicate that self-reported frequency of use can be taken as a predictor of Urdu proficiency, they indicate that these two measures are positively related and that the generally low frequency of Urdu use of most Mittikot subjects reflects very limited skill in Urdu for the majority of the Gujjar male population. In general, those who report that they speak Urdu infrequently do not seem to have proficiency adequate for conversations beyond the level of basic needs.

***Urdu Conversation Duration***

The conversation duration data for Urdu conversations in Mittikot, Balakot, or outside locations reveal that most subjects report only very short conversations in Urdu. For all three locations, a majority of subjects reported never using Urdu in conversation; the percentages reporting that they never use Urdu in

conversation range from 56 in the two out-of-town locations to 62 in Mittikot. Only one subject in one location reported using Urdu for a conversation of more than one hour in length. The most commonly reported duration of the remainder who reported any Urdu conversations was between five and twenty minutes. There is no consistent relationship between Urdu SRT scores and reported conversation length, but since so few reported Urdu conversations of more than twenty-minute duration, this result is hardly surprising. The frequencies and percentages of Urdu conversation duration data for Mittikot men are listed in figure (23); the data listed here reflects answers to questions specifying Urdu use in the nearby town of Balakot, to which Mittikot men regularly go for economic reasons.

## (23) Percent of Mittikot men: length of longest reported Urdu conversation

| Longest Urdu Conversation | *Percent* | *n* |
|---|---|---|
| never | 57% | 33 |
| <5 min. | 14 | 8 |
| 5-20 min. | 21 | 12 |
| 20-60 min. | 9 | 5 |
| >60 min. | 0 | 0 |
| *Total* | | 58 |

***Conversational Domains for Urdu***

Since Urdu is rarely used in Mittikot, it fits with expectations to discover that the reported domains where it is spoken are with interlocutors who are higher status 'outsiders'. Among those who reported Urdu conversations, the most frequently mentioned interlocutor was the school teacher; others included forestry workers, visitors, landlords, employers, lawyers, and shopkeepers in Balakot or more distant locations. Most often, the topics were appropriate to conversations with such interlocutors, not ones which would be discussed among family and peers within the Gujjar community: schoolwork, employment, court cases, etc.

### *4.3.4 Mittikot Hindko Proficiency*

In addition to limited use of Urdu, a second language of wider communication used by the Gujjars in Mittikot is the regional language widely spoken in the Hazara area, Hindko. Hindko is the dominant language in the nearby town of Balakot, where many Mittikot Gujjars have regular contacts. In order to test the bilingual ability of Mittikot Gujjar men in Hindko, a sample of fifty-two men were tested by means of a Hindko recorded text test (RTT).

The text, a simple narrative, was collected from a native Hindko speaker from the town of Balakot. Recorded text testing procedure involves playing the taped text to each subject; after listening to the text, the subject is asked a series of questions in his own native language or

dialect. These questions are presented while the subject hears the story again, interspersed within the recorded text at appropriate places with pauses for answering. Thus a standardized presentation is used for all subjects. A subject's responses to those questions, which may be given in his own native language, are taken as indicators of his level of comprehension of the text, and thus a reflection of his level of proficiency in the taped language variety. In comparison with the sentence repetition tests used to measure Urdu and Pashto proficiency as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the Hindko RTT is less sensitive; it measures comprehension of a text, and does not require a subject to speak the test language as part of test performance. Its results are more difficult to interpret since they have not been calibrated with a direct measure of proficiency such as the Reported Proficiency Evaluation. Therefore statistical evaluation of the RTT results must be cautiously interpreted and the resulting conclusions are necessarily weaker. More details regarding recorded text testing are in appendix A.2. The specific text from Balakot used to measure Hindko proficiency is included in appendix B.2.2.

Figure (24) shows the distribution of mean Hindko RTT scores according to age and education subgroups. For each subgroup the number of subjects (n), mean RTT score (m), and standard deviation (sd) are given. RTT scores are given in terms of percent of responses correct, thus 80 indicates eight out of ten questions answered correctly.

**(24)** Mean scores of Mittikot subjects on Hindko RTT

| | | | | *Years of formal education* | | | | | | *Totals by* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age* | Uneducated | | | 1-5 years | | | 6-12years | | | *age group* | | |
| *Groups* | n | m | sd | n | m | sd | n | m | sd | n | m | sd |
| 10-19 | 5 | 90 | 7.1 | 4 | 88 | 18.9 | 4 | 93 | 5.0 | 13 | 90 | 10.8 |
| 20-29 | 9 | 86 | 11.4 | 1 | 90 | | 2 | 100 | 0 | 12 | 89 | 11.1 |
| 30-39 | 11 | 79 | 12.2 | 1 | 90 | | 1 | 100 | | 13 | 82 | 12.8 |
| 40 + | 14 | 77 | 17.7 | 0 | | | 0 | | | 14 | 77 | 17.7 |
| *Total by* | | | | | | | | | | *Overall Total* | | |
| *ed. group* | 39 | 81 | 14.2 | 6 | 88 | 14.7 | 7 | 96 | 5.3 | 52 | 84 | 14.2 |

n=number of subjects, m=mean RTT score, sd=standard deviation

In general, the scores for the Hindko RTT are quite high, with an overall mean of 84. A 95 percent confidence interval based on the distribution of Hindko RTT scores indicates that a true population mean would fall between 80 and 88 percent. These figures can be compared with the mean score of 93 on the Gojri hometown recorded text test (with a 95 percent confidence interval of 91 to 95) to evaluate the approximate level of Hindko proficiency relative to the average of these subjects' performances on a similar test in their native variety of Gojri .

Each Hindko RTT score was compared with the paired Gojri RTT score from the same subject using a dependent sample t-test. The results showed a significant difference between Hindko and Gojri RTT scores, with the Gojri score showing a mean increase of 9.1 points ($t=5.4$, $p<.001$). Clearly, Mittikot Gujjar men are less proficient in Hindko than they are in their native Gojri , but the average decrease as measured by the RTT is not great.

Of the 52 Mittikot subjects taking the Hindko test, 24 performed at the 100 percent correct level on their Gojri *hometown* screening test; the remainder performed at 90 or 80 percent correct. For the 24 who had perfect hometown test scores, the mean on the Hindko RTT was significantly higher than the overall mean: 90 percent with a standard deviation of 9.5; the corresponding 95 percent confidence interval is 86 to 94 percent. These results give further confirmation to the conclusion that good ability in comprehending Hindko is quite widespread in the Mittikot Gujjar community.

***Education and Hindko Proficiency***

To be consistent with the evaluations of Urdu and Pashto proficiency discussed in previous sections of this chapter, the Hindko RTT was analyzed with analysis of variance tests to look for significant effects for the independent variables of education and age.**49** Again, education revealed a significant effect on Hindko RTT scores ($F=3.6$, $p<.05$). As noted in figure (24), the distribution of subjects is heavily skewed in favor of the uneducated subjects, and there are rather large standard deviations for the uneducated and the less educated groups. Nevertheless, there is a consistent rise in mean Hindko RTT scores as education increases: 81 for the uneducated subjects, 88 for the lesser educated subjects, and 96 for the more highly educated subjects. Post-hoc comparisons between each pair of education groups using

the Scheffe's procedure reveals that the highest education group has a significantly higher mean Hindko RTT score than the uneducated group, but that their mean score is not significantly different than that of the primary education group.

It may not seem intuitively obvious why there is a relationship between education and Hindko proficiency, but a look at the particular circumstances of schooling for Mittikot boys yields some clarification. Hindko is not officially taught in school; however, it is often used by Hindko-speaking teachers to explain new or difficult concepts. The only middle and high schools available for Mittikot students are located in Balakot, a Hindko-speaking town. Most of the students at Balakot schools are Hindko speakers. Thus, schooling provides an environment where Hindko is acquired by regular exposure, not by direct teaching.

***Age and Hindko Proficiency***

The evaluation of the effect of age on Hindko RTT scores is based on relatively balanced numbers of subjects in each age group. The mean Hindko RTT scores decrease as age increases; from a high of 90 for the teenage group to a low of 77 for those 40 and over. However the standard deviations for each group are quite large, between 10.8 and 17.7, indicating sizeable intragroup variation in scores within each age group. An analysis of variance on the differences between the means for these

age groups indicates a probability level barely outside the minimum necessary to establish a significant relationship between age and Hindko RTT scores (p=0.053). Using a more sensitive proficiency test, or controlling for possible interaction between age and education effects, significant results might be indicated.

On the basis of the Hindko RTT data available, there is weak evidence for increasing Hindko proficiency among the young. If this trend were observed over time, in combination with an observed and reported increase in the use of Hindko among fellow Gujjars, such data could be interpreted as indicating that Hindko use and proficiency are in a transitional stage, perhaps moving in the direction of a shift towards use of Hindko and the loss of Gojri among some Kaghan Gujjars. At this point the Hindko proficiency data are inconclusive, and the reports of frequency of Hindko use in conversation do not pattern in a way that would support this suggestion.

***Travel and Hindko Proficiency***

Since Mittikot Gujjars are surrounded by a Hindko-dominant environment, effects of travel to and lengthy stays in Hindkospeaking towns are rather difficult to evaluate. However for the sake of parallelism with the evaluation of the other situations of second language use and travel, a comparison between untraveled and more traveled Mittikot subjects was done. Again, this analysis used only Hindko RTT scores of the uneducated subjects,

to eliminate the interference of the effect of education. Those thirteen Mittikot Gujjar men reporting at least one month or more residence in either Balakot, Mansehra, or Abbotabad were placed into the more traveled group. Those remaining twenty-six uneducated men were placed into the untraveled group. The mean Hindko RTT score of the traveled group was slightly higher than that of the untraveled group, 85 versus 80. However, the standard deviations for these groups were both quite high, with 10.5 for the traveled group and 15.8 for the untraveled group. The differences between group means was not statistically significant. Therefore, there is no conclusive evidence that travel to or relatively longer stays in these Hindkospeaking towns consistently affects Hindko proficiency. Again, more detailed questioning regarding language use while in a Hindko-dominant environment should reveal the factors of language contact that would explain some of the variation within the scores of the more traveled group.

### 4.3.5 Reported Use of Hindko by Mittikot Men

Similar to the reports of language use for Urdu and Pashto discussed above, Mittikot subjects also reported their frequencies of speaking and hearing Hindko. They were also asked about conversations in which they reported to use Hindko, the approximate duration of their longest conversation, the topic of the conversation, and the person with whom they spoke.

***Frequencies of Speaking and Hearing Hindko***

In contrast to the consistent links between language use and proficiency as measured by the Urdu and Pashto SRT tests, these data do not show any significant relationships with Hindko ability as measured with the Hindko RTT. Such a result is not surprising given the fact that the Hindko RTT is a less sensitive and less discriminating proficiency measure. The reports of frequency of speaking and of hearing Hindko are presented below for all 58 Mittikot subjects in figure (25).

**(25)** Mittikot men: reported frequencies for hearing and speaking Hindko
*percent and number responding at each level*

| | Hear Hindko | | Speak Hindko | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Percent* | *n* | *Percent* | *n* |
| never | 0% | 0 | 2% | 1 |
| 1x/month | 12 | 7 | 10 | 6 |
| 1x/2wks. | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| 1x/wk. | 14 | 8 | 16 | 9 |
| 2-3x/wk. | 22 | 13 | 22 | 13 |
| 1x/day | 21 | 12 | 19 | 11 |
| many x/day | 26 | 15 | 26 | 15 |
| *Total* | | 58 | | 58 |

The frequency reports given here indicate that Mittikot men use Hindko much more frequently than Urdu. In contrast to 6 or 7 percent who report using Urdu many times a day, 26 percent report speaking and hearing

Hindko many times a day. Almost half of the subjects report using Hindko at least once a day, versus between 12 and 19 percent for Urdu. Whereas only two percent report never speaking Hindko, almost half these same subjects report never speaking Urdu. Since the regional language is Hindko and the majority of Mittikot Gujjar men have regular contact with Hindko speakers in nearby Balakot, Hindko is clearly a well-used language for these Hazara Gujjar men.

***Hindko Conversation Duration***

The reported Hindko conversation length data also do not stratify consistently with the Hindko RTT proficiency measure. However, the tallies and accompanying percentages for reported Hindko conversation length in Balakot do indicate greater use of Hindko than of Urdu. These tallies are listed below in figure (26).

**(26)** Percent of Mittikot men:
length of longest reported Hindko conversation

| Longest Hindko Conversation | *Percent* | *n* |
|---|---|---|
| never | 2% | 1 |
| <5 min. | 12 | 7 |
| 5-20 min. | 38 | 22 |
| 20-60 min. | 41 | 24 |
| >60 min. | 7 | 4 |
| *Total* | | 58 |

The largest number of Mittikot subjects report that their longest Hindko conversations are of 20 to 60 minutes duration; almost half report Hindko conversation of at least twenty minutes to over one hour. These conversation lengths contrast sharply with the reports for Urdu conversations; only 9 percent of these same Mittikot men report conversations in Urdu of 20 minutes or longer duration, the rest reporting shorter Urdu conversations or none at all. Only one subject reported never using Hindko for conversations in Balakot, while 57 percent report none in Urdu.

***Conversational Domains for Hindko***

The domains of use for Hindko pattern similarly to those discussed for Urdu: Hindko is not reported to be used within the Gujjar community, but is used between Gujjars and non-Gujjars in the Hazara area. Thirteen percent reported never using Hindko in Mittikot, whereas all but one reported using it for conversations in Balakot. The large majority report that their longest Hindko conversations were with shopkeepers in Balakot, many also reporting that they use Hindko with their landlord. Three reported long conversations with the local imam in Hindko. The topics reported were appropriate to the interlocutors listed, and reflect the need to use Hindko as a local lingua franca.

## 4.4 Comparative Patterns of Multilingualism in Peshmal and Mittikot

### 4.4.1 Relative Urdu Proficiency and Use

In both Gujjar communities under investigation, evidence indicates that, compared to the local languages of wider communication, Urdu proficiency was generally lower and Urdu use was less frequent. Neither the Peshmal data, nor the Mittikot data indicate widespread high levels of proficiency in Urdu. However in both communities, Urdu proficiency was significantly affected by education, with only those subjects in the highest education group attaining consistently higher scores on the Urdu sentence repetition test.

The levels of Urdu proficiency for each community are displayed in figure (27), according to percents of more educated subjects versus lesser educated and uneducated subjects at each projected Reported Proficiency Evaluation level. Because no significant differences were found between Urdu proficiency levels of uneducated subjects and lesser educated subjects (with one to five years education), these two education groups are combined on this figure.

**(27)** Peshmal and Mittikot men:
comparison of Urdu proficiency levels for
uneducated and lesser educated versus more educated group

| | **Peshmal** | | **Mittikot** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reported | % of subjects by level | | % of subjects by level | |
| Proficiency | Uned. & | More | Uned. & | More |
| Evaluation Levels | Less ed. | educated | Less ed. | educated |
| **0** *(below minimal)* | 0% | 0% | 6% | 0% |
| **0+** *(very minimal)* | 11 | 0 | 29 | 0 |
| **1** *(minimal, limited)* | 6 | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| **1+** *(limited, basic)* | 8 | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| **2** *(adequate, basic)* | 19 | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| **2+** *(good, basic)* | 28 | 17 | 11 | 43 |
| **3** *(good, general)* | 25 | 33 | 0 | 29 |
| **3+** *(very good, general)* | 3 | 50 | 3 | 29 |

Because demographic profiles were gathered for these two communities, the relative percentages of more highly educated subjects for each community are known. Combining these percentages with the proficiency test results indicates the overall percentages expected at each level of Urdu proficiency for the Peshmal versus the Mittikot Gujjar communities. In Peshmal, 83 percent of the more educated men and 28 percent of the lesser or uneducated men demonstrated Urdu proficiency at RPE level 3 or above. More highly educated men make up only 18 percent of the Peshmal population, while lesser or uneducated men make up the remaining 82 percent. Using these figures to gain an estimate of the percentage of men who speak Urdu at level 3 or above, yields 38 percent as the overall percentage of Peshmal men who speak Urdu at good, general proficiency or better.

The projections for Mittikot demonstrate much lower levels of Urdu proficiency. The percentages of more highly educated men in the Mittikot population are somewhat lower than was the case in Peshmal: only 12 percent of the population had six or more years education. In addition, the performances of these educated men indicated fewer who demonstrated good, general proficiency in Urdu: only 58 percent of these more educated men performed at RPE level 3 or above. For the uneducated and lesser educated men, only 3 percent demonstrated RPE level 3 proficiency. Lesser educated and uneducated men make up 88 percent of Mittikot's male population. Thus, the overall percentage of all Mittikot men who are estimated to be at RPE level 3 or above is only 10 percent.

Several factors help explain why these communities have differing levels of Urdu proficiency. Education for males is more widespread in Peshmal than in Mittikot, particularly among the younger generation. While Mittikot is more remote and is not likely to have many visitors from other areas, Peshmal is on a main road, in an area heavily traveled by tourists. Thus, it seems that Urdu proficiency may be more necessary in Peshmal than in Mittikot. This supposition is borne out by the questionnaire responses of subjects regarding the frequency with which they use Urdu: Peshmal subjects reported much less frequent use of Urdu than of Pashto,

but they reported much more frequent use of Urdu than did the Mittikot subjects.

### 4.4.2 Relative Proficiency and Use of Local Languages of Wider Communication

The comparison between the local languages of wider communication in these two communities is not so straightforward. In both Peshmal and Mittikot, evidence indicates that there is more widespread proficiency in the local *lingua franca* than in Urdu. But since different types of tests were used, and different languages are involved, the results for Pashto in Peshmal and Hindko in Mittikot are difficult to compare. The levels of Pashto proficiency for the Peshmal community are displayed in figure (28), according to percents of more educated subjects versus lesser educated and uneducated subjects at each projected RPE level. Again, since no significant differences were found between proficiency levels of uneducated subjects and lesser educated subjects (with one to five years education), these two lesser education groups are combined.

**(28)** Peshmal men:
percent at Pashto proficiency levels for
uneducated and lesser educated versus more educated group

| | **Peshmal** | |
|---|---|---|
| Reported Proficiency Evaluation Levels | % of subjects by level Uned.& Less ed. | More educated |
| **0** *(below minimal)* | 0% | 0% |
| **0+** *(very minimal)* | 0 | 0 |
| **1** *(minimal, limited)* | 3 | 0 |
| **1+** *(limited, basic)* | 3 | 0 |
| **2** *(adequate, basic)* | 19 | 8 |
| **2+** *(good, basic)* | 33 | 0 |
| **3** *(good, general)* | 33 | 17 |
| **3+** *(very good, general)* | 8 | 75 |

These results support the conclusion that Peshmal men demonstrate higher levels of proficiency in Pashto than they do in Urdu. Among the more educated subjects, 92 percent performed at RPE level 3 or above. Eighteen percent of the total Peshmal male population aged fourteen and above were found to be in this more educated subgroup according to the census described in chapter two. Thus, multiplying these percentages yields 17 percent of the Peshmal male population who both are more highly educated and speak Pashto with good, general proficiency (at RPE level 3 or better). Fifteen of the 36 uneducated and lesser educated subjects, or 41 percent, demonstrated such high levels of Pashto proficiency. Lesser educated and uneducated subjects

make up 82 percent of the population of Peshmal men. These figures yield a projection of 34 percent of the Peshmal male population who both speak Pashto at RPE level 3 proficiency and have little or no education. The total projected percentage for Peshmal men who are estimated to speak Pashto at a good, general proficiency level is the sum of these subgroup percents, 51 percent. Thus, an estimated half of the male Gujjar population in Peshmal speaks good Pashto, considerably more than the 38 percent estimated to speak Urdu at the same level of proficiency.

Hindko proficiency levels in Mittikot are undoubtedly higher than Urdu proficiency levels, but the different testing methods used in the asessment of the two languages do not produce results that are comparable. The Hindko recorded text test results can be stratified according to education subgroups, however the interpretation of the results in terms of the level of proficiency they reflect is difficult. The tallies below indicate the percent of Mittikot subjects achieving scores on the RTT test at the levels displayed.

**(29)** Mittikot men:
Hindko RTT scores in percent correct
by education subgroups

| RTT Levels | Education Subgroups | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Uneducated* | *1-5 years* | *6-12 years* |
| 40 | 3% | 0% | 0% |
| 50 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 60 | 5 | 17 | 0 |
| 70 | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| 80 | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| 90 | 26 | 50 | 43 |
| 100 | 7 | 33 | 57 |

From these results and the census of the Mittikot population, an estimation can be made of the percent of Mittikot men who might achieve level 80 or above on the Hindko recorded text test. All of the higher education group achieved this threshold level; men with higher education make up 12 percent of the Mittikot male population, and all of them can be expected to perform well in Hindko. Of those with one to five years education, 83 percent scored at 80 or above; this lesser education subgroup makes up 13 percent of the total population. Thus these lesser educated Mittikot men contribute 11 percent (ie., 83 times 13 percent) to a total projected estimate of those who could perform well on an Hindko test. The vast majority, 75 percent, of Mittikot men are uneducated. Only 69 percent of the uneducated men

scored at level 80 or above, which comes to a projected 52 percent who are both uneducated and who should score at least 80 on the Hindko RTT. The combined projection is the sum of these projected estimates: 12 percent, plus 11 percent, plus 52 percent, yielding an estimated 75 percent of Mittikot men who should score at least 80 on the Hindko Recorded Text Test. Since 80 percent is considered threshold level for passing a hometown screening test, the fact that an estimated three quarters of Mittikot men may perform so well indicates a moderately high level of comprehension of Hindko.

### 4.4.3 Language Proficiency of Women in Peshmal and Mittikot

The levels of proficiency exhibited by men in both these communities can only be expected to far exceed those which would be found if representative samples of women were tested. No testing of women was accomplished in Mittikot. However, the Urdu proficiency levels demonstrated by Mittikot men, particularly the uneducated sector of society, indicate that women, most of whom are uneducated, would probably score in a range below the RPE level of 2+, the maximum proficiency level achieved by uneducated men. Mittikot women would have even less need for Urdu than the men; thus it is unlikely that many of them have developed communicative proficiency in it.

The testing of female subjects in Peshmal cannot claim to yield true estimates for the female population in that location, particularly for the evaluation of Urdu proficiency. Since women often opted out of participation, claiming to know little or no Urdu, the scores achieved by the remainder were probably better than would have been achieved had a representative sample been tested. Even so, Peshmal women exhibited very little proficiency in Urdu, the median RPE level indicating 0+, or very minimal proficiency.

It is likely that the women in both communities would demonstrate higher levels of proficiency in the languages of wider communication in their areas than they would in Urdu. The scores of the Peshmal women on the Pashto SRT bear this out. Almost twice as many women participated in the Pashto testing as in the Urdu, and the median RPE level achieved was 2, indicating adequate, basic proficiency for everyday interactions. The median Pashto proficiency level achieved by Peshmal women was still lower than the 2+ achieved by the uneducated men, but the difference was only a half level on the RPE. Since Gujjar women in Peshmal practice *purdah* and do not attend school, it is unlikely that many have opportunity to develop as high levels of proficiency as were achieved by the men. Even the median of RPE 2 may be an overestimate for the female population as a whole since it was primarily young women in their twenties who participated in Pashto testing.

In comparison with women in Peshmal, Mittikot women have more contacts with non-kin, some even laboring in the homes of Hindko speakers. Thus, it is likely that they have had more opportunities to be exposed to Hindko than most Peshmal women had to Pashto. However, since few Mittikot women have received much education, which was found to be significantly related to Hindko proficiency among the men, and since most women would still have more restricted contacts with Hindko speakers than would the men, it is expected that the women's Hindko proficiency would generally be lower.

### 4.4.4 Acquisition of Multiple Languages through Contact

Having stated that unschooled men and women in both Gujjar communities achieve significantly lower levels of second language proficiency than are achieved by those with education, it should be emphasized that some of them do achieve good proficiency. In many societies, second language learning is only achieved through schooling; the fact that some members of these communities have acquired good proficiency without schooling speaks of the pragmatic attitudes toward acquiring languages of wider communication evidenced throughout the minority linguistic communities in northern Pakistan. The accomplishment of unschooled persons acquiring two or more languages additional to their native Gojri , however imperfectly they are acquired,

is something that astounds many educated monolinguals in the so-called developed world.

In addition, such acquisition through informal means indicates the complex social interdependencies exhibited by these language groups. It is the usual pattern that the more dominant groups will acquire little if any of the minority group languages, while the smaller, lower status, and more dominated groups will try to acquire necessary proficiency in the higher status and larger group languages. In many such cases, the language of the dominated ethnolinguistic minority has become a stigmatized variety from which speakers of that language try to disassociate themselves. Gujjars, who have been called a lower status group, fit the expected pattern in terms of the acquisition of the languages of their more dominant neighbors. However, there is a sense of pride in their own Gojri language evidenced by the participants in this research, both among the residents of Peshmal and Mittikot, and especially among those from Pak occopied Kashmir who were interviewed during other parts of this study. Gujjars in northern Pakistan seem to acquire other languages because they serve their needs for contact with non-Gujjars and because proficiency in these tongues gives them opportunities for socioeconomic advancement. Gojri is maintained as the most frequently used language and as a symbol of ethnicity for the vast majority of the population.

## APPENDIX A

# METHODOLOGIES

### Appendix A.1

## Procedure for Counting Lexical Similarity

A standard list of 210 vocabulary items was collected from speakers at key locations for each of the languages studied in the surveys reported in these volumes. This list is presented at the end of this section along with the Urdu and Pashto words used for elicitation. A phonetic chart presenting the transcription conventions used in these reports precedes the elicitation list.

In standard procedure, the 210 words are elicited from a person who has grown up in the target locality. The list is then collected a second time from another speaker. Any differences in responses are examined in order to identify (1) incorrect responses due to misunderstanding of the elicitation cue, (2) loan words offered in response to the language of elicitation when indigenous terms are actually still in use, and (3) terms which are simply at different places along the generic-specific lexical scale. Normally, a single term is recorded for each item of the word list. However, more than one term is recorded for a single item when synonymous terms are apparently in general use or when more than one specific term occupies the semantic area of a more generic item on the word list.

An evaluation of the reliability of each word list is given according to three levels, from A to C. The reliability codes are assigned based on the following criteria: whether the word list was adequately checked through a second independent elicitation and/or through comparison with published data; whether the original elicitation was clearly tape recorded for further checking where necessary; whether the word list informant demonstrated full bilingual proficiency in the language of elicitation and clearly understood the procedure; and whether the list was collected on location from a speaker who unquestionably represented the regional variety.

The word lists are compared to determine the extent to which the vocabulary of each pair of speech forms is similar. No attempt is made to identify genuine cognates based on a network of sound correspondences. Rather, two items are judged to be phonetically similar if at least half of the segments compared are the same (category 1) and of the remaining segments at least half are rather similar (category 2). For example, if two items of eight segments in length are compared, these words are judged to be similar if at least four segments are virtually the same and at least two more are rather similar. The criteria applied are presented in (1).

**(1)**
Category 1

a. Contoid (consonant-like) segments which match exactly
b. Vowels (vowel-like) segments which match exactly or differ by only one articulatory feature
c. Phonetically similar segments (of the sort which frequently are found as allophones) which are seen to correspond in at least three pairs of words

Category 2

All other phonetically similar pairs of segments which are not, however, supported by at least three pairs of words

Category 3

a. Pairs of segments which are not phonetically similar
b. A segment which is matched by no segment in the corresponding item

After pairs of items on two word lists had been determined to be phonetically similar or not, according to the criteria stated above, the percentage of items judged similar was calculated. The procedure was repeated for each pair of dialects thought to be similar enough to warrant comparison.

Occasionally, one or more of the standard 210 lexical items were found to be so problematic in a particular language that consistent elicitation was impossible or evaluation of similarity became anomalous. In those few cases the problematic lexical items were omitted from the

data lists presented in the subsequent appendices, and were excluded from the lexical similarity counts.

The pair by pair counting procedure was greatly facilitated by the use of a computer program designed for this purpose: Wimbish, John A. 1989. *WORDSURV: A program for analyzing language survey word lists.* (Occasional Publications in Academic Computing, 13.) Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

It should be noted that the word list data and transcribed texts as included in the subsequent appendices are field transcriptions and have not undergone thorough phonological and grammatical analysis.

## A.1.1 Phonetic Chart

*Consonants*

| | Bilabial | Labio-dental | Dental | Alveop/ Palatal | Retro-flexed | Velar | Uvular | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stops | p | | t | | ʈ | k | q | ʔ |
| | b | | d | | ɖ | g | ɢ | |
| Fricatives | ɸ | f | θ | | | x | | h |
| | β | v | ð | | | ɣ | | |
| Grooved | | | s | ʃ | ʂ | | | |
| Fricatives | | | z | ʒ | ʐ | | | |
| Affricates | | | t͡s | ʧ | ʈ͡ʂ | | | |
| | | | d͡z | ʤ | ɖ͡ʐ | | | |
| Nasals | m | | n | ɲ | ɳ | ŋ | | |
| Laterals | | | ɬ l | | ɭ | | | |
| Flaps | | | ɾ | | ɽ | | | |
| Trills | | | r̃ | | | | | |
| Semi-vowels | w | | | y | ɻ | | | |

*Vowels*

| | Front | | Central | | Back | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High | i | ü | ɨ | ʉ | ï | u |
| | ɪ | | | | ɪ̈ | ʊ |
| Mid | e | ö | ə | | ë | o |
| | ɛ | | ʌ | | | |
| Low | æ | ɔ̈ | ɑ | | ӕ | ɔ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [$t^h$] | aspiration | [i̥] | voicelessness |
| [$t^w$] | labialization | [iː] | extra lengthening |
| [$t^y$] | palatalization | [i·] | lengthening |
| [zʌˈbɑn] | stress | [i̯] | shortening |
| [x̟] | fronting | [í] | rising tone |
| [ĩ] | nasalized vowel | [i̋] | falling tone |
| [i̩] | retroflexed vowel | [i᷄] | falling then rising tone |

A.1.2 Standard Word List Items in English, Urdu, and Pash

| | *Urdu* | *Pashto* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. body | jɪsm | badʌn |
| 2. head | sʌr | sʌr |
| 3. hair | bal | wextə |
| 4. face | čehrʌ | mʌx |
| 5. eye | ek ākʰ | sturgʌ |
| 6. ear | ek kan | ɣwʌg |
| 7. nose | nak | pozʌ |
| 8. mouth | mũh | xo̲lə |
| 9. teeth | ek dāt | ɣax |
| 10. tongue | zʌban | jɪbʌ / žɪbʌ |
| 11. breast | čʰati | sina |
| 12. belly | peṭ | xeṭʌ / geḍʌ |
| 13. arm/hand | bazu | lʌs |
| 14. elbow | kohni | sʌŋgal |
| 15. palm | hʌtʰeli | tʌle |
| 16. finger | uŋgli | gotʌ |
| 17. fingernail | naxun | nukʰ |
| 18. leg | ṭaŋ | xpa |
| 19. skin | jɪld | sarmʌn |
| 20. bone | hʌḍ·i | oḍuke |
| 21. heart | dɪl | zʌ̲rə |
| 22. blood | xun | wina |
| 23. urine | pešab | tʌše mutiaze |
| 24. feces | pexana | ḍʌke mutiaze |
| 25. village | gaũ | kʌle |
| 26. house | gʰʌr/mʌkan | kor |
| 27. roof | čʰʌt | čʌtʰ |
| 28. door | dʌrwazʌ | wʌr / dʌrwaza |
| 29. firewood | jʌlane wali lʌkṛi | dʌ swʌzedo lʌrgi |
| 30. broom | jʰaru | jaru |
| 31. mortar | masala pisne gol čiz/lʌŋgri | lʌŋgʌre[1] |
| 32. pestle | hʌtʰ-i/dʌsta/hatʰ ka hɪs·ʌ | čotu |
| 33. hammer | hʌtʰɔṛa/·i | sʌṭʌk |
| 34. knife | čaqu/čʰuri | čaku / čaṛʌ |
| 35. axe | kulhaṛa/·i | tʌbar |
| 36. rope | rʌs·i | pʌṛe |
| 37. thread | dʰaga | tar |
| 38. needle | sui | stʌn |
| 39. cloth | kʌpṛa | kapṛa |
| 40. ring | ʌŋguṭʰi | gota |
| 41. sun | surʌj | nwʌr |
| 42. moon | čand | spogma[1] |
| 43. sky | asman | asman |
| 44. star | ek tara/sɪtara | store |
| 45. rain | barsɛ | baran |
| 46. water | pani | ubə |
| 47. river | darya | sind |
| 48. cloud | badʌl | wʌryʌz |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 49. lightning | bɪjɪli ki čʌmʌk | pṛʌkigi |
| 50. rainbow | qɔsɪ quzʌh | dʌ buḍa$^{l}$ ṭʌl |
| 51. wind | hʌwa (tufan nehī) | hawa |
| 52. stone | pʌt$^{h}$·ʌr | kaṇe |
| 53. path | rasta | lar |
| 54. sand | ret | šʌgʌ |
| 55. fire | ag | o$^{u}$r |
| 56. smoke | d$^{h}$uā | luge |
| 57. ash | rak$^{h}$ | ira |
| 58. mud | kičʌṛ | xʌṭa |
| 59. dust | mɪṭ·i | gʌṛd / duṛa |
| 60. gold | sona | sɪʌ zʌr |
| 61. tree | dʌrʌxt/peṛ | wʌnʌ |
| 62. leaf | pʌt·a/-i | paṇa |
| 63. root | dʌrʌxt ka ek jʌṛ | jʌrʌṛe |
| 64. thorn | kā·ṭa | azɣe |
| 65. flower | p$^{h}$ul | gwʌl |
| 66. fruit | p$^{h}$ʌl | mewa |
| 67. mango | am | am |
| 68. banana | kela | kela |
| 69. wheat (husked) | gehū / gʌndum | ɣʌnʌm |
| 70. barley | bajra | warbʌši |
| 71. rice (husked) | čawʌl | wrije |
| 72. potato | alu | alu |
| 73. eggplant | bæŋʌn | tor baṭiŋgʌ̄ṛ |
| 74. groundnut | muŋ p$^{h}$ʌli | mumpali |
| 75. chili | mɪrč | mʌrčʌke / mrʌč |
| 76. turmeric | hʌldi | kurkʌmʌn |
| 77. garlic | lɛhsʌn | uga |
| 78. onion | piaz | piaz |
| 79. cauliflower | p$^{h}$ul gobi | gobi / gwʌl gopi |
| 80. tomato | ṭʌmaṭʌr | sur baṭiŋgʌ̄ṛ |
| 81. cabbage | bʌnd gobi | bʌn gobi |
| 82. oil | tel | tel |
| 83. salt | nʌmʌk | malga |
| 84. meat | gošt (k$^{h}$ane ke lie) | ɣwʌxa |
| 85. fat (of meat) | čɛrbi (gošt ka hissa) | wazdʌ |
| 86. fish | mʌč$^{h}$li | kʌb |
| 87. chicken | murɣi | čʌrgʌ |
| 88. egg | ek ʌṇḍa | hɔ / age |
| 89. cow | gae | ɣwa |
| 90. buffalo | b$^{h}$ɛ̄s | mexa |
| 91. milk | dud$^{h}$ | pe |
| 92. horns | ek siŋg | xkʌr |
| 93. tail | dum | lʌke |
| 94. goat | bʌkri | biza |
| 95. dog | kut·a | spe |
| 96. snake | sāāp | mar |
| 97. monkey | bʌndʌr | bizo |
| 98. mosquito | mʌč$^{h}$·ʌr | maše |
| 99. ant | čiūṭi | mege |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 100. spider | mʌkṛi | jola |
| 101. name | nam | num |
| 102. man | admi / mʌrd | saṛe |
| 103. woman | ɔrʌt | xʌzʌ |
| 104. child | bʌč·ʌ | mašum |
| 105. father | bap | plar |
| 106. mother | mā | mor |
| 107. older brother | bʌṛa bʰai | mʌšʌr ror |
| 108. younger brother | čʰoṭa bʰai | kʌšʌr ror |
| 109. older sister | bʌṛi bʌhɛn / baji | mʌšra xor |
| 110. younger sister | čʰoṭi bʌhɛn | kʌšra xor |
| 111. son | beṭa | zwe |
| 112. daughter | beṭi | lur |
| 113. husband | šohʌr / xawʌnd | xawand |
| 114. wife | bivi | xʌza |
| 115. boy | lʌṛka | halʌk / alʌk |
| 116. girl | lʌṛki | jine |
| 117. day | dɪn / roz | wrʌz |
| 118. night | rat / šʌb | špa |
| 119. morning | subʌh / sʌwera | sʌhar |
| 120. noon | dopʌhɛr | yarmʌ |
| 121. evening | šam | maxam |
| 122. yesterday | (guzara) kʌl | parun |
| 123. today | aj | nʌn |
| 124. tomorrow | (aindʌ) kʌl | sʌba |
| 125. week | ek hʌftʌ | haftʌ |
| 126. month | mʌhina | miašt |
| 127. year | sal / bʌrʌs | kal |
| 128. old | purana (čiz ke lie) | zoṛ |
| 129. new | nea (čiz) | nʌwe |
| 130. good | ʌčʰ·a (čiz) | xə |
| 131. bad | xʌrab (čiz) | xarab |
| 132. wet | bʰiga | lund |
| 133. dry | xušk / sukʰa | wʌčʰ |
| 134. long | lʌmba | ugud |
| 135. short | čʰoṭa | lʌnḍ / čit |
| 136. hot | gʌrʌm (čiz) | tod / gʌrʌm |
| 137. cold | ṭʰʌṇḍa / sʌrdi (čiz) | yʌx |
| 138. right | daē / daēʸa | xe |
| 139. left | baē / baēʸa | gʌs |
| 140. near | qʌrib / nʌzdik | nizde |
| 141. far | dur | lʌre |
| 142. big | bʌṛa | yʌṭ |
| 143. small | čʰoṭa | wʌrkoṭe / waṛuke |
| 144. heavy | bʰari / wʌzni | drund |
| 145. light | hʌlka | spʌk |
| 146. above | upʌr | učʌt / pas |
| 147. below | niče | lande |
| 148. white | sufɛd | spin |
| 149. black | kala | tor |
| 150. red | lal | sur |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 151. one | ek | yʌo |
| 152. two | do | dwa |
| 153. three | tin | dre |
| 154. four | čar | ʂalor |
| 155. five | pāč | pinʒə |
| 156. six | čʰɛ | ēpʌg |
| 157. seven | ʂat | uwə |
| 158. eight | aṭʰ | atə |
| 159. nine | nʌo | nʌhʌ |
| 160. ten | dʌs | lʌs |
| 161. eleven | gyarʌ | yaolʌs |
| 162. twelve | barʌ | dolʌs |
| 163. twenty | bis | ēal |
| 164. one hundred | ek ʂo | ʂal |
| 165. who | kɔn | ʂok |
| 166. what | kya | ʂə |
| 167. where | kidʰʌr / kahā | čartʌ |
| 168. when | kʌb | kʌla |
| 169. how many | kitne | ʂomra / ʂo |
| 170. which | kɔnʂʌ | kʌm |
| 171. this | ye | da |
| 172. that | wo | aya |
| 173. these | ye (ʂʌb) | da |
| 174. those | wo (ʂʌb) | aya |
| 175. same | ek hi / bʌrabʌr | yao ēan / yao rʌŋ |
| 176. different | muxtalif | muxtalef / birl kɪʂʌm |
| 177. whole | mukʌm·al / salım | roy / ʂabʌt |
| 178. broken | ṭuṭa | mat |
| 179. few | tʰoṛa / kuč / kʌm | lʌg |
| 180. many | zia·dʌ | der / ziat |
| 181. all | ʂʌb | ṭol |
| 182. to eat / eat! | tum kʰao | xoṛal / tʌ uxɪʌ |
| 183. to bite / the dog bites / bit | kaṭna / kut·a kaṭa hɛ | čičal / ʂpi očičalo |
| 184. to be hungry / you are hungry | bʰukʰ lʌgna / tum ko bʰukʰ lʌgta hɛ | oge kedal / tə wʌge ye |
| 185. to drink / drink! | pina / tum pio / pi lo | ʂkal / tə wʌrkʌ |
| 186. to be thirsty / you are thirsty | piaɛ lʌgna / piaɛ lʌgta hɛ | tʌge kedal / tʌgeˈ ye |
| 187. to sleep / sleep! | ʂona / tum ʂo jao | uda kedal / tə uda ēa |
| 188. to lie / lie down! | leṭna / tum leṭ jao | ʂʌmlastal / tə ʂʌmla |
| 189. to sit / sit! | bæṭʰna / tum bæṭʰ jao | kenastal / tə kena |
| 190. to give / give! | dena / tum de do / do | warkawal / tʌ warkʌ |
| 191. burn (the wood)! | jalana / tum lakṛi jalao | tʌ largi ɔswazawʌ |
| 192. to die / he died | marna / vo mar gea | mɪʌ kedal / haya maɾ ēo |
| 193. to kill / kill the bird! | marna / tum čiṛia mar do | wʌjal / tʌ maryaˈ uwala |
| 194. to fly / the bird flies / flew | uṛna / čiṛia uṛti hai | alwatal / maryaˈ walwata |
| 195. walk! | čalna / tum čalo | tə piadʌ larēa |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 196. to run / run! | dɔṛna / tum dɔṛo | mʌnḍa wʌhʌl / tʌ mʌnḍʌ uwa |
| 197. to go / go! | jana / tum jao | tʌlʌl / tə larša |
| 198. to come / come! | ana / tum ao | ratlʌl / tə raša |
| 199. to speak / speak! | bolna / tum bolo | wayʌl / tʌ uwayʌ |
| 200. to hear / hear! / listen! | suna / tum suno | awredʌl / tʌ wawrʌ |
| 201. to look / look! | dekʰna / tum dekʰo | kʌtʌl / ta ugorʌ |
| 202. I | mɛ̃ | zə |
| 203. you (informal) | tum / tu | tə |
| 204. you (formal) | ap | taso |
| 205. he | vo | haɣa |
| 206. she | vo | haɣa |
| 207. we (inclusive) | hʌm (hʌm ɔr vo) | muŋgʌ |
| 208. we (exclusive) | hʌm (hʌm, vo nehī) | muŋgʌ |
| 209. you (plural) | tum (tum log) | taso |
| 210. they | vo | haɣwi |

**Appendix A.2**

# Recorded Text Testing

The extent to which speakers of related dialectal varieties understand one another can be studied by means of tape recorded texts. The degree to which speakers of one variety understand a narrative text in another variety and answer questions about the content of that text is taken as an index of their comprehension of that speech form. From this, the amount of intelligibility between related speech forms can be extrapolated. The recorded text test methodology, as used in the present surveys, is based on that described by Casad (1974).

Short, personal-experience narratives are deemed to be most suitable for comprehension testing of recorded texts in that the content must be relatively unpredictable and the speech form should be natural. An attempt is made to avoid folklore texts or other material likely to be widely known. A three- to five-minute story is recorded from a speaker of the regional vernacular, and then checked with a group of speakers from the same region to ensure that the spoken forms are truly representative of that area. This story is then transcribed and a set of comprehension questions is constructed based on various semantic domains covered in the text. To ensure that measures of comprehension are based on the subjects' understanding of the text itself and not on a misunderstanding of the test questions, these questions

are always recorded in the regional variety of the test subjects; this requires an appropriate dialect version of the questions for each recorded text test (RTT) for each test location.

According to the standard procedure adopted for the recorded text testing in northern Pakistan, test subjects heard the complete story text once, after which the story was repeated with test questions and the opportunities for responses interspersed with necessary pauses in the recorded text. Appropriate and correct responses are directly extractable from the segment of speech immediately preceding the question, such that memory limitations exert a negligible effect and indirect inferencing based on the content is not required.

Thus the RTT aims to be a closer reflection of a subject's comprehension of the language itself, not of his or her memory, intelligence, or reasoning.

In order to ensure that the text is a fair test of the intelligibility of the linguistic variety in focus, other speakers of the same local variety are asked to listen to the text and answer the questions. If they are able to do that, it is assumed that the story is an adequate sample of local speech, and that the questions are readily answerable by those for whom this speech form is native. This testing of subjects in their native speech form for the purpose of test validation is often referred to as *hometown* testing.

It is possible that a subject may be unable to answer the test questions correctly simply because he does not understand what is expected of him. This is especially true with unsophisticated subjects or those unacquainted with testtaking procedures. Therefore, a very short (pre-test) story with four questions is recorded in the local variety before beginning the actual testing, in order to acquaint the subject with the test procedures. If he is able to answer these pretest questions correctly, it is assumed that he is capable of functioning as a suitable subject. Each subject then participates in the hometown test in his native speech form before participating in recorded text tests in non-native varieties. Occasionally, even after the pre-test, a subject fails to perform adequately on an already validated hometown test. Performances of such subjects were eliminated from the final evaluation, the assumption being that uncontrollable factors unrelated to the intelligibility of speech forms are skewing such test results. Thus, validated hometown tests are used for subject screening, in an attempt to ensure that recorded text testing results reflect as closely as possible the relative levels of comprehensibility of the speech forms represented.

Test tapes are prepared for each location where a test is to be administered (test point). The hometown test tape includes (a) a short introduction in the local speech form to explain the purpose of the test, (b) the pre-test to orient and screen test subjects, (c) the hometown test text

in its entirety followed by a repeat of the text, in short sections, with the relevant test questions and adequate pauses inserted in appropriate locations.

The non-native test tapes are similar, omitting the screening elements from the hometown test tape. A short introduction in the local speech form reminding subjects of the test procedures precedes each recorded text. Then the recorded narrative in the non-native variety is given in its entirety, followed by the comprehension questions, now translated into the local speech form for that test point and with the relevant part of the non-native text repeated before each question.

When speakers of one linguistic variety have had no previous contact with that represented in the recorded text, the test scores of ten subjects tend to be more similar — especially when scores are in the higher ranges. Such consistent scores are interpreted to be reflections of the inherent intelligibility between the related varieties. Increasing the number of subjects should not significantly increase the range of variation of the scores.

However, when some subjects have had significant previous contact with the speech form recorded on the test, while others have not, the scores should vary considerably, reflecting the degree of learning that has gone on through contact. For this reason it is important to include a measure of dispersion which reflects the extent to which the range of scores varies from the mean — the

standard deviation. If the standard deviation is relatively low, say 10 or below on a test with 100 possible points (that is, 100 percent), and the mean score for subjects from the selected test point is high, the implication is that the community as a whole probably understands the test variety rather well simply because the variety represented in the recording is inherently intelligible. If the standard deviation is relatively low and the mean comprehension score is also low, the implication is that the community as a whole understands the test variety rather poorly and that regular contact has not facilitated learning of the test variety to any significant extent. If the standard deviation is high, regardless of the mean score, one implication is that some subjects have learned to comprehend the test variety better than others. In this last case, any inherent intelligibility between the related varieties is mixed with acquired comprehension which results from learning through contact.

Much care was taken in the recorded text testing in these sociolinguistic surveys, thus the results are discussed with the assumption that the effects from intervening factors were either negligible or were interpreted appropriately. However, in contrast to experimentally controlled testing in a laboratory situation, the results of field administered methods such as the RTT cannot be completely isolated from all potential biases. It is therefore recommended that results from recorded text tests not be interpreted in terms of fixed numerical thresholds, but

rather be evaluated in light of other indicators of intelligibility, such as word lists and dialect opinions, and according to patterns of contact and communication.

## RTTs in Second Language Testing

The procedures of recorded text testing as used for evaluating comprehension of a second language are similar to those used for dialect comprehension testing. A personal experience text is prepared by a mother tongue speaker of the target language. It is validated to be a clear and representative sample of the targeted variety of the second language by other mother tongue speakers of that language.

Before the recorded text test in the second language is administered, each subject is screened by participating in a hometown test in his own language as described above. In this way, it is ascertained that the subject understands the testing process sufficiently and also that he is indeed a speaker of the language of the community being tested.

Because second language proficiency is usually unevenly distributed in a community, a large sample of subjects is generally tested. To ensure representative sampling, attention must be paid to factors which are expected to potentially affect the comprehension of the second language, such as acquisition through schooling or through contact opportunities which are connected with gender, age, or economic migration patterns. Thus, where

such independent variables are hypothesized as having an effect, sufficient numbers of subjects for evaluation of such effects must be included in the test sample. Interpretation and evaluation of test results must take these independent variables into consideration.

**Appendix A.3**

## Sentence Repetition Testing

A sentence repetition test is based on the premise that people's ability to repeat sentences in a second language is limited by the level of their mastery of the morphology and syntax of that second language. The greater proficiency they have in that language, the better able they are to repeat sentences of increasing length and complexity. A sentence repetition test is developed separately for each language to be tested. Detailed procedures for developing and calibrating a sentence repetition test are presented in Radloff (1991). The sentences selected are calibrated against an evaluative instrument called the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE), where mother tongue raters are provided a detailed framework of proficiency descriptions against which to evaluate the proficiency of their second language speaking acquaintances. The half-levels of the RPE describe increasing levels of proficiency in a second language, as elaborated in (2).

**(2)**

| *RPE proficiency level* | *Brief description* |
|---|---|
| 0+ | Very minimal proficiency |
| 1 | Minimal, limited proficiency |
| 1+ | Limited, basic proficiency |
| 2 | Adequate, basic proficiency |
| 2+ | Good, basic proficiency |
| 3 | Good, general proficiency |
| 3+ | Very good, general proficiency |
| 4 | Excellent proficiency |
| 4+ | Approaching native speaker proficiency |

A sentence repetition test provides a rapid assessment of a person's second language proficiency, suited to the purposes of a bilingualism survey. It is often the goal of a bilingualism survey to obtain a profile of the second language proficiencies in the community under investigation, that is, a picture of what percentage of the population can be projected to be at each of the different levels of proficiency. In order to obtain this, a large and representative sample of the population must be tested. This speaks to the need for an assessment instrument that is quick and easy to administer. A short administration time, however, is offset by careful attention to the development and calibration of a sentence repetition test. The SRT provides a general assessment, thus, the researcher must be able to place full confidence in the results through strict attention to the quality of each developmental step. A complete step-by-step methodology for developing and calibrating a sentence repetition test is given in Radloff (1991).

The development and calibration of a sentence repetition test proceeds through several steps: A preliminary form of the test is developed through the assistance of mother tongue speakers of the test language. A large group of second language speakers of the test language have their proficiency assessed through a second, more descriptive proficiency standard instrument, in this case, the Reported Proficiency Evaluation. These people are then administered the preliminary form of the

test. Based on their performances, fifteen sentences are selected, which prove to be the most discriminating of performance and also represent increasing complexity and length. These fifteen sentences are calibrated against the proficiency assessments from the RPE. This fifteensentence final form of the test is used in the bilingualism survey, and the resulting test scores are interpreted in terms of equivalent RPE proficiency levels.

During the course of the sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan, three sentence repetition tests were developed, one in the Urdu language and two in the Pashto. Actually, the second Pashto SRT is a revision of the first Pashto SRT with the purpose of making it more discriminating; thus a distinction is drawn between the two by referring to the first-developed test as the *original* Pashto SRT and the second as the *revised* Pashto SRT.

The calibration of a sentence repetition test results in a range of scores on the SRT reflecting an equivalent RPE level of proficiency. The ranges of scores corresponding to RPE levels for the Urdu, original Pashto, and revised Pashto SRTs are presented in (3).

**(3)** Score ranges corresponding to each RPE proficiency level for the Urdu, original Pashto, and revised Pashto SRTs.

| RPE level equivalents | Urdu SRT scores | Original Pashto SRT scores | Revised Pashto SRT scores |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0+ | 1- 8 | 10-13 | 0- 1 |
| 1 | 9-14 | 14-17 | 2- 5 |
| 1+ | 15-19 | 18-22 | 6-12 |
| 2 | 20-25 | 23-27 | 13-19 |
| 2+ | 26-30 | 28-32 | 20-25 |
| 3 | 31-36 | 33-36 | 26-32 |
| 3+ | 37-45 | 37-45 | 33-39 |
| 4 | | | 40-45 |

In the course of calibrating the Urdu SRT and the *original* Pashto SRT, it was determined that they do not differentiate between RPE levels 3+, 4 and 4+, yet they do discriminate satisfactorily between all the levels from RPE 0+ to 3+. Therefore, results of SRT testing using these two forms report scores at the highest end as being equivalent to "RPE level 3+ and above". Similarly, the *revised* Pashto SRT discriminates all the RPE proficiency levels from 0+ through 4, but not 4 from 4+.

## APPENDIX B

# HINDKO SURVEY DATA

### Appendix B.1

## Hindko Word Lists

*Location Code, Village, Location, (Alternate Language Name), Reliability Code*

| | |
|---|---|
| JAM | Jammun, Abbottabad District, B |
| BAL | Balakot, Mansehra District, B |
| SIG | Singo Di Garhi, Abbottabad District, B |
| PES | Peshawar, Peshawar District, B |
| SHP | Sherpur, Mansehra District, B |
| MAN | Mansehra, Mansehra District, B |
| KOH | Kohat, Kohat District, B |
| ATK | Attock, Attock District, B |
| PAG | Pakha Gholam, Peshawar District, B |
| WAP | Wad Pagga, Peshawar District, B |
| DIK | Himat, D.I.Khan District, (Siraiki), B |
| TAL | Talagang, Attock District, (Punjabi), B |

| | 1. body | 2. head | 3. hair |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | pɪnḍa / jɪsʌ | ser | βal |
| BAL | jusa | ser | bal |
| SIG | jusa / jɪsʌm | ser | wal |
| PES | bʌdʌn | ser | wal |
| SHP | wʌjud | ser | bal |
| MAN | bʌdʌn | ser | bal |
| KOH | jɪsm | sɪr | wal |
| ATK | bʌdʌn | ser | wal |
| PAG | bʌdʌn | ser | wal |
| WAP | bʌdʌn | ser | wal |
| DIK | bʌdʌn | sɪr | wal |
| TAL | jusʌ | ser | wal |

| | 4. face | 5. eye | 6. ear |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čera / mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| BAL | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| SIG | mũ | ɑkʰ / ɑɳā | kʌn |
| PES | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| SHP | mũ | ʌx | kʌn |
| MAN | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| KOH | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn / kʌɳ |
| ATK | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| PAG | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| WAP | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| DIK | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| TAL | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |

| | 7. nose | 8. mouth | 9. teeth |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʰʌndʰ |
| BAL | nʌk | mũ | dʰʌnd |
| SIG | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʌntʰ |
| PES | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʌntʰ |
| SHP | nex | mũ | dʌntʰ |
| MAN | nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| KOH | nʌk | mũ | dun |
| ATK | nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| PAG | nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| WAP | nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| DIK | nʌk | wɑt | dʌnd |
| TAL | nʌk | mũ | dʌnt |

| | 10. tongue | 11. breast | 12. belly |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | jib | —— | ʈɛḍʰ |
| BAL | jib | sinˑʌ | ʈɛḍ |
| SIG | jib | —— | ʈɛḍ |
| PES | zubɑn | momẽ | peʈʰ |
| SHP | jib | —— | ʈɛḍ |
| MAN | jib | mome | ʈɛḍ |
| KOH | jib | sinʌ | ʈɛḍ |
| ATK | jib | sinʌ | ʈɛḍ |
| PAG | jib | sinˑʌ | ɖɪɖ |
| WAP | jib | sinˑʌ | ʈɪḍ |
| DIK | jib | sinʌ | ɖɪɖ |
| TAL | jib | —— | ɖɪɖ |

| | 13. arm/hand | 14. elbow | 15. palm |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bā | kuṇi | tʰʌli |
| BAL | bā | quṇi | tʌli |
| SIG | bā | kʰuṇi | tʌli |
| PES | bā· | qoṇi | tʌli |
| SHP | bʰʌ | kūṇi | tʌli |
| MAN | bā | kuṇi | tʌḷi |
| KOH | hʌtʰ | ɑrokʰ | tʰʌli |
| ATK | bā | ɑṛʌk | tʌli |
| PAG | hɑtʰ | kuni | tʌli |
| WAP | hɑtʰ | ɑrʌk | tʌli |
| DIK | bā | ɑrʌk | tʌli |
| TAL | bā | ɑrʌk | tʌli |

| | 16. finger | 17. fingernail | 18. leg |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ʌŋgʌl | no | ṭʌŋg |
| BAL | ʌŋgʌl | nū | ṭʌŋg |
| SIG | ʌŋgʌl | nū | tʌŋg / jʌŋg |
| PES | uŋgʌli | nɑxun | peṛ |
| SHP | ʌŋgli | nū | tʌŋg |
| MAN | ʌŋguḷ | nū | ṭʌŋg |
| KOH | ʌŋgli | nā | per |
| ATK | ʌŋgʌl | nō | lʌt |
| PAG | ʌŋguḷ | nʌxun | per |
| WAP | ʌŋguḷ | nʌxun | per |
| DIK | ʌŋgɛl | nō | jʌŋg |
| TAL | ʌŋgʌl | nōū | tʌŋg |

| | 19. skin | 20. bone | 21. heart |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čʌmʌrɑ | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| BAL | čʌmʌṛi | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| SIG | čʌmri | ʌḍi | dɪl |
| PES | čʌmʌṛɑ | hʌḍi | ḍɪl |
| SHP | čʌmṛi | hʌḍ·i | dɪl |
| MAN | čʌmṛɑ | hʌḍi | dɪḷ |
| KOH | čʌmṛɑ | hʌḍi | dɪl / hā |
| ATK | čʌmṛi / mɑs | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| PAG | čʌmrʌ | ʌḍ·i | dɪl |
| WAP | čʌmṛʌ | hʌḍ·i | dɪl |
| DIK | čʌmṛɑ | hʌdi | hā |
| TAL | čʌmṛʌ / mɑs | hʌḍi | dɪl |

| | 22. blood | 23. urine | 24. feces |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | rʌt | mutʌr | gū |
| BAL | rʌt | mutʌr | gū |
| SIG | ḷo | mutʌr | gū / tʌṭi |
| PES | xuṇ | pɪšab | ṭʰʌṭʰi |
| SHP | ḷou | mutʌr | gū |
| MAN | xuṇ | mutur | lʌn |
| KOH | rʌt | mutʌr | gū |
| ATK | lou / rʌt | mutʌr | gū / tʌṭi |
| PAG | lou | mutʌr | mutʌr |
| WAP | ḷou | mutʌr | mutʌr |
| DIK | rʌt | mutrō | gū |
| TAL | lou | mutʌr | ṭʌṭi |

| | 25. village | 26. house | 27. roof |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | gɪrā | kaːr | čʌt |
| BAL | gʌrā | kar / dera | čʌtʰ |
| SIG | gɪrā | kʰaṛ | čʌtʰ |
| PES | gʰɛrā | kaṛ | čʌt |
| SHP | gɪra | kaːr | čʌtʰ |
| MAN | gɪrā | kar | čʌt |
| KOH | dehat | gʰʌr | čʌt |
| ATK | gɪrā | kar | čʌt |
| PAG | gɪrā | kar | čʌt |
| WAP | gɪrā | kar | čʌt |
| DIK | šer | gʰʌr | čʌt |
| TAL | gɪrā | kʌr / dera | čʌt |

| | 28. door | 29. firewood | 30. broom |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bʰuʌ | baḷuṇ | bari |
| BAL | buʌ | lʌqʌr | bari |
| SIG | bʰuʌ | lʌkoṛ / baḷuṇ | bʰaṛi |
| PES | buʌ | lʌkṛi | čaːṛu / jaṛu |
| SHP | bʰuʌ | lʌqʌr | bʰari |
| MAN | bʰuʌ | ḷʌqoṛ | bʰaṛi |
| KOH | buā / dʌrwaza | ḷokṛi | kučа |
| ATK | bua | lʌkri / baḷuṇ | bokar |
| PAG | buʌ | lʌkṛi | čaṛu |
| WAP | buʌ / dʌrwazʌ | lʌkṛi | čaṛu |
| DIK | dʌrwazʌ | kʌtʰi | wari |
| TAL | bʰuʌ | baḷun | bokʌr |

| | 31. mortar | 32. pestle | 33. hammer |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | lʌŋgri | kuṭkula | ʌṭʰora |
| BAL | lʌŋgri | mula | atʰoṛa / maltṛor |
| SIG | lʌŋgri | kuṭka | bʌdan |
| PES | lʌŋgri | kutka / čʌṭu | haṭʰoṛi |
| SHP | lʌngri | mulʌ | ʌṭʰoṛi |
| MAN | lʌŋṛi | mula / sʌlta | haṭora / bʌdam |
| KOH | lʌŋgri | kutka | hatoṛi / ʌtwaṛʌ |
| ATK | lʌŋgri | koṭkaḷa | hʌṭoṛa |
| PAG | lʌŋgri | molʌ | ʌtʰoṛi |
| WAP | lʌŋgri / čʌṭu | molʌ | ʌtʰoṛi |
| DIK | dori | dʌndʌ / dʌndi | hatwaṛa |
| TAL | lʌŋgri | kutka | hatwaṛi / hʌṭʰoṛi |

| | 34. knife | 35. axe | 36. rope |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čaku / kaču | kohari | rʌsi / sela |
| BAL | kaču | kuhaṛa | rʌsi |
| SIG | kaču / čaku | quaṛi | rʌsi |
| PES | čaku / čori | tʌbʌr | rʌsi |
| SHP | čaku | kuaṛi | rʌsa |
| MAN | kaču | kuaṛi | rʌsi |
| KOH | čaku | kuhaṛi | rʌsi |
| ATK | kaču | koaṛi | rʌsi |
| PAG | čaku | kwaṛa / kwaṛi | rʌsa |
| WAP | čaku | kwaṛa / kwaṛi | rʌsi |
| DIK | čaku | kwari | rʌsa |
| TAL | kaču | kwaṛi | rʌsi |

| | 37. thread | 38. needle | 39. cloth |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | taga | sui | kʌpra / čiḍe |
| BAL | taga | sui | kʌpra |
| SIG | taga | sui | kʌpra |
| PES | tʰage / sɪlai | sui | kʌpṛʌ |
| SHP | taga | sui | kʌpṛa |
| MAN | taga | sui | kʌpṛa |
| KOH | taga | sui | kʌpṛa |
| ATK | taga | sui | čɪṛe |
| PAG | tʰaga | sui | kʌpṛa |
| WAP | taga | sui | kʌpṛa |
| DIK | daga | sui | kʌpṛʌ |
| TAL | taga | sui | čɪṛʌ |

| | 40. ring | 41. sun | 42. moon |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | mundri | $d^{h}$eō | čʌn |
| BAL | aŋgut$^{h}$i | ḍī | čʌn |
| SIG | mundri | dī | čʌn |
| PES | munderi | surʌč | čʌn |
| SHP | ʌŋgut$^{h}$i | dī | čʌnd |
| MAN | ʌŋgut$^{h}$i | di | čʌn |
| KOH | mʌndri | deō | čʌn |
| ATK | mundri | deo | čʌn |
| PAG | mundri | deō | čʌn |
| WAP | mundri | deō | čʌn |
| DIK | mundri | dī | čʌn |
| TAL | mundri / čʌla | deō | čʌn |

| | 43. sky | 44. star | 45. rain |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ʌsman | taṛa | bʌdʌl / mī |
| BAL | asman | tara | bʌdʌl |
| SIG | ʌsman | tara | bʌdʌl |
| PES | asman | tara | mī / barıš |
| SHP | asman | tara | bʌḍʌl |
| MAN | ʌsman | tara | bʌḍɪl |
| KOH | asman | tara | mī |
| ATK | ʌsman | tara | mī |
| PAG | ʌsman | tara | mī |
| WAP | ʌsman | tara | mī |
| DIK | ʌsman | tarʌ | mī |
| TAL | ʌsman | tara | mī |

| | 46. water | 47. river | 48. cloud |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | paṇi | smd | čaṛa |
| BAL | pani | nʌd$^{h}$ | čaṛa |
| SIG | paṇi | dʌria | čaṛ |
| PES | paṇi | dʌria | čʌṛ / bʌdʌl |
| SHP | paṇi | dʌria | čar |
| MAN | paṇi | dʌria / nʌdi | čaṛ |
| KOH | paṇi | dʌria | bʌdl |
| ATK | paṇi | smd | bʌḍʌl |
| PAG | paṇi | dʌria | čʌṛ |
| WAP | paṇi | dʌria | čʌṛ |
| DIK | paṇi | dria | j$^{h}$ʌṛ |
| TAL | paṇi | dʌria | jaṛ |

| | 49. lightning | 50. rainbow | 51. wind |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bijli / čʌmki | buḍi di piŋg | hʌwʌ / čʌqaṛ |
| BAL | bijʌl / čaɾʌkʰ | lʌmtaṇu | čʌŋg / čʌti |
| SIG | čʌmuk | buḍi mai di pɪŋg | čʌŋg / daṇdul |
| PES | ʌsmani bijli | biβi di piŋ | hawa |
| SHP | čʌɾʌk | budi di piŋg | čʌng |
| MAN | čʌɾʌk | buḍi di piŋg | čʌŋg |
| KOH | tandaɾ | pik | hʌwa |
| ATK | bijli | piŋg | hʌwa |
| PAG | asman čʌmke / asman ča | bibi di tʌl | hʌwa |
| WAP | čʌmok | buḍi ki tal | hʌwa |
| DIK | lʌsʌk | piŋg | hʌwa |
| TAL | kʰmʌṇ | pik | hʌwa |

| | 52. stone | 53. path | 54. sand |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bʌṭa | ra | reṭʰ |
| BAL | bʌṭʰa | ra | reṭʰ |
| SIG | bʌṭa | ra | reṭʰ |
| PES | waṭa / pʌɾtʰʌr | rʌsta | reṭʰ |
| SHP | gʌṭa | ra / dʰʌŋgʌ | reṭʰ |
| MAN | bʌṭa | ra | ret |
| KOH | wʌṭa | ra | ret |
| ATK | wʌṭʌ | ra | ret |
| PAG | pʌɾtʰor | ra | ret |
| WAP | giṭa | ra | ret |
| DIK | pʰʌtʌr | ra / lʌṭʰ | ret |
| TAL | wʌṭa | ra | ret |

| | 55. fire | 56. smoke | 57. ash |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ʌgʰ | tuā | čai |
| BAL | ʌgʰ | tua | čai |
| SIG | ʌg | tūā | čai |
| PES | ag | tūā | čai |
| SHP | ʌgʰ | tūā | čʌi |
| MAN | ʌg | tʰūā | čai |
| KOH | ʌgʰ | tūā / dūā | čai |
| ATK | ʌg | tūā | čai |
| PAG | ʌg | tʰūā | čai |
| WAP | ʌg | tʰūā | čai |
| DIK | bʰa | dʰū | sua |
| TAL | ʌg | dūā | čai |

| | 58. mud | 59. dust | 60. gold |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čɪkʌɾ | tʰʊr | soŋɑ̃ |
| BAL | čɪkʌɽ / gʰaɾa | tʰʊɽ / mɪɾtʰi | soŋa |
| SIG | čɪkʌɽ | tuɽ / dab | soŋʌ |
| PES | čɪqʌɽ | mɪɽʰi | soŋʌ |
| SHP | čɪqʌɽ | tuɽ | soŋʌ |
| MAN | čɪqʌɽ | mɪɾtʰi | soŋa |
| KOH | čɪkʌɽ | mɪɽi / ɖʰuɽ | soŋɑ̃ |
| ATK | čɪquɽ | ɖʰuɽ | soŋʌ |
| PAG | čiqoɽ | turɑ̃ | soŋʌ |
| WAP | čiqoɽ | turɑ̃ / tũr | soŋʌ |
| DIK | čɪkor | dudʌɽ | soŋʌ |
| TAL | čɪkʌɽ | kʰe / duɽ | soŋʌ |

| | 61. tree | 62. leaf | 63. root |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | buta | ʷʌɽa | jʌɽ |
| BAL | buta | pʌtˈʌɾ | jʌɽ |
| SIG | buta | pʌɽor | jʌɽi |
| PES | dʌɾʌxt | pʌtʰˈʌ | jʌɽʌ |
| SHP | bʰuta | pʌtˈʌɾ | jʌɽ |
| MAN | buta | pʌtˈʌɾ | jʌɽ |
| KOH | buta | pʌtʌɾ | jʌɽa |
| ATK | buɽa | pʌtʌɾ | jʌɽ |
| PAG | butʌ | pʌtˈor | jʌɽ |
| WAP | butʌ | pʌtˈor | jʌɽ |
| DIK | dʌɾʌxt | pʌtʌɾa | jʌɽ |
| TAL | dʌɾʌxut | pʌtʌɾ | jʌɽ |

| | 64. thorn | 65. flower | 66. fruit |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | kʌŋɖa | pʰʊl | pʰʌl |
| BAL | kʌŋɖa | pʰʊl | mewa |
| SIG | kʌŋɖa | pʰʊl̩ | mewa |
| PES | kʌŋɖʌ | pʰʊl̩ | mewʌ |
| SHP | kʌŋɖʌ | pʰʊl | pʰʌl / frut |
| MAN | qʌŋɖa | pʰʊl̩ | pʌl |
| KOH | kʌŋɖa | pʰʊl̩ | mewa |
| ATK | kʌŋɖa | pʰʊl̩ | frut / pʰʌl |
| PAG | kʌŋɖʌ | pʰʊl̩ | fʌɾut |
| WAP | kʌŋɖʌ | pʰʊl̩ | fʌɽut |
| DIK | kʌŋɖa | pʰʊl̩ | mewʌ |
| TAL | kʌŋɖʌ | pʰʊl | pʰʌl |

| | 67. mango | 68. banana | 69. wheat (husked) |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲʌkʰ |
| BAL | ʌm | kelʌ | qʌɲʌqʰ |
| SIG | ʌm | kela | qʌɲʌkʰ |
| PES | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲʌkʰ |
| SHP | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲʌk |
| MAN | ʌm | kelʌ | qʌɲʌq |
| KOH | ʌm | kela | kʌɲuk |
| ATK | ʌm | kelʌ | qʌɲʌq |
| PAG | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲuk |
| WAP | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲuk |
| DIK | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲʌk |
| TAL | ʌm | kelʌ | kʌɲʌk |

| | 70. millet (husked) | 71. rice (husked) | 72. potato |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bəjra | čol | alu |
| BAL | bəjṛa | čawʌl | alu |
| SIG | bəjra | čawʌl | aḷu |
| PES | bəjra | čol | aḷu |
| SHP | —— | čawul | alu |
| MAN | bəjra | čɑʊʌl | aḷu |
| KOH | bəjra | čoul | alu |
| ATK | bəjra | čowʌl | aḷu |
| PAG | bəjrʌ | čoḷ | aḷu |
| WAP | bəjrʌ | čoḷ | aḷu |
| DIK | bəjra | čawʌl | alu |
| TAL | bəjrʌ | čawʌl | alu |

| | 73. eggplant | 74. groundnut | 75. chili |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | —— | mʌŋ pʰʌli | mɪrč |
| BAL | beŋgʌṇ | mʌŋg pʰʌli | mʌrč |
| SIG | —— | muŋg pʰʌli / mum pʰʌli | mʌrʌč |
| PES | qala weŋgʌṛ | mũ pʰʌli | mɪrč |
| SHP | —— | pʰʌli | mʌrč |
| MAN | —— | mũ pʌli | mɪrč |
| KOH | beŋgʌn / wɪtaũ | mu pʰʌli | mʌrč |
| ATK | wegʌṇ | mũm pʰʌli | mʌrʌč |
| PAG | kala weŋgor | mum pʰʌli / pʰʌli | mʌroč |
| WAP | kala weŋgor | pʰʌḷi | mʌroč |
| DIK | wʌtaon | muŋ pʰʌli | mʌrʌč |
| TAL | wʌtaoŋ | mũ pʰʌli | mʌroč |

| | 76. turmeric | 77. garlic | 78. onion |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | hɑrdʌl | tʰum | piaz |
| BAL | ledʌr | tʰum | pias |
| SIG | hʌldi | tʰūm | piazi |
| PES | hʌḷdi | tʰum | pias |
| SHP | ledʌr | tʰum | piaz |
| MAN | aledʌr | tʰum | piaz |
| KOH | hʌrdul | tʰum | pias |
| ATK | hʌrdʌl | tʰum | piaz |
| PAG | hʌrdul | tʰom | piaz |
| WAP | hʌrdul | tʰom | piaz |
| DIK | hʌlʌd | tʰom | wʌsʌl |
| TAL | hʌldʌl | tʰum | wʌsʌl |

| | 79. cauliflower | 80. tomato | 81. cabbage |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | gobi | čʌŋgʌɲ | bʌnd gobi |
| BAL | gobi | čeŋgʌɲ | bʌnd gobi |
| SIG | pʰuḷ gobi | čɛŋgʌɲ | bɑnd gobi |
| PES | pʰul gopi / gopi | bɛŋgʌr / tʌmɑṭʌr | bʌnd gopi |
| SHP | — | čeŋgʌɲ | bʌnd gopi |
| MAN | pʰul gobi | čeŋgʌɲ | bʌnd gobi |
| KOH | pʰuḷ gʰobi | ṭʌmɑṭʌr | bʌnd gobi |
| ATK | gopi | tʌmɑṭʌr | bʌnd gobi |
| PAG | gopi | ṭʌmɑṭʌr | gopi |
| WAP | gopi | wɛŋgoṛ | gopi |
| DIK | gʰobi | tʌmɑtʌr | gobi |
| TAL | gobi | ṭʌmɑṭʌr | bʌnd gobi |

| | 82. oil | 83. salt | 84. meat |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | tɛl | ḷuɲ | mɑs |
| BAL | tɛl | lūɲ | mɑs |
| SIG | ṭɛl | ḷuɲ | mɑs |
| PES | tɛl | luɲ | goš |
| SHP | tɛl | ḷuɲ | mɑs |
| MAN | teḷ | ḷuɲ | gošʌt |
| KOH | tɪḷ | ḷuˈn | mɑs |
| ATK | tɛl | ḷuɲ | bɛrɑ |
| PAG | tel | ḷuɲ | goš |
| WAP | tel | ḷuɲ | goš |
| DIK | teḷ | ḷuɲ | mɑs |
| TAL | tɛl | ḷuɲ | gošt / gošut |

| | 85. fat | 86. fish | 87. hen |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čerbi | mʌči | kukṛi |
| BAL | mĩnž | mʌčʰ·i | kukṛi |
| SIG | čʌrbi | mʌč·i | quqʌṛi |
| PES | čerbi | mʌ | kokʌṛi |
| SHP | čʌrbi | mʌč·i | — |
| MAN | čʌrbi | mʌči | — |
| KOH | čʌrbi | mʌči | kukoṛi |
| ATK | čʌrbi | mʌči | kukʌṛi |
| PAG | čʌrbi | mʌč·i | kukʌṛi |
| WAP | čʌrbi | mʌč·i | kukʌṛi |
| DIK | mĩj | mʌč·i | kukʌṛi |
| TAL | čerbi | mʌči | kukʌṛi |

| | 88. egg | 89. cow | 90. buffalo |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | aɳḍʌḷa | gā | mʌ̃j |
| BAL | atʰʌɾa | gā | mʌnj |
| SIG | ʌɳṭʌɾa | gā | mʌ̃nj |
| PES | ʌɳḍa / gʌɳḍa | gā | mʌj / mʌdč |
| SHP | ʌṭʌɾʌ | gʰa | mʌnj |
| MAN | ʌṭʌɾa | gā | mʌɲj |
| KOH | aɳḍʌ | gā | mʌj / mʌč |
| ATK | ʌɳḷa | gā | mʌj |
| PAG | ʌnḍa | gā | mʌj |
| WAP | ʌnḍa | gā | mʌj |
| DIK | aɳa | gā | mʌnj |
| TAL | aɳḍɪɾa | gā | mʌj |

| | 91. milk | 92. horns | 93. tail |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | dut | sɪŋg | pučʌl |
| BAL | ḍʰutʰ | sɪŋg | dumbʌɾ |
| SIG | dut | seŋg | dũmuṛ |
| PES | dud / ḍutʰ | siŋ / sɪŋgʰ | pučʌḷ |
| SHP | dud | siŋg | dumʌɾ |
| MAN | dud | sɪŋg | dumuṛ |
| KOH | dud | siŋg | pʰučʌl |
| ATK | dud | siŋg | pučʌl |
| PAG | dud | siŋg | pučul |
| WAP | dud | siŋg | pučul |
| DIK | kɪr | sɪŋg | puč |
| TAL | dud | sɪŋg | pučʌl |

| | 94. goat | 95. dog | 96. snake |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bʌkri | kuta | sʌpʰ |
| BAL | bʌkɻi | kutʌ | sʌpʰ |
| SIG | bʌkɻi | kutʻa | sʌpʰ |
| PES | bʌkɻi | kutʰʻʌ | sʌp |
| SHP | bʌkri | kuta | sʌp |
| MAN | bʌkri | kutʰʻʌ | sʌp |
| KOH | bʌkri | kuta | sʌp |
| ATK | bʌkri | kuta | sʌp |
| PAG | bʌkɻi | kutʻʌ | sʌp |
| WAP | bʌkɻi | kutʻʌ | sʌp |
| DIK | bʌkri | kuta | sʌp |
| TAL | bʌkri | kuta | sʌp |

| | 97. monkey | 98. mosquito | 99. ant |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bijo | mʌčʌr | peli |
| BAL | buzna | mʌčʌr | pilʌ |
| SIG | bʰuja | mʌčor | pila |
| PES | bijo | mʌčʌr | kiḍi / kera |
| SHP | bujʌ / bujnʌ | mʌčʻʌr | pila |
| MAN | bʰujnʌ / bʰujʌ | mʌčʻʌr | pila |
| KOH | bizo | mʌčor | peli |
| ATK | bijo | mʌčʌr | pʰɛli |
| PAG | bijo | mʌčʻor | kiɻʌ |
| WAP | bijo | mʌčʻor | peli |
| DIK | rɪč | mʌčʌr | pʌpeli |
| TAL | bijo | mʌčor | pɛli |

| | 100. spider | 101. name | 102. man |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bʌbua | nā | mʌrd |
| BAL | bʌbuʌ | nā | jʌɳa / bʌnda |
| SIG | bʌbua | nā | jʌɳa |
| PES | jala / mʌkʌdi | nam | admi |
| SHP | bʌbu | nā | bʌnda |
| MAN | bʌbʰuʌ | nā | admi / bʌnda |
| KOH | mʌkɻa | nā | jʌɳʌ |
| ATK | bʌbua | nā | bʌnda |
| PAG | bʌbʰuʌ / jola | nā | bʌndʌ / jʌɳʌ |
| WAP | bʌbuʌ | nā | jʌɳʌ |
| DIK | mʌkɻi | nā | bʌndʌ |
| TAL | trɪdi / dawur | nā | bʌnda |

| | 103. woman | 104. child | 105. father |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | trimʌt | bʌčə / jakʌt / jatʌk | pɪo |
| BAL | kudi / trimʌt | yʌnʌk | pe |
| SIG | quṛi | jatʌk | pɪo |
| PES | rʌn | bʌčʌ | pio |
| SHP | trimʌtʰ | bʌčə / nɪkʌ | pe |
| MAN | zmani | jʌndʌk / jatʌk | pe |
| KOH | ṛʌn | bʌčə | pio |
| ATK | zmani | jakut / kuṛi | peo |
| PAG | rʌn | mʌšum | pio |
| WAP | rʌn | bʌčʌ | pio |
| DIK | zal | bal | pio |
| TAL | kuṛi | bʌčʿʌ / bʌčʿi | pio |

| | 106. mother | 107. older brother | 108. younger brother |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | maʿ | wʌdʌ pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| BAL | ama / ma | wʌdʌ pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| SIG | ma | bʌda pira | nɪka pɪra |
| PES | mā | wʌda pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| SHP | mā | bʌda pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| MAN | mā | bʌda pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| KOH | ma | wʌda bɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| ATK | mā | wʌda pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| PAG | mā | wʌda pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| WAP | mā | wʌda pɪra | nɪka pɪra |
| DIK | ʌma | wʌda bʰɪra | čota bʰɪra |
| TAL | ma | wʌḍa pɪra | nɪka pɪra |

| | 109. older sister | 110. younger sister | 111. son |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | wʌḍi pɪṇ | nɪki pɪhɪn | putʌr |
| BAL | bʌṛi pɪṇ / ḍɪḍe | nɪki pɪn | putʌr |
| SIG | bʌḍi pɪṇ / apā | nɪki pɪṇ | putuṛ |
| PES | wʌḍi pɪṇ | nɪki pɪṇ | putʰʌr |
| SHP | bʌḍi pɪn | nɪki pɪn | putʌr |
| MAN | bʌḍi peṇ / apā | nɪki peṇ | putuṛ |
| KOH | wʌḍi bɪṇ | nɪki bɪṇ | putor |
| ATK | wʌḍi peʿn | nɪki peʿn | putor |
| PAG | wʌḍi pœṇ | nɪki pœṇ | putor |
| WAP | wʌḍi pœṇ | nɪki pœṇ | putor |
| DIK | wʌḍi bʰɪn | čoti bʰɪn | putʌr |
| TAL | wʌḍi peʿṇ | nɪki peʿṇ | putʿor |

| | 112. daughter | 113. husband | 114. wife |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | dīˑ | jɪɳʌ / xʌsʌm | trimʌtʰ / kar wali |
| BAL | tiˑ | jʌna | trim |
| SIG | tiˑ | jʌna | rʌn / kʌre ali / trimʌt / zʌnani |
| PES | tʰĩ | xuɳ | rʌn / biwi |
| SHP | tiˑ | jʌna / xʌsʌm | trimʌtʰ / bibi |
| MAN | tī | jʌɳā | trimʌt / zɪnani |
| KOH | dʰiˑ | jʌɳā | ṛʌn |
| ATK | tiˑ | mʌṛd / jʌɳʌ | zɪnani |
| PAG | tiˑ | xond | rʌn |
| WAP | tiˑ | xawʌnd | rʌn |
| DIK | dʰiˑ | mosala | zal |
| TAL | tʰi | jʌɳa/gʌriala | kuṛi |

| | 115. boy | 116. girl | 117. day |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | jakʌt | kuri | tiar |
| BAL | ɳʌnḍa | kuṛi | diaṛa |
| SIG | jatʌk | kuḍi | diaṛ |
| PES | nʌḍa | kuṛi | dɪn |
| SHP | nɪɳḍʌ | kuḍi | diaṛa / diaṛ |
| MAN | jatʌk / nɪɳdʌ | kuṛi | dɪaṛ |
| KOH | nʌḍa | kuṛi | dʰɛṛa |
| ATK | nʌḍa / jakʌt | kuṛi / jagti | tiaṛa |
| PAG | ɳʌḍa | kuḍi | tiaṛi |
| WAP | ɳʌḍa | kuḍi | tiaṛi / tiaṛa |
| DIK | čor | čer | dī |
| TAL | jakut | jati | tiaṛa |

| | 118. night | 119. morning | 120. noon |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | rat | suer / fʌzʌr | doper |
| BAL | ratʰ | subʌ | duper |
| SIG | ratʰ | subʌ / suela / fʌzʌr | duper |
| PES | ratʰ | sʌwer | dupeṛ |
| SHP | ratʰ | fʌzʌr | dupʰer |
| MAN | rat | fʌzʌri | duper |
| KOH | rat | wʌḍwela | dupara |
| ATK | rat | fʌjri / wʌḍwela | dopar |
| PAG | rat | sʌwelʌ / sʌwele | peši / duper |
| WAP | rat | sʌwelʌ / sʌwele | dupar |
| DIK | rat | fʌjer / sʌweli | dupar |
| TAL | rat | fʌdri / sʌweri | dupar / diar |

| | 121. evening | 122. yesterday | 123. today |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | nomaʃtā / digʌr | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| BAL | digʌr | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| SIG | numaʃtā | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| PES | šam | kʌḷ | aj̄ |
| SHP | numaʃa | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| MAN | nūmaʃa | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| KOH | nišama | kʌl | aite |
| ATK | nišama | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| PAG | šam | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| WAP | nešama | kʌl | ʌj̄ |
| DIK | nɪmaša | diā | aj̄ |
| TAL | pʌčea / šam | dēā | ʌj̄ |

| | 124. tomorrow | 125. week | 126. month |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | diā̃ | ʌftʌ | mʌhīnʌ |
| BAL | diʌ | hʌftʌ | minā̃ |
| SIG | kʌl | hʌfta | minʌ |
| PES | kʌḷ | hʌftʌ | maīnʌ / mʌhinʌ |
| SHP | dīā̃ | hʌftʌ | minʌ |
| MAN | kʌl | hʌftʌ | minʌ |
| KOH | dēā | hʌfta | mʌhīṇā̃ |
| ATK | dēā | hʌfta | minā |
| PAG | kʌl | hʌftʌ | mainʌ |
| WAP | dia | hʌftʌ | mainʌ |
| DIK | kʌḷ | hʌftʌ | mainʌ |
| TAL | dēā | hʌftʌ | mainʌ |

| | 127. year | 128. old | 129. new |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | sal / bʌrʌs | puraṇa | nʌwā |
| BAL | sal | purano | noʌ |
| SIG | sal | puraṇa | nʌwā |
| PES | sal | puraṇʌ | nʌwa |
| SHP | sal | puraṇi | nʌwī |
| MAN | sal | puraṇā | nā̃wā |
| KOH | sal | puraṇā | nʌwā |
| ATK | sal | puraṇā | nʌwā |
| PAG | sal | puraṇā | nā̃wī / nā̃wā̃ |
| WAP | sal | puraṇā | nā̃wā̃ |
| DIK | sal | purana | nʌwā |
| TAL | sal | puraṇa | nʌwā |

| | 130. good | 131. bad | 132. wet |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ʌčˑa / čʌŋga | mʌɳḍa / xʌrab | sɨji / sɪnə |
| BAL | ʌčʰʌ | bura | sɪj |
| SIG | čʌŋga | mʌnda / peṛa | sɪjɪ |
| PES | ʌča | xʌrab | sɪnˑʌ |
| SHP | ači | mʌndi | sɪnī / sɪj |
| MAN | ʌčˑa | mʌnda / gʌnda | sɪji |
| KOH | ʌča | xʌrab / gʌnda | sɪnˑa |
| ATK | ʌčʌ / čʌŋga | gʌnda | sɪnˑʌ |
| PAG | ʌčʌ / ʌči | xarab | sɨje / sɪnʌ |
| WAP | ʌča / ʌči | xarab / gʌndi | sɪnʌ |
| DIK | ʌčʌ | gʌnda | sɪnʌ |
| TAL | čʌŋga | maṛa | sɪjʌ |

| | 133. dry | 134. long | 135. short |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | sukˑa | lʌmˑa | nɪka / čoṭa |
| BAL | sukʰˑa | lʌma | čuta |
| SIG | sukˑa | lʌmī | čuta |
| PES | sukˑʌ | lʌmˑʌ | nɪkˑa |
| SHP | sukˑa | lʌmba | nɪkʌ / čotʌ |
| MAN | sukˑa | lʌmba | nɪki |
| KOH | sukˑa | lʌmā | nɪka |
| ATK | sukˑa | lʌmā | nɪka |
| PAG | sukˑa | lʌmˑʌ | nɪkʌ |
| WAP | sukˑa | lʌmˑʌ | nɪkʌ / mʌdʌrʌ |
| DIK | suka | lʌmbʌ | mʌnḍʌrə |
| TAL | sukˑa | lʌmā | nɪka |

| | 136. hot | 137. cold | 138. right |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | tʌtˑa | ṭʰʌnḍa | sʌja |
| BAL | tʌpiar | tʰʌnḍʌ | sʌjʌ |
| SIG | tʌta / kosa | tʌnḍa | sʌja |
| PES | gʰʌrə / gʌrʌm | ṭʰʌɳḍa | sʌja |
| SHP | gʌrʌm / tʌta | ṭʰʌɳḍa | sʌja |
| MAN | gʌrʌm | ṭʰʌɳḍe | sʌje |
| KOH | tʌtʌ | tʰʌdʌ | sʌja |
| ATK | tʌta | ṭʰʌḍʌ | sʌja |
| PAG | gʌrʌm | ṭʰʌḍʌ | sʌjʌ / sʌja |
| WAP | gʌrʌm | ṭʰʌḍʌ | sʌjʌ / sʌja |
| DIK | gʌrʌm | tʰʌḍʌ | sʌjʌ |
| TAL | tʌtʌ | ṭʰʌḍʌ | sʌja |

| | 139. left | 140. near | 141. far |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | kʌbʿa | nɪḍe | dur |
| BAL | kʌbʌ | nɪḍe / nʌzikʰ | dur |
| SIG | kʌba | nɪṛe / nʌzik | duṛ |
| PES | kʰʌbʌ | nʌziq / nʌzdik | dur / pʌre |
| SHP | kʌbʌ | nɪṛe | dur |
| MAN | kʰʌbe | nɛṛe / nɪḍe | ḍuṛ |
| KOH | kʌbʌ | nɛṛe | dur |
| ATK | kʌba | nɛṛe | dur / pʌre |
| PAG | kʰʌbʌ | nɛḍe | dur |
| WAP | kʌbʌ | nɛḍe | dur |
| DIK | kʌbʌ | nʌzik | pʌre |
| TAL | kʌba | nɪṛe | dur |

| | 142. big | 143. small | 144. heavy |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | wʌḍa | nɪkʿa | pʰara |
| BAL | bʌṛa | čuti | pari |
| SIG | bʌḍa | nɪka / nɪqʌṛa | baṛa / wʌzʌni |
| PES | wʌḍa | čoṭa / nɪka | para |
| SHP | bʌḍa | čota / nɪkʌ | bʰari |
| MAN | bʌḍa | nɪka | para |
| KOH | wʌḍa | nɪka | bʰari |
| ATK | wʌḍa | nɪka | para |
| PAG | wʌḍʌ / wʌḍa | nɪka / nɪkʌ | para |
| WAP | wʌḍʌ / wʌḍa | nɪka / nɪkʌ | para |
| DIK | wʌḍa | čotʌ | bʰara |
| TAL | wʌḍa | nɪka | bʰara |

| | 145. light | 146. above | 147. below |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | lokʿa | utʿe | tʌle |
| BAL | hoḷi / hoḷʌ | ute | tʰʌle |
| SIG | ḷoka | utʿe | tʌle |
| PES | hʌlka | uća | tʰʌle |
| SHP | hʌlka / ḷoki | uta | tʌla |
| MAN | lokʿe | uta | tʌla |
| KOH | lokʿa | utʿe | tʌle |
| ATK | loka | uća | tʌle / čɪka |
| PAG | loka | ute | tʌle |
| WAP | loka | ute | tʌle |
| DIK | hʌlka | utā | hɛr |
| TAL | lokʌ | utʿe | tʌle |

| | 148. white | 149. black | 150. red |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čɾṭa | kalʻa | ɾʌtʻa |
| BAL | čɾṭa | kala | ɾʌta |
| SIG | čɾta / gora | kala | ʌɾʌtʻa |
| PES | čɾtʌ | kala | ḷal |
| SHP | čɾti | kali | ɾʌti |
| MAN | čɾtʌ | kala | ɾʌta |
| KOH | čɾṭa | kala | ɾʌtʻa |
| ATK | čɾṭa | kala | ɾʌta |
| PAG | čɾtʌ | kala | ɾʌta |
| WAP | čɾtʌ | kala | ɾʌta |
| DIK | čɾta | kala | ɾʌta |
| TAL | čɾṭʌ / čɾtʌ | kala | ɾʌtʌ |

| | 151. one | 152. two | 153. three |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ekʰ | do | tre |
| BAL | ek | do | tre |
| SIG | ekʰ | do | tre |
| PES | ekʰ / ikʌ | ḍo | tre |
| SHP | ek | do | tre |
| MAN | ekʰ | do | tre |
| KOH | ek | do | tre |
| ATK | hɛk | do | tre |
| PAG | ek | do | tre |
| WAP | ek | do | tre |
| DIK | hɪk | ḍu | tre |
| TAL | hɪk | do | tre |

| | 154. four | 155. five | 156. six |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | čar | pʌɲj | čē |
| BAL | čar | pʌɲj | če |
| SIG | čaṛ | pʌɲj | če |
| PES | čaṛ | pʌɲj | čē / če |
| SHP | čar | pʌɲj | če |
| MAN | čaṛ | pʌɲj | če |
| KOH | čar | pʌɲj | če |
| ATK | čar | pʌɲj | čē |
| PAG | čar | pʌɲj | čē |
| WAP | čar | pʌɲj | čē |
| DIK | čar | pʌɲj | čī |
| TAL | čar | pʌɲj | čē |

| | 157. seven | 158. eight | 159. nine |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | noˑ |
| BAL | sʌtʰ | ɑṭʰ | no |
| SIG | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| PES | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| SHP | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| MAN | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| KOH | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| ATK | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| PAG | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nõ |
| WAP | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | noũ |
| DIK | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | noũ |
| TAL | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nõ |

| | 160. ten | 161. eleven | 162. twelve |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | dʌ / dʌs | yara | bʌra |
| BAL | dʌs | yara | bara |
| SIG | da | yara | bara |
| PES | dʌs | yara | barʌ |
| SHP | dʌs | yara | bara |
| MAN | dʌs | yara | bara |
| KOH | dʌs | yara | bara |
| ATK | da | yara | barã |
| PAG | dʌs | yara | bara |
| WAP | dʌs | yara | bara |
| DIK | da | yara | barʌ |
| TAL | dʌ / da | yara | barã |

| | 163. twenty | 164. one hundred | 165. who |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | wi | so | koṇ |
| BAL | bi | so | qoṇ |
| SIG | bi | so | koṇ |
| PES | βi / bis | so | qoṇ |
| SHP | bʰi | so | koṇ |
| MAN | bʰi | so | koṇ |
| KOH | βi / vi | so | — |
| ATK | vi | so | koṇ / koṛ |
| PAG | wi | sow | koṇ |
| WAP | wi | sow | koṇ |
| DIK | vi | so | koṇ |
| TAL | vi | so | kor |

| | 166. what | 167. where | 168. when |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ke | kɪdʌr / kɪtʰe | kʌdᵊe |
| BAL | ke | kʊder/ kʊtʰᵊe / koṛ | kʌd |
| SIG | ke | kɪte | kʌdõ |
| PES | ke | —— | kʌḍo |
| SHP | ke | kɪtʌ / kɪdʌr / kʊdʌr | kʌdõ |
| MAN | ke | kɪdʌr / kɪtʰe | kʌdũ |
| KOH | ke | kɪdʌr / kɪtʰe | kʌdõ |
| ATK | ke | kɪtʰe / kʌtʰe | kʌdõ |
| PAG | ke | kɪdor / kɪte | kʌdo |
| WAP | ki | kɪdor / kɪte | kʌdo |
| DIK | ke | kɪtũ | kʌd |
| TAL | ke | kʌdʌre / kɪde / kʌtʰe | kʌdõ |

| | 169. how many | 170. what thing | 171. this |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | kɪtne | ke ʃɛ / ke ji | eᵊ |
| BAL | kitni | ke čiz | ye |
| SIG | kɪtnɑi | ke jɑ / ke čiz | e |
| PES | kɪtnɑ | —— | e |
| SHP | kɪtni | ke ji | e |
| MAN | kɪtne | ke ʃe | e |
| KOH | kɪti | ke ʃe | e |
| ATK | kɪtne | ke ʃe | e |
| PAG | kɪtnʌ | ke čiz / ke ʃe | i |
| WAP | kɪtne | ki ʃe | i |
| DIK | kɪtne | ke ʃe | e |
| TAL | kɪtne | —— | i |

| | 172. that | 173. these | 174. those |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | o | e | o |
| BAL | o | e | o |
| SIG | o | e | o |
| PES | o | e | o |
| SHP | o | e | o |
| MAN | o | e | o |
| KOH | o | e | o |
| ATK | o | ɪn | o |
| PAG | o | i | o |
| WAP | o | i | u |
| DIK | o | e | o |
| TAL | u | ɪn | un |

| | 175. same | 176. different | 177. whole |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bʌrabʌr | wʌkara | pura |
| BAL | ek je | alada | puṛi |
| SIG | ek je | muxtalɪf | pura / salʌm |
| PES | ek še / ek sʌn | okʰre wukʰre | — |
| SHP | ek je / ek tʌrīā | alɛda alɛda | puri |
| MAN | ek je | kʌṇī muxtalɪf | puri |
| KOH | ɛka je | wʌkʌre wʌkʌre | pura / sabut |
| ATK | ɛka je | wʌkʌ wʌk | pure / sabʌt |
| PAG | ɛkʌ je / ek šant | wʌkʌra wʌkʌra | sabʌt |
| WAP | ek šan | wʌkʌra | sabut |
| DIK | hɪko ji | ʌnj̄ | sabɪt |
| TAL | ɛka je | wʌkʌrʌ | sabut |

| | 178. broken | 179. few | 180. many |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | bʌjea / trotea | tʰoṛa | jʰan / bʰõ |
| BAL | troti | tʰoṛa | muč |
| SIG | pʌjia | toṛi / kʌṭʰ | jaˑn / bū |
| PES | ṭoṭa | ṭʰoṛʌ | ziadʌ |
| SHP | pʰʊtʰ | ṭʰoṛi | muč / ziada |
| MAN | pʌje | tʰoṛe | muč |
| KOH | bʰʌni | tʰoṛa | bʰõ |
| ATK | pʌj̄ | tʰoṛa / kʌṭ | bõ |
| PAG | bʌje | tʰora | bot / ziada |
| WAP | bʌje | tʰoṛa | bot / ziat |
| DIK | bʌna | tʰora | dʰɪg |
| TAL | pʌj̄ | tʰoṛa | bo |

| | 181. all | 182. (you) eat | 183. (the dog) bites |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | sara | kʰa | lʌrṇa |
| BAL | sara | kʰa | kʰa / beḍgia |
| SIG | sare | kʰaṇʌ | ḷʌṛe |
| PES | sara | qaṇa / qada | ḷʌḍʌ / čuṇḍi |
| SHP | sare | kʰa | bɪr gia |
| MAN | sare | kʰa | lʌr gia |
| KOH | sara | kʰaṇa / ka | wɛṛ gia |
| ATK | sare | kʰa | laṛ gia |
| PAG | sare | kale | lar giʌ |
| WAP | sare | kale | ḷaṛa |
| DIK | sare | kʰa | pʌṭ |
| TAL | sare | kʰa | lar giʌ / čʌk pagia |

| | 184. (you are) hungry | 185. (you) drink | 186. (you are) thirsty |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | $buk^{h}$ɔa | pī | trea |
| BAL | $buk^{h}$ $lag^{h}$ | pi | tre lʌgi |
| SIG | $b^{h}uk^{h}a$ | pīṇa | tre |
| PES | $buk^{h}a$ | piṇa | $t^{h}$ɪri |
| SHP | $pok^{h}ʌ$ | pi | tre aya |
| MAN | $bok^{h}a$ | pi | tre aya |
| KOH | $b^{h}uk$ | piṇa / pi | tre lʌgi |
| ATK | $p^{h}uk^{h}a$ | pi | tre |
| PAG | $b^{h}$ukawa | pi le | tre lʌgi |
| WAP | $puk^{h}a$ | pi le | tʌre aya |
| DIK | $b^{h}uk^{h}$ | pi | tre lʌgi |
| TAL | $b^{h}$uk lʌgi | pi | tre lʌgi |

| | 187. (you) sleep | 188. (you) lay down | 189. (you) sit |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | soṇā | leṭṇa | bɛṭṇa |
| BAL | sɛ | lʌmā | bɛ / bɛt |
| SIG | sɛ jul | lʌmō / leṭ | bɛ |
| PES | soṇa | leṭ | $bɛṭ^{h}$ |
| SHP | se | pe | $bɛṭ^{h}$ |
| MAN | se | lʌma | bɛto / $b^{h}ɛ$ |
| KOH | soṇa / sō | leṭṇa / leṭpo | ajṇa (come) / ʌč |
| ATK | sɛ re | leṭ re | be re / aj re |
| PAG | sæ̃ re / sæn ja | leṭ | bɛ ja |
| WAP | sæn ja | leṭ ja | bɛ ja |
| DIK | sʌmʌ / sʌm po | leṭ jana | $bait^{h}$i |
| TAL | sæ pʌwo | lʌme pae wʌnjo | bɛ wʌnjo |

| | 190. (you) give | 191. (you) burn (wood) | 192. (he) died |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | $d^{h}e$ | $b^{h}$alṇa / salna | marna |
| BAL | de | sʌrge | mʌr ge |
| SIG | dɛṇa | bʌlna | mʌrṇa |
| PES | deṇa | saṇa | marna |
| SHP | dɛ | saṛ | mar |
| MAN | de | baḷ / sar | mʌrge |
| KOH | de | saṛṇa / saṛ | merṇa / mʌr |
| ATK | de | balo | mʌrgia |
| PAG | de | baḷ | mʌrgiʌ |
| WAP | de | saṛge | mʌr |
| DIK | de | sʌṛ / ba | mʌrge |
| TAL | deo | balo | mʌr gia |

| | 202. I | 203. you (sing., informal) | 204. you (sing., formal) |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | mẽ | tũ | tusi |
| BAL | mẽ | tũ | tusi |
| SIG | me | tũ | tusi |
| PES | mẽ | tu | tusi |
| SHP | mẽ | tu | tusi |
| MAN | mẽ | tũ | tusi |
| KOH | mẽ | tũ | tũsĩ |
| ATK | mẽ | tũ | tusi |
| PAG | mẽ | tũ | tusi |
| WAP | mẽ | tũ | tusi |
| DIK | moi | tũ | tusɑ̃ |
| TAL | mɛ | tũ | tusi |

| | 205. he | 206. she | 207. we (incl.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | o | o | ʌsʻi |
| BAL | o | o | ʌsi |
| SIG | o | o | ʌsʻĩ |
| PES | o | o | ʌsʻi |
| SHP | o | o | ʌsi |
| MAN | o | o | ʌsi |
| KOH | o | o | usĩ |
| ATK | o | o | ʌsi |
| PAG | u | u | ʌsi |
| WAP | u | u | ʌsi |
| DIK | o | o | ʌsɑ |
| TAL | u | u | ʌsi |

| | 208. we (excl.) | 209. you (plural) | 210. they |
|---|---|---|---|
| JAM | ʌsʻi | tũ | o |
| BAL | ʌsi | tusi | o |
| SIG | ʌsʻĩ | tũ | o |
| PES | ʌsʻi | tusi | o |
| SHP | ʌsi | tusi | o |
| MAN | ʌsi | tusi | o |
| KOH | usĩ | tũsĩ | o |
| ATK | ʌsi | tusĩ | un |
| PAG | ʌsi | tusi | u |
| WAP | ʌsi | tusɑ̃ | o |
| DIK | ʌsi | — | — |
| TAL | ʌsi | tusi | un |

**Appendix B.2**

# Hindko Texts

## B.2.1 Hindko, Abbottabad

### *Abbottabad Story*

1. čodri ɪntehanda jeṛe wɪle dɪta ji te mera kʌr bilkul
fourteenth examination which time take sir and my home absolutely
After my fourteenth examination I did not want to stay at home.

2. dɪl na lʌgena ate ji otṇa ʌxyʌ hʌra ji ma kɪde nakʌr
heart not felt father sir he said good sir me which service
I said to my father, "Sir, arrange some service for me."

3. kʌra-čoṛo [Question-1] inhan ji me ʌxyʌ dʌrxas-šʌrxas lɪkake
arrange * to-him sir me said application write-having
[Question-1] He said to me, "Write an application and give it to me."

4. de dʌrxas-šʌrxas lɪki te anha kʌṛkɪ dʌti te ustadd bʌč
give application wrote and to-him did-having gave and teacher in
Having written an application, I gave it to him and was ordered to Majuha as

5. mʌjuha brč ʌḍʌr hogia ji bʌṛa čʌk lʌge yʌra mʌjuha pʌɪsa
Majuha in order happened sir big shy felt friend Majuha teach
a teacher. I was feeling very shy: How will I teach the boys?

6. jatʌkd ḷog krjt hesʌn [Question-2] ute kʌmre brč xɪt nʌhaṇa
boys people how will-be * there room in well bathing
How will the people be? [Question-2] I was bathing in the room,

7. te nʌha kɪne halbʌhar hotri nʌngi ie[h] na [Question-3] hor
and bath took however uneasy ? ? ? * Another
but it was not easy. [Question-3] One day I said to a servant

8. dryʌṛe ji me ute usʌn ʌxyʌ nokʌr apna sʌḍe nal ʌslʌm
day sir I there him said servant own-self us with Aslam
named Aslam brother...

9. piha ji o wi rɪnda-ha ate bi osa me ʌxyʌ o ʌslʌm piha
brother sir he also lived here also him I said ? Aslam brother
He also lived here. I said to him, "Aslam brother,

10. ji ʌj jola dʌryʌ ote hi aj nʌhawa us jʰelʌm julde kafi
sir today go river there ? today bathing that Jhelam goes plenty
let's go to the river and take a bath." The Jhelam is far away, a man

11. duro admi pʰonč nʌhi sʌgda ute kafi ṭaɪm lʌga gʌnṭa kɪ do
far man arrive no able there plenty time meet hour then two
cannot get there. After plenty of time, one or two hours, a man reaches

12. bʌd da punč admi [Question-4] usa kɪn te giyʌ ji utu hɪk ho
after of arrive man * him who and went sir there one ?
there. [Question-4] I took him and went. A stream

13. kaṭa-we ʌkʌr mɪlas jelum bɪč [Question-5] o tala juldɪ
stream come-having meets Jhelam in * ? downward went
meets the Jhelam there. [Question-5] We went down and arrived there.

14. hare ute jɪk wɪle kʌṭe kol pončɪd mera bʌṛa dɪl xuš hoyʌna
? there this time near with arrived my big heart happy became
My heart became happy when I saw the water,

15. pʌṇi wɪx-ke te me us kolu wi pehlo doṛ-kɪ giā ji
water saw-having and I him with also before run went sir
and I ran ahead of him.

16. [Question-6] yera julda huṇ dɪxā kʌrɪ ja čʌra hɪk nazurāyʌ
* friend go now see which place shower one looked
[Question-6] Friend, I went now to look at some place. The water of one spot

17. paṇi du [Question-7] čɪkrena bič te gia goḍyʌ tʌk [Question-8]
water of * mud in ? went knees up-to *
looked like a shower. [Ques.-7] I went into the mud up to my knees. [Ques.-8]

18. te hur zʌra yʌaswa halbʌhat me hiki pase ḷʌṭkɪ apʰā kinare
and more little stepped however I one side fell myself bank
I might have sunk, but I grabbed a stone in the embankment.

19. te hɪk gʌṭa pʌkṛa-kɪda [Question-9] ʌslʌm pʌji ha ʌxyʌ bɪč
and one rock caught * Aslam brother to said in
[Question-9] I called for Aslam brother, and he ran to me with a pale

20. ʌrao doṛ kɪ ayʌ mʌṭa-mʌṭa rʌŋ šuk uḍi da ne čʌk-kɪ mana
? run ? came quickly color ? flew of ? grab-having pulled
face. He flew to me and pulled me out

21. bʌṛi okʰi tʌra bar [Question-10]
big difficult way out *
with great difficulty. [Question-10]

Questions for Abbottabad Story
(English Translations)

1. Who did he ask to give him a service?
2. After getting the service how did he feel?
3. In Majuha, what was not easy?
4. How much time is it up to Jhelum?
5. What meets the Jhelum there?
6. Having seen the water how did he feel?
7. How was the water running?
8. Up to where did he sink in the mud?
9. What did he grab to save himself?
10. How did brother Aslam help him?

## B.2.2 Hindko, Balakot

### *Balakot Story*

1. 83 di gʌl he dʌwʌrtʌlă me bʌnda ho ke ayă bʌɽʰai kolo kʌj
   83 of talk is from-under I free ? then camestudy with some
   This is a talk from 1983; I was free then I came. I was tired of studying,

2. oto talʌg hogiyă dʰeṛe kuj čʌnge na kud de ase pera mʌɽa
   there tired became days some good no spent of did brother my
   because I didn't spend good days. My brother was here.

3. bi eti asa sočyʌ ʌčko ai awră pʌră fer-ṭorke kude wakt
   also here was thought friend go here there wander somewhere time
   I thought to spend some time to wander here and there.

4. gozara-kuna pʌra muka bi ati mʌojud asa bʌɽa [Question-1]
   spend brother to-me also here present was older *
   Older brother was also present here with me. [Question-1] We both went up

5. asi doṇe guč he hă uta jʌngla ko subʰʌ-subʰʌ eto nehre bič
   we both went ? ? up forest to early-morning here-from dark in
   to the forest. Early in the morning in the dark we left

6. guč de hă nal toṛi jai roṭi-čoṭi bi gaḍi [Question-2] rašʌn-kʌṇă
   went and ? with little bit food also take * eating
   with a little bread ... [Question-2] ...for eating. There were our tenants

7. da te ta bič aste mʌzre hen ṭʌnḍa kʰʌṭ jeta gʌră he ute
   for and ? on our tenants are Thanda Katha where village is there
   on the way where Thanda Katha village is.

8. aste mʌzre hen [Question-3] uto do admi uo ao bi hogai
   our tenants are * there two men ? come with happened
   Our tenants are there. [Question-3] We took two men from there

9. kohʌɽa te ʌra bi nal kiyʌyʌ [Question-4] en da kohar ra
   axe and saw also with took * Their ? house path
   with us and also an axe and a saw. [Question-4] Their home was on the

10. bič ʌnde asă julna asa jʌngla ko jungʌl xasa uta asa te utʰa usă
    in was we go we forest to forest much up we and there we
    path. We went to the forest. It was a long way up. There we have to cut down

11. soṇ buṭe bi sʌṭɪn use nal hi [Question-5] halbʌhʌr utu asi
    ? trees also cut we with ? * after-all from-there we
    the trees. [Question-5] We went from there with our companions.

12. grʌwana-hogia ona ke kehā ke oto asi nikʌl kɪ ha juldiyʌ
left them with ? ? there we went did ? quickly
There we went quickly up a steep (path).

13. xasi čʌɾai asi hoja jeta ʌsa buṭe sʌsṭede ase uja xasi
much steep was there then we trees down-fell did that-place much
There we cut down the trees. That place was very high.

14. uči asi tʌle ra brč bʌrʌf asi tʌlʌkta asa per [Question-6] te
high was under path in snow was slip our foot * and
There was snow on the path below and our feet were slipping. [Question-6]

15. or asi ʌpʌrʏʌ gʌpa-šʌpa marna ḷʌg-gia etne biču xofnak ji
? we ? chatting struck did this-much in frightful kind
And we were busy chatting. Meanwhile we heard a frightful sound and

16. ʌwaz ayʌ te bʌɾa dʰɪl nar kʌṭ awaz ayʌ daxyʌtɪ buṭa
sound came and big heart out when sound came look tree
at the sound our hearts jumped. We saw

17. čʌɾ-gia asa [Question-7] ande-wile nal bʌndox kɪn ayʌe asyʌ
down-fell did * coming-time with gun take came we
a tree fall down. [Question-7] We had brought a gun with us. If we meet

18. yʌra krj tʰʌa pʌte marsa uta nukʌr bi asɪ te asi bi aura
if some meet then kill that servant also we and we also here
anything, we will kill it. We, the servants, and brother wandered here and

19. brā fere ṭorne te asa-ko sʌre getʰa ek do halbʌhʌr
brother went walking and we rabbit saw one two after-all
there. As we were walking, we saw one or two rabbits. After much effort we

20. kodyʌ-kodyʌ mʌri-kode [Question-8] unha-ko nal asi moɾa te kɪn
by-effort killed * that with us turn and took
killed it. [Question-8] Turning back, we brought them. We were very tired.

21. ayʌ wʌr mʌč hoṭe de hʌd to zryʌda tʌroṭ-gia jisa [Question-9]
came ? much tired ? too of excessive broken body *
Our bodies were very sore. [Question-9] Slipping often, we returned there

22. tʌlʌktiyʌ-tʌlʌktiyʌ hi uke tʌrike dɪ ute moɾyʌ tʌk jɪn pučyʌ
slipping-slipping very ? hard of there turned up-to then reached
with difficulty. When we reached there we wished to have

23. he dɪl eʰi koda asa ke kuj tʌhawe te kawe [Question-10]
? heart ? want we that some get and eat *
something to eat. [Question-10]

Questions for Balakot Story
(English Translations)

1. Who was present there?
2. Where did they go?
3. Who was on the way?
4. How many men did they take?
5. What did they have to do in the forest?
6. How was the path?
7. What did they see?
8. What did they kill?
9. How did they feel?
10. What did they wish?

## B.2.3 Hindko, Jammun

### *Jammun Story*

1. asa-ne kʰu kʰʌḍia zimidara da kʰu haia wo pʌnjiā gʌzāč
   we well dug farmer of well was that twenty-five yard-in
   We were digging the farmer's well. Twenty-five yards down

2. us-ne pani dita [Question-1] te fiṛ roṭi da taim hogia roti
   that water gave * and then food of time happened bread
   we hit water. [Question-1] And then it was time to eat. When it was time to

3. da taim hogia te onʌ saiṇa-ne ʌwaz dite roṭi aste čaṛo
   of time happened and those people call gave food for climb
   eat, the people called out: 'Climb for

4. [Question-2] ṛoṭi-šoti kʰa pike ta fir ōnane mā akʰia jʌni
   * food ate drank-having and then they me said that
   food'. [Question-2] We ate and drank our food, then they told me to climb

5. tu leh gia dʌnʌ te bɛ-giā te dʌne te bɛne nali
   you climb-down went stick and sat and stick and sat with
   down. I sat on the stick... and just as I was being lowered, the rope

6. tʰela-pičōn rʌsa le-gia ṭolɛto [Question-3] diwaṛ bi nal
   lowered rope slipped tol-from * wall also with
   slipped from the *tol*. [Question-3] I fell against the wall

7. gʰir-gaye nal apni ṭagiā seṛ mera čeṛ-gia [Question-4] ostō bad
   fell with own fell head my cut * that after
   and cut my head. [Question-4] After that I fell into the water.

8. panič wanž-lʌgiā sɛkrā os kʰue dʌ malik jiḍāē ol
   water-in fell meanwhile that well of owner whose he
   Meanwhile, the owner of the well

9. lɛtʰʌ [Question-5] fir bora mʌŋguaia bora pake os-ne
   came-down * then sack brought sack put-having he
   climbed down into the well. [Question-5] Then he climbed out with me,

10. mā čaṛai borič pake [Question-6] borič pake čaṛias
    me climbed sack-in put-having * sack-in put-having climbed
    having put me in a sack. [Question-6] Having put me in the sack,

11. mā ute čaṛia ne osā bi nal čikiane pʰir o kaṛe te mā
    Iup lifted-up ? him also next held then he clay-pot and me
    he held me as he climbed up. Then he laid me over a clay pot

12. paia ne ṭeḍe de paṛ-paṛ pake mā test ki mē pani pitʌs ya
laid ? belly of weight put-having me test did I water drank or
and put weight on me to test if I

13. naī pitʌs [Question-7] wo pani-šani koi aya nāi te nasā meria
not drank * that water any was not and nostrils mine
had drunk any water or not. [Question-7] There wasn't any water and my
nostrils

14. bʌnd aya nāsā čo do gite jʌe nikʌlin te nasā meriā
closed were nostrils from two stones like came-out and nostrils mine
were blocked. Two stones came out of my nostrils and then

15. kʰoḷ gaya [Question-8] te fir akʰuṇ lʌge ke jʌnā te jiṇde
open went * and then said started that man and alive
my nostrils opened. [Question-8] And then they started saying that 'the man

16. [Question-9] o mʌnži tʌ mā pake giṛayā anda ne
* they cot and me put-having village brought ?
is alive.' [Question-9] They brought me to the village on a cot. Having

17. giṛāič ake kar pāńčaia ne meri mai oni te meri
village-in come-having house arrived ? my mother was and my
arrived at my home, my mother and my

18. bivi te sare rona te pitina paditanio [Question-10]
wife and all cry and mourn did *
wife and everyone were crying and mourning. [Question-10]

Questions for Jammun Story
(English Translations)

1. How far underground was the water?
2. What did those people call him for?
3. What happened to the rope?
4. What was split?
5. Who climbed down to help him?
6. What did they put him inside of?
7. What did they do to see if he drank water or not?
8. What came out of his nostrils?
9. What did the people start saying?
10. What did his wife do?

## B.2.4 Hindko, Kohat

### *Kohat Story*

1. ʌsi ito prograem bʌɽa-ke geā gorgrotʰ paɲa waste ute
we here program arranged-having went Gorgorot received for there
We made a plan to go to Gorgorot. We went there in a pick-up.

2. ʌsā jɪɽe pɪknɪk di pɪkʌp kɪti-e jɪri ɪtū tʌkribʌn čʌtis mɪl
we when picnic to pick-up did which here about thirty-six mile
It is about thirty-six miles to that place.

3. dur e ʌsi če dostā apus-bɪč [Question-1] watʰ ute jɪɽa ete
far is we six friends together * then there when here
We six friends went together. [Question-1] When we got there we

4. saman ʌsā pɪkʌp to la-čoreʌ jɪti samaneʌ o saman ʌsā jɪre
luggage we pick-up so unloaded all luggage that luggage we which
unloaded the luggage from the pick-up. We lifted the luggage and

5. te watʰ trɪkli te čaiʌ [Question-2] trɪklʌ te ča ke koi
and then back and lifted * back and lifted having some
carried it on our backs. [Question-2] We lifted it and carried it on our

6. sɪra te čai o sʌman ʌsā toe kafi wʌdi ʌsā toā
head and lifted that luggage we stream plenty big we stream
backs. Some lifted the luggage to their heads. We crossed

7. par-kɪte [Question-3] ta ute ʌsi pōčgiā ta saman rʌkea o
crossed * and above we reached and luggage put that
a fairly big stream. [Question-3] When we arrived at a place higher up, we

8. kite ča pitʰie [Question-4] ɔr ča pɪɲ kolō bad ʌsi jɪɽʌ ete
did tea drank * and tea drank ? after we when there
put the luggage down and drank tea. [Question-4] After we drank tea, we went

9. nɪkʌlgeʌ paɽā ute paɽ te nɪkʌl-ke paɽ te pōčeā
left mountain up mountain and left mountain up arrived
further up the mountain. When we reached a place higher up the mountain,

10. ute ʌsā šɪkar kitʰe čʌkor mare te tɪtor marɪn [Question-5] tɪtor
there we hunting did bird killed and titor killed * titor
we began hunting. We killed chukor and titor birds. [Question-5] After killing

11. marke watʰ wapʌs ayā tʌle horeā toe te toe jɪrʌ
killed then return came down descending stream and stream which
the titor bird, we headed back down. We went down to a stream and threw

12. hɛte bʌm sʌṭeɪn ute mʌči mari e [Question-6] muči mar-ke
here bomb threw there fish kill that * fish killed
bombs in the stream. We killed fish there. [Question-6] After we killed the

13. wat$^{h}$ ʌsi wapʌs aɪn rati ʌpṇa kaṇa pakaye [Question-7] sara
then we return came night our-own food cooked * all
fish we returned (to camp). At night we cooked our own food. [Question-7]

14. kaṇa-maṇa jɪti e asā pe pʌkae kʌṭ wi jɪrʌ ɛte ča-ma kʌrke
food which ? was ? cooked pot ? which here tea did
All the food was cooked. After tea we did other things, then we slept.

15. har čiz kʌrke rati so-peā̃ wʌdʌne nal jɪre baŋga wele ʌsi
every thing did night slept proper-time with which prayer time we
At prayer time we left to go hunting.

16. šɪkor te nɪkʌl-geā̃ ʌsi nɪkʌleā̃ tʌkribʌn dʌs bara mil jɪre
hunting and left we left about ten twelve mile which
We went along the bank of the Indus river for about ten or twelve miles

17. eʌt$^{h}$ʌ dʌrie sɪnd de kɪnare nal ute pa:ṛ e jɪsā̃ ɑxdɪn
here river Indus ? bank with there mountain ? which called
to the mountain called Gorgorot.

18. gorgorot us gorgʌrot de pa:ṛ ute tʌkriban čar gā̃te ʌsi
Gorgorot that Gorgorot that mountain up about four hours we
We went up Gorgorot Mountain

19. ute čar giā̃ [Question-8] us-ko bad jɪra ɛte ʌsā̃ hɛrɪn wɛxɪn
up four went * this after which here we deer saw
for about four hours. [Question-8]

20. [Question-9] una ʌsā̃ jɪre wele hɛrɪn wɛxɪn te ʌsā̃ rtni kuši
* they we which time deer saw and we so-much happy
After this we saw deer. [Question-9] When we saw the deer

21. mesus-t$^{h}$en [Question-10]
felt *
we were very happy. [Question-10]

Questions for Kohat Story
(English Translations)

1. How many friends went?
2. How did they do with their things?
3. Which thing did they cross?
4. What did they drink?
5. What happened to the titor?
6. What did the bomb kill?
7. At which time did they cook the food?
8. How long did it take to go up the mountain?
9. After this, what did they see?
10. Why were they happy?

## B.2.5 Hindko, Peshawar

### *Peshawar Story*

1. merʌ nam xalɪd nazir he tʰe me rtʰe bazar jʌhangirpūra sʌlai
   my name Khalid Nazir is and I here Bazaar Jehangirpura sewing
   My name is Khalid Nazir and I have a sewing machine shop here in
2. maŝina de dūkan e pečʌle sal etʰe 28 oktʰūbʌr nū ek dʰmake
   machine of shop is last year here 28 October ? one explosion
   Jehangirpura Bazaar. Last year there was an explosion here on October 28
3. hoveia tʰʌkriban koi pune bara bʌje [Question-1]
   happened approximately some quarter-to twelve o'clock *
   at about a quarter to twelve. [Question-1] In this way, at about
4. es ṭʰʌrʌ ke sʌra tʰʌkriban 11 bʌjkʌr 40 minʌṭ tʰe me baher
   this way that all about 11 o'clock 40 minute and I outside
   11:40, I came from outside the shop
5. se aya tʰe dūkan na meŝine set kʌrna-e tʰe tʰakriban koi
   from came and shop ? machine set did and about some
   and set up the machines. And about
6. 12 bʌje pone 12 bʌje ṭaim te ek dʌmake di awaž
   12 o'clock quarter-to 12 o'clock time and one explosion of sound
   12 or a quarter to 12, I heard
7. ayi [Question-2] yede forʌn bʌd mʌtʰlʌb e sʌre bazare gurʌd
   came * friend soon after meaning that all bazaar dust
   an explosion. [Question-2] After which the dust and all spread in all
8. vayerʌ jʌmahugui tʰe me i sʌmja ke matlab e dʌmaka
   etc. gathered and I this understand that meaning this explosion
   the bazaar. I thought the explosion happened
9. jʌra e sʌdi apne dūkan de kʌr-hoya-e [Question-3] ūs wakat tʰu
   which is our own shop of happened * that time you
   in our own shop. [Question-3] At this time you weren't able to see anything.
10. kuč-bi nazʌr nʌi anda-e serʌf gurʌd o ɣʰubar tʰe barūd
    anything seeing not came only dust and explosives and gunpowder
    There was only dust and the
11. di bu i [Question-4] agʌr ek adʰa gant ya 45 minʌṭ ūr
    of smell is * if one half hour or 45 minute more
    smell of explosives and gunpowder. [Question-4] If the explosion had occurred

12. der hundai ter zeyadʰa tʌbahi mʌč di kyōke sʌkūl te
further had waited great destruction much of because school and
30 or 45 minutes later it would have caused greater destruction because the

13. čoṭe-čoṭe bʌče ənʌnd es tʌrʌf [Question-5] loka-ne fʌir bʌrged
small children came this way * people fire brigade
small children come this way. [Question-5] People called the fire

14. ūnū-e ṭilifon karta-e pulis bi əgʌi pulis-ne mətʌlab e sare
to-them telephone did police also came police meaning that all
brigade by telephone. The police also came. The police

15. bazar weč čarū tʌrʌf naka-bʌndi kʌrdi loka nʌ čūṛ-de
bazaar in four ways blockade did people not left
blockaded the bazaar on four sides and

16. [Question-6] te es əg nal tʌkriban 6 dūkanū nū ur bi əg
* and that fire with about 6 shops to and also fire
stopped people (from entering). [Question-6] From that fire six other

17. lʌg-gai [Question-7] saṛi dukan te vi kafi nuksan hoya ūte
caught * our shop to also enough damages was there
shops caught fire. [Question-7] Our shop had a lot of damage also. All the

18. kʌr sari mašina ṭūṭ-gʌin [Question-8] dʌmake se koč der
? all machines broke * explosion from some further
machines there were broken. [Question-8] A little time after the explosion,

19. bʌd fer me apṛe kʌr ṭilifon kiti valida nū take ūnū
after then I our house telephone did mother ? so-that her
I telephoned my mother at our house to let her know

20. ɪtla karda ke mʌtlab e prešan nʌ huŋʌ [Question-9] jɪs
inform did of meaning that worried not be * which
that she should not worry. [Question-9]

21. va me ne kiya ta ūs wʌkʌt vi ūʌ kafi prešan e [Question-10]
time I ? did and that time also she enough worried is *
At the time I did that, she was very worried. [Question-10]

Questions for Peshawar Story
(English Translations)

1. What time did the explosion occur?
2. What kind of sound did he hear?
3. What did he think?
4. What did he smell?
5. Why would it have caused a lot of damage if it occurred after 30 or
45 minutes?
6. What did the police do at the bazaar?
7. What happened to six shops?
8. What happened to the machines?
9. Who did he inform?
10. How did his mother feel?

## B.2.6 Hindko, Sherpur

### *Sherpur Story*

1. mẽ tʌla mʌnj čar dʌsa ta sora mor aia
   I below buffalo grazing did and father-in-law my came
   I was grazing my buffalo below when my

2. [Question-1] šahela muč zʌruri kam mẽ keji usa axea
   * Shahela very necessary work I what-kind to-him asked
   father-in-law came. [Question-1] (He said to me) Shahela, (there is) very

3. za mat hogaya te he todo xabar kʰarnea ugɪku
   ? death has-happened and ? you news take Oghi-to
   necessary work. I said, "What kind?" He said a death had occurred and

4. [Question-2] maha čanga ji do rupi us muku karai drta rupea
   * I-said all-right sir two rupies he to-me fare gave rupee
   to take this news to Oghi. [Question-2] I said, "All right." He gave me two

5. mʌre kol asa [Question-3] mẽ ɪtu basa ta čareā gia gʌčria
   me with was * I here bus and climb went went
   rupees for the fare. I had one rupee with me. [Question-3] I got on a bus

6. ugi leta gia ʌga čar mɪl tre mɪl da fesɪla asa gia
   Oghi get-down went ahead four mile three mile to distance was went
   and went away. I got off at Oghi, three or four miles distance. When I arrived

7. us je ko pučeā te numaša ji ʌzan ondi-asi
   that place of arrived and evening sir call-to-prayer was
   at that place, the evening call to prayer

8. [Question-4] salam-walekum alakum-salam krta te usa axer nɪkia
   * greetings greetings did and he said did-not
   was being done. [Question-4] Greetings were exchanged and he did not say

9. tu ča-ša-ča diti te nal do darne kulče drte [Question-5] usa
   so tea gave and with two pieces cake gave * he
   more. He gave tea and two pieces of cake. [Question-5] He said, "Will you

10. axer tu resi mẽ axer na ji me julsa bʌs us suṇ dobara gʌl
    said you stay I said no sir I go enough he ? again matter
    stay?" I said, "No sir, I must go." He didn't

11. nī alai [Question-6] mā nikal aia ugi ko aia numaša ogiā
    no did * I out came Oghi to came evening happened
    ask me to stay again. [Question-6] I left, and when I reached Oghi it was

12. asia kofta de karib ogiā bʌs waleku me axer tu julsi us axer
? night of near happened bus driver I said you go he said
evening. It was nearly night. I asked the bus driver, "will you go?" He said,

13. me julsa [Question-7] dʌs mnat guzari bʌsa wali axer me axa
Igo * ten minutes passed bus driver said I said
"I will go." [Question-7] After ten minutes the bus driver said, "I said I

14. na julda para bariš bi ogie ra xarab hai [Question-8] dila brč
not go there rain also ahead way bad is * heart in
won't go. There is rain and the way ahead is bad." [Question-8] In my heart

15. xafa hogia yera ıs muku peli axea onda te čanga asa
angry was friend this me-to before said was and good was
I was angry. "Friend, you should have told me this

16. [Question-9] xer baral utu niklia sočea yera ıta
* good however from-there came-out thought friend here
before!" [Ques.-9] When I came from there, I thought there is a friend

17. par xan mare ečna aen una kol rat re-gisa [Question-10]
across Khan my friend is them with night stay *
here, a Khan that I know, and I will stay (the night) with him. [Ques.-10]

Questions for Sherpur Story
(English Translations)

1. What was he grazing?
2. What did his father-in-law ask him?
3. How much money did his father-in-law give him?
4. What time did he arrive?
5. What did he get two pieces of?
6. What did the man not ask again?
7. What did he ask the bus driver?
8. How is the way ahead?
9. How did he feel in his heart?
10. Where did he think to stay?

## B.2.7 Hindko, Talagang

**Talagang** **Story**

1. ʌsi giā čikundi utʰe dost ɛki di šadi o mɛre ɛk mamu
we went Chikundi there friend one of marriage that my one uncle
We went to Chikundi. The marriage of my friend, who is my uncle's son, was

2. dʌ lʌrka [Question-1] mera nal nani si ɔr mai ʌsi donō
of boy * me with grandmother ? and I we both
there. [Question-1] I went with my grandmother.

3. geā [Question-2] rasta bič ʌsi bot prešan geā top si bot
went * road in we much bothered went sunlight ? much
[Question-2] On the way we were very troubled by

4. [Question-3] utʰe ja-ke ʌsi počeā baitʰe bič ča-ša pitʰi
* there gone-having we arrived sit in tea drank
the sunlight. [Question-3] When we arrived, we sat and drank tea. After

5. ča-ša pi-ke ʌsi una nal mʌtlʌb he hʌnsʌ mʌzak kʌrna
tea drunk-having we them with meaning is laugh joke do
drinking tea, we started laughing and

6. lʌkgeā [Question-4] ke ɪna dʌ mʌtlʌb e gɪrā bič e rʌwajeweke
started * ? their of meaning is village in is tradition
joking with them. [Question-4] The tradition in their village

7. e poseā marnɪn ya-ke waṭe [Question-5] te o jɪs wele
is dung threw go-having stone * and ? which time
is to throw dung and stones. [Question-5] At the time they

8. nʌzdik počɪn te uwʌ gʌl tʰi kɪ uṇʌ pʰosiā marim us admi
close arrived and that matter was that they dung threw that man
arrived closer, they threw dung and hit a man

9. nū mj kʌr-ke mare ʌkʰi ute [Question-6] uḍi čʌŋgi pʰʌli
? this did-having hit eye above * there good plenty
above his eye. [Question-6] There, a big

10. čoṭʰ aye [Question-7] mʌtlʌb e ortā sʌn marna-waleā
injury came * meaning is women ? stone-throwers
injury came. [Question-7] I mean to say that the women

11. [Question-8] ɪs tʌrʌ pʰɪr hatʰ bi zʌkmi hunɪn mʌtlʌb e
* this way then hand also injured happened meaning is
were the stone throwers. [Question-8] In this way the women's hands become

12. ɔrtā di bi čuriā paj janɪʌ [Question-9] us to bad ʌsi
women of also bracelets broken comes * this ? after we
injured and their bracelets are broken. [Question-9] After this, they

13. jʌnab nɪkah-šɪkah bʌna-ke te janj lɛ-ke te wapʌs
sir prayer made-having and procession taken-having and return
prayed, made a procession,

14. unʌ kar poče [Question-10]
their house arrived *
and returned home. [Question-10]

## Questions for Talagang Story
## (English Translations)

1. Why did they go to Chikundi?
2. Who was with him?
3. Why were they bothered?
4. What did they start to do?
5. What is the custom of the village?
6. Where was the man hit?
7. What kind of injury came?
8. Who hit him?
9. What happened to the bracelets?
10. Where did they arrive?

## B.2.8 Hindko, Wad Pagga

### *Wad Pagga Story*

1. e wʌkyʌ me sʌn 1973 wič piš ayʌ mere nal o me swanu
this time I year 1973 in occur came me with that I to-you
This incident happened to me in 1973. I will tell it to you in my own

2. apni zubʌni bʌtana e garmi di čuṭiyʌ yena tʌkribʌn sʌḍe
own language tell this summer of holidays here about our
language. It was the summer holidays of school

3. skol di un wʌxʌt me čoti jʌmʌt wič pʌṛnayʌ [Question-1] te
school of that time I fourth class in studied * and
when I had studied in the fourth class. [Question-1] And one or two years

4. usi ek sʌl du pehle mera walid-sahʌb kʌrači čʌlʌ-gʌyʌ
that one year two before my father Karachi went
before this my father had gone

5. [Question-2] ete tʰeyʌṛe kʌr ıs tʌrʌ koč mʌmolı wʌlda de
* here our home this way some small mother of
to Karachi. [Question-2] At our home,

6. nal čʌgṛa-mʌgṛʌ hoyʌ [Question-3] so meri jıb wıč us wʌkʌt
with fight was * so my pocket in that time
I had a little fight with my mother. [Question-3] So, at that time I had

7. tʌkribʌn pʌnj ane [Question-4] te us wʌkʌt mera ek mʌmo-yʌ
about five anas * and that time my one uncle
about five anas in my pocket. [Question-4] So, at that time my uncle,

8. o bʌrʌm šʌʰ na e us na xuda bʌxšı suṇo hoye fʌwʌt
he Behram Shah name is his name God bless hear was died
Behram Shah is his name, God bless him, he has died,

9. hoyʌ-e wo us wʌkʌt ḍʌbgʌri tʌṇe iš hoyʌ tukribʌn hʌr
has he that time Dabgari police-station in was about every
he was at the Dabgari police station. About every Thursday

10. jumʌrʌt-wʌle dın us wʌl jʌne ewa čʌkur-wʌkur waste wʌt
Thursday-(mod) day him to goes ? visit for then
I visited him. Then on Friday I would return home.

11. jume-wʌle dın me wʌpʌs ajan-ya us dryʌri bi me us wol
Friday-(mod) day I return came that day also I him to
I went to visit him that day also.

12. giyʌ-wʌ tu me giʌ-wā jɪrɑ xud tuɳe ɖʌbgʌri ne tu mʌmɑ
went so I went who myself police-station Dabgari ? so uncle
Then I went to the police station in Dabgari

13. merɑ ute nʌi e-yʌ [Question-5] us di sel ne dʌwɪʌn ek gʌɖi
my there not was * that of busy ? during one train
and my uncle was not there. [Question-5] During that time a train came,

14. ɑi te me sojwe me čʌl eh gʌɖi ɪč bɾʰ kɪ-tɪ ɪte ʌgɪ tʌru
came and I thought I go this train in sit did here ahead Taru
so I thought, "I will go and sit on this train to Taru Jaba, which is ahead

15. jʌbɑ e sʌɖi gɪrā de kol ute me le-jʌsā gʌɖi ču
Jaba is our village of next there I get-down train from
near our village, and there I will get

16. [Question-6] esi xyʌl ič me gʌɖi wič bʰɪ gʌyʌ-wā gʌɖi ʌgɪ
* this thought in I train in sat went train ahead
off the train." [Question-6] While I was thinking this, I sat on the train.

17. čʌli-gʌyi tʌru jʌbe ɪč nʌʰi ʈɪhri [Question-7] ɑge jʌɳe-jʌɳɑ e
went Taru Jaba in not waited * ahead going this
The train went ahead and did not stop in Tara Jaba. [Question-7] It kept

18. tʌkribɑn nʌwšɪre wič ʈɾʰri wʌt ute me ɣʌyʌ yʌrɑ oɳ ete
about Nowshera in waited then there I went friend then there
going and stopped in Nowshera. Then, friend, there I came down

19. me lāwɑ te mere kol kʌryʌ bi nʌʰi wʌpʌsi nɑ [Question-8]
Icame-down and me with fee also not return of *
and did not have the money to return. [Question-8] And I arrived in

20. te ponč-giʌ pɪnɖi pončɑe [Question-9] pɪnɖi ɪčo ɪs rʌŋg
and arrived Rawalpindi arrived * Rawalpindi in this color
Rawalpindi. [Question-9] In Rawalpindi some men were walking,

21. koč ɑdmi čʌlʌn šʌm nɑ tɑim huyʌ us wʌkʌt ute me koč
some men went evening ? time was that time there I some
and it was evening time. I ate some

22. pɪkoɾe te koč roṭi lɪkɪ kʌdi [Question-10]
pikora and some bread got-having ate *
pakora and bread there. [Question-10]

Questions for Wad Pagga Story
(English Translations)

1. What class was he in?
2. What did his father do?
3. Who did he fight with?
4. How much money did he have in his pocket?
5. Who did not come there?
6. What did he think to do?
7. Why did he not get down at Taru Jabe?
8. Why was he not able to return?
9. What time was it in Rawalpindi?
10. What did he do at this time?

**Appendix B.3**

# Hindko Survey Questionnaire

**(English Translations)**

***Travel Questions***

1. Where have you lived or traveled outside this village?
   1. Karachi 2. Lahore 3. Islamabad 4. Rawalpindi
   5. Peshawar 6. Mansehra 7. Abbottabad
   8. Elsewhere (specific places)
2. How long did you stay there? (for each place)
   1. Less than one week
   2. one to two weeks
   3. from two weeks to one month
   4. from one to three months
   5. from three to six months
   6. more than six months (specify amount of time)
3. How many times did you travel to that place?
   1. Less than five times
   2. Five to ten times
   3. Ten to twenty times
   4. More than twenty times

***Language Use Questions***

4. What language do you most often speak when you are speaking in your home to your family?
5. What language do you most often speak when you are speaking to Pashtospeaking people?
   6. Urdu-speaking 7. Panjabi-speaking

8. Gojri -speaking 9. Hindko-speaking

***Mass Media Questions***

10. In your home do you have a radio? Television?
11. What language do you usually (most often) listen to on the radio?

***Language Viability Questions***

12. When will Hindko be finished and not spoken by this village? How many more years? What language is going to finish and replace Hindko?

***Language Attitude Questions***

13. Would you want your son to marry an *Urdu*-speaking girl? Why or why not?
    14. *Pashto*-speaking 15. *Panjabi*-speaking
    16. Gojri -speaking

***Language Value Questions***

17. In what ways is it an advantage or benefit to know and speak *Hindko*?
    18. *Urdu* 19. *Pashto* 20. *Panjabi* 21. Gojri
22. Would you like to have newspapers or books to read in the Hindko language? Why or why not?
23. Should Hindko-speaking children be taught to read and write in Hindko? Why or why not?

**APPENDIX C**

# GUJJARI SURVEY DATA

**Appendix C.1**

## Gujjari Word Lists

*Location Code, Location, Village, Reliability Code*

KUN Kunar Province, Afghanistan, Batash, C
CHT Chitral, Shishi Koh Valley, A
DIR Dir, Shitak (near Sheringal), B
SSW Settled Swat, Peshmal, A
TSW Transhumant Swat, Ragushu, B
GLT Gilgit, Naltar Bala, A
KGH Kaghan, Mittikot, A
SHZ Southern Hazara, Tarchatti / Choigari, B
NAK Northern Pak occopied Kashmir, SubRi, A
CAK Central Pak occopied Kashmir, Trarkhel, A
SAK Southern Pak occopied Kashmir, Kotli, C
GJW Gujranwala immigrants (from Agra area, India), B
IND Mendhar, Poonch District, Indian-Side of Jammu and Kashmir (Sharma 1979, 1982), B

| | 1. body | 2. head | 3. hair |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | wʌǰud | ser | baṛ |
| CHT | ǰɪn | sʌr | ba |
| DIR | wʌjud | ser | ba |
| SSW | bʌdʌn / wʌǰud | ser | ba |
| TSW | wʌǰud | ser / sɪr | baṛ |
| GLT | ǰɪn | sɛr | baṛ |
| KGH | ǰuso / ǰɪsʌm | ser | baṛ |
| SHZ | ǰusa / ǰuso | sɛr | bal |
| NAK | ǰusõ | sɛr | bal |
| CAK | bʌdʌn | sɪr | bal |
| SAK | ǰusa | sɪr | bal |
| GJW | gat$^{h}$ | sʌr | bal |
| IND | wʌjud | sɪr | baḷ |

| | 4. face | 5. eye | 6. ear |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| CHT | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| DIR | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| SSW | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| TSW | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| GLT | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| KGH | mũ | ʌkʰ / ɑkʰ | kʌŋ |
| SHZ | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| NAK | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| CAK | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌɳ |
| SAK | mũ | ʌkʰ | kʌn |
| GJW | ɕɛre | ɑ̃kʰ | kɑn |
| IND | --- | ʌkʰ | ken |

| | 7. nose | 8. mouth | 9. teeth |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | nɑs | mũ | dʌnd |
| CHT | nɑs / nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| DIR | nɑs | mũ | dʌnd |
| SSW | nɑs | mũ | dʌntʰ |
| TSW | nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| GLT | nɑs | mũ | dʌnd |
| KGH | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʌnd |
| SHZ | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʌnd |
| NAK | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʌndʰ |
| CAK | nʌkʰ | mũ | dʌndʰ |
| SAK | nʌk | mũ | dʌnd |
| GJW | nɑkʰ | mũ | dɑ̃nt |
| IND | nʌk | --- | dʌnd |

| | 10. tongue | 11. breast | 12. belly |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | jib | sino | ɖɪɖ |
| CHT | jib | sino | pɛʈ / ɖɪɖ |
| DIR | jib | sino | ɖʰɪɖ |
| SSW | jib | sino | ɖɪɖʰ |
| TSW | jib | --- | ɖɪɖʰ |
| GLT | jib | sinʳʌ | ɖɛɖ / ɖʰɛɖ |
| KGH | jib | sinʳʌ | ɖɪɖ / ʈɪɖʰ |
| SHZ | jib | sinʌ | ʈɛɖ |
| NAK | jib | sino | ʈɛɖʰ |
| CAK | jiv / jiβ | ɕɑti | peʈʰ |
| SAK | jiv | --- | peʈ |
| GJW | jib | ɕʌti | pɛʈʰ |
| IND | zʌbɑn | sɪno | peʈ |

| | 13. arm | 14. elbow | 15. palm |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bā | quṇi | ṭʌḍi |
| CHT | bā | quṇi | ṭʌi |
| DIR | bʌ | quṇi | toi |
| SSW | bā | kun | ṭʰɑi |
| TSW | bā | kuni | ṭʰoṛi / tʌi |
| GLT | bā | kuṇi | tʌṛi |
| KGH | bā | kuṇi / kuṇi | tʌli |
| SHZ | bā | kuni / kuṇi | tʌli |
| NAK | bā | kuni | tʌli |
| CAK | bā | kuni | tʌli |
| SAK | bā | kuni | hʌtʰ |
| GJW | bā | quṇi | tɛli |
| IND | bā | — | — |

| | 16. finger | 17. fingernail | 18. leg |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ʌŋgʌri | nū | pɛr |
| CHT | ʌŋgʌri | nū | tʌŋg |
| DIR | ʌŋgʌri | nū | pɛr |
| SSW | ʌŋgi | nū | ṭʰʌŋg |
| TSW | ʌŋgri | nū | ṭʌŋg / tʰʌŋg |
| GLT | ʌŋgṛi | nū | tʌŋg |
| KGH | ʌŋgli / ʌŋgṛi | nū / nō | čʌŋg / ṭʌŋg |
| SHZ | ʌŋgli / ʌŋgol | nō | ṭʌŋg |
| NAK | ʌŋgli | nū | pɛr |
| CAK | ʌŋgʌli | nū | j̆ʌŋg |
| SAK | ʌŋgli | nu | j̆ʌŋg / pɛr |
| GJW | ʌŋgḷi | nū | pā |
| IND | ɑŋgḷi | — | ṭʌŋg |

| | 19. skin | 20. bone | 21. heart |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | čʌmṛi | hʌḍi | dɪḷ |
| CHT | čʌmṛi | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| DIR | čʌmṛi | hʌḍi | dɪḷ |
| SSW | čʌm | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| TSW | čʌm / čʌmṛi | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| GLT | čʌm | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| KGH | čʌmrʌ | hʌḍ·i | dɪl |
| SHZ | čʌmṛi / čʌmbʌrɑ | hʌḍi / hʌḍ·i | dɪl |
| NAK | t͡ɕʌmbri | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| CAK | čʌmbṛi / čʌmbṛʌ | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| SAK | kʌl | hʌḍi / hʌḍ | dɪl |
| GJW | kʰɑl | hʌḍi | dɪl |
| IND | čʌmṛi / kʰʌl | ʌḍ·i | dɪl |

| | 22. blood | 23. urine | 24. feces |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | rʌt | sʌkɳo mūt | bʌrio mut |
| CHT | rʌt | niko mūtʌr | gū / bʌra mutʌr |
| DIR | rʌt | sʌkɳo mut | bʌra mutʌr |
| SSW | rʌtʰ | mūt | gū |
| TSW | rʌtʰ | mut | gu / gʌɳ |
| GLT | rʌt | mut | gū |
| KGH | rʌtʰ | mutʰ / mutʌr | gū |
| SHZ | ḷo / rʌt | mutʌr | aẑrt |
| NAK | ḷo | mutʌr | gū |
| CAK | rʌt | mutʌr / mut | tʌti |
| SAK | xun / lʌo | mutʌr | ṭʌṭi / gū |
| GJW | ḷou | mūtʰ | — |
| IND | rʌt | mut | — |

| | 25. village | 26. house | 27. roof |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | gɪrā | dɛro | bʌṛi |
| CHT | gʌrā | dɛro | koṭa |
| DIR | gɪrā | dɛro | čʌt |
| SSW | gɪra | dɛro | čʌtʰ |
| TSW | gɪrā | dɛro | čʌtʰ / čʌt |
| GLT | gɪrā | koṭo / dɛro | tʌl |
| KGH | gʌrā | dɛro | koṭa |
| SHZ | gɪrā | kaˑr / dɛro | čʌtʰ / čʌt |
| NAK | gɪrā | koṭo | čʌt |
| CAK | gɪrā | kʌr | čʌt |
| SAK | gɪrā | kaˑr / gʌr | čʌt |
| GJW | gam | gʰʌr | čʌtʰ |
| IND | grā | kʌr | — |

| | 28. door | 29. firewood | 30. broom |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bū | ḷʌkṛi | bʰaṛi |
| CHT | buo | ḷʌkṛi | bʰaṛi |
| DIR | buo / bʰuo | ḷʌkṛi | bʰaṛi |
| SSW | buo | lʌkṛi | bʰaṛi |
| TSW | buo | lʌkṛi | bʰaṛi / baṛi |
| GLT | bu | lʌkri | bʰari |
| KGH | buʌ / bʰuʌ | ḷʌkṛi | bʰari / baṛi |
| SHZ | dʌrwazo / bʰuo | lʌkṛi | bʰari |
| NAK | buo | lʌkṛi | bʰari |
| CAK | dʌrwaza / pitʰ | lʌkṛi | bʰari |
| SAK | dʌr / petʰ | lʌkṛi | bʰari |
| GJW | dʰʌr | ɪndʌn | sun |
| IND | pɪt | — | — |

| | 31. mortar | 32. pestle | 33. hammer |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ɪndoḷ | dʌbʌle | sʌtkiu |
| CHT | — | čʌṭu / lʌkṛi | sʌtʌkio |
| DIR | ukʰṛi | musʌṛi | sʌtʌkio |
| SSW | lʌŋgre | aṭʰ·o | maṭoṛ |
| TSW | lʌŋgre | aṭʰ·o / dʌbʌle | maṭoṛ / maṭʰoṛ |
| GLT | hodoṛo | bato | hʌṭoṛo |
| KGH | čʌṭu | ḷoḍi | maltroṛ |
| SHZ | lʌŋgri / čʌtu | molo | ʌṭʰoṛo |
| NAK | čɪtu | mulo | tʰoṛi |
| CAK | lʌŋgri | musli / čɛtu | ʰʌtoṛa |
| SAK | lʌŋgri | čɛtu | tʰoṛa |
| GJW | so·ṭa | kunḍi | aṭoṛʌ |
| IND | — | musli | ʌṭʰoṛo / ʌṭʰoṛi |

| | 34. knife | 35. axe | 36. rope |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | čaku | guarḍi | rʌsi |
| CHT | čaku | guarḍi | seli |
| DIR | čaku | guarḍi | rʌsi |
| SSW | čaku | guaḍi | rʌsi |
| TSW | čaku | guaḍi | rʌsi / seli |
| GLT | čaku | guaḍi | sɛli |
| KGH | kaču / čʰuri | kuaṛi | rʌsi |
| SHZ | ka·ču | kuaṛi / kuari | rʌs·i |
| NAK | kaču | kuaṛi | rʌsi |
| CAK | čaku | kʌwaṛi | rʌ·si |
| SAK | čʌku | kuaṛi | rʌsi |
| GJW | čʌku | kʰuarḍa | joṛi |
| IND | čakũ | — | rʌs·i |

| | 37. thread | 38. needle | 39. cloth |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | dʰago | sui | čɪdʌ |
| CHT | dʰaga | sui | čɪdʌ / kʌpɪʌ |
| DIR | dʰago | sui | čɪdʌ |
| SSW | dago | sui | čida |
| TSW | dʰaga | sui | čɪḍa |
| GLT | dʰaga | sui | čɪɪa |
| KGH | tʰaga / ta·go | sui | kʌpɪʌ / kʌpɪo |
| SHZ | tago / ta·go | sui | kʌpɪo |
| NAK | sutʌr | sui | kʌpro |
| CAK | dago | sũi | kʌpɪo |
| SAK | taga / tago | sui | kʌpɪo |
| GJW | tʰaga | sui | kʌprai |
| IND | tago | — | kʌpɪo |

| | 40. ring | 41. sun | 42. moon |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ʌŋguṭʰi | dī | čʌn |
| CHT | ʌŋguṭʰi | dī | čʌn |
| DIR | ʌŋguṭʰi | dī | čʌn |
| SSW | ʌŋgutʰi | di | čʌn |
| TSW | ʌŋguṭʰi / ɑŋguṭʰi | dī | čʌn |
| GLT | ʌŋguṭʰi | dī | čʌn |
| KGH | ʌŋguṭʰi | dī | čʌn |
| SHZ | mūndri | dē / diō | čʌn / čʌnd |
| NAK | ʌŋgutʰi | dī | čʌn |
| CAK | čɑ·p | dī· | čʌn |
| SAK | čɑ·p | dē | čʌn |
| GJW | guṇṭi | surʌž | čan |
| IND | čʰap | — | čʌn |

| | 43. sky | 44. star | 45. rain |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ʌsmaṇ | tara | mī |
| CHT | ʌsman | tara | barto |
| DIR | ʌsmɑ·ṇ | tara | bʌrto |
| SSW | ʌsman | tarʌ | mi bʌre |
| TSW | ʌsman | tarʌ | mi bʌre / mī |
| GLT | ʌsmaṇ | tara | barto |
| KGH | ʌsmʌn / ʌsmaṇ | tara | bʌdʌl |
| SHZ | ʌsman | taro | bʌdul / badul |
| NAK | ʌsman | taro | bʌdʌl |
| CAK | asman | taro | badʌl |
| SAK | sman | taro | bʌdɪl |
| GJW | ambʌṛ | tarʌ | mī |
| IND | — | taro | bəd·əḷ |

| | 46. water | 47. river | 48. cloud |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | paṇi | sɪn | jaṛ |
| CHT | paṇi | sɪn / nʌdi | jaṛ |
| DIR | paṇi | sɪn | jaṛ |
| SSW | pani | nʌdi | jaṛʌ |
| TSW | paṇi | dʌriab / sɪn | jaṛʌ / jʰaṛ |
| GLT | paṇi | nʌdi | jʰaṛ |
| KGH | paṇi | dʌria | čaṛ |
| SHZ | paṇi | sɪn / dʌria | čaṛ |
| NAK | paṇi | dʌria | čaṛ |
| CAK | paṇi | dʌria | bʌdʌl / čaṛ |
| SAK | pani | dʌria | bʌdɪl / čaṛ |
| GJW | pani | nʌdi | badʌl |
| IND | paṇi | dʌrya | čʌṛ |

| | 49. lightning | 50. rainbow | 51. wind |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʌrɛx | pim | ǰʌkʌr̥ |
| CHT | lʌskoɳ | pīm | ǰʌkʌr̥ |
| DIR | bʌrɛx / lʌskʌɳ | pim | ǰʌkʌr̥ |
| SSW | lʌsᵊke | pī | ǰʌkʌr̥ʌ |
| TSW | lʌske / lʌskʌɳ | pi / pim | ǰʌkor̥ / ǰʰʌkʌr̥ |
| GLT | lʌske | pim / piŋg | ǰʌkʌr̥ |
| KGH | bijli | pī / pīŋ | čʌṭi |
| SHZ | bižɪli | bʊḍi ki piŋg | čʌkor̥ |
| NAK | čʌrʌk ʌɲāi | tʌɳū | čʌŋg |
| CAK | bijɪli čʌmʌki | piŋg | hʌwa / čakʌr̥ |
| SAK | bijɪli | piŋg | hʌwa |
| GJW | — | tiṛ kʌmʌɳ | hʌwa |
| IND | bɪjli | — | hʌwa |

| | 52. stone | 53. path | 54. sand |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | pʌr̥ / gʌṭi | ra | rɛt |
| CHT | gʌṭi | ra | rɛtʰ |
| DIR | gʌṭi | ra | rɛt |
| SSW | gʌtʰi | ra | r̥ɛtʰ |
| TSW | gʌṭi | ra | r̥ɛtʰ / retʰ |
| GLT | gʌṭi | ra | rɛt |
| KGH | par̥ / bʌṭa | ra | rɛtʰ |
| SHZ | bʌṭo | ra | rɛtʰ |
| NAK | bʌṭo | ra | rɛtʰ |
| CAK | pʌtʰʌr / gɪṭi / bʌto | ra / rasto | rɛtʰ |
| SAK | pʌtʰʌr | ra | — |
| GJW | pʌtʌr | ra | rɛti |
| IND | pʌtᵊʰʌr / gəṭᵊi | — | ret |

| | 55. fire | 56. smoke | 57. ash |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ʌgʰ | dūā / dʰū | sahgo |
| CHT | ʌg | dʰū | sahgo |
| DIR | ʌg | dʰū | suago |
| SSW | ʌg | dʰū | sago |
| TSW | ʌg | dʰuā / dʰū | sago |
| GLT | ʌg | dʰū | sago / saga |
| KGH | ʌgʰ | tūā / tʰuō | čai |
| SHZ | ʌg / ʌgʰ | tʰūō | čai |
| NAK | ʌgʰ | tʰūō | swago / čai |
| CAK | ʌg | tūā | sʌji |
| SAK | ʌg | tūā | sʌji |
| GJW | ag | dʰuma | rakʰ |
| IND | ʌg | tūo | — |

| | 58. mud | 59. dust | 60. gold |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | hʌṭu | dʰuṛ | rʌto zʌr |
| CHT | čɪqʌro | dʰuṛ | rʌto zʌr |
| DIR | xʌṭio | dʰuṛ | rʌto zʌr |
| SSW | kʌtia | dʰuṛ | rʌto zʌra |
| TSW | kʌtia / čɪkuṛo | ḍuṛ / mɪṭʰ·i | rʌto zʌra / rʌto zʌr |
| GLT | čʌkʌṛo | dʰuṛ / mɪṭʰi | zʌr |
| KGH | gʰʌṛa / čɪkuṛ | mɪṭ·i | soɲʌ |
| SHZ | čɪkʌṛ / čɪkoro | tu·ṛ / mɪtʰi | sonō |
| NAK | garo | dʰuṛ | sonō |
| CAK | garo | tū·ṛ / dudʌr | sono |
| SAK | čɪkʌṛ | tu·ṛ | sono |
| GJW | gʰaṛa | mʌṭʰi | sonai |
| IND | — | — | — |

| | 61. tree | 62. leaf | 63. root |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | rukʰ | pʌṭʌṛ | jʌṛ |
| CHT | rukʰ | pʌṭʌṛ | jʌṛ |
| DIR | rukʰ | pʌṭʌr | jʌṛ |
| SSW | rukʰ | pʌtʌṛ | jʌṛ |
| TSW | rukʰ | pʌtʌr | jʌṛ |
| GLT | ruk | pʌtʌr | jʌṛ |
| KGH | buṭa | pʌtor | jʌṛ |
| SHZ | būṭō / buṭo | pʌṭor / pʌtʌr | jʌṛ |
| NAK | būṭō | pʌtʌr | jʌṛ |
| CAK | buto | pʌtʌr / pʌto | jʌṛ |
| SAK | buṭa | pʌtʌr | jʌṛ |
| GJW | rukʰ | pʌṭʌ | jʌṛi |
| IND | buṭ·o / dʌrʌxt | pʌt·ʌr | — |

| | 64. thorn | 65. flower | 66. fruit |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | kʌṇḍu | pʰul | meo |
| CHT | kɪnḍʌ | pʰul | mewa |
| DIR | kʌṇḍo | pʰul | meo |
| SSW | kʌṇḍo | pʰul | mia |
| TSW | kʌṇḍo | pʰuṛ | meo / mia |
| GLT | kʌṇḍo / kʌṇḍa | pʰul | mewo / mewa |
| KGH | qʌṇḍo / qʌṇḍa | pʰuḷ | mɛwa / pʰʌṛ |
| SHZ | kʌṇḍo | pʰul | pʰʌl |
| NAK | kʌṇḍo | pʰul | mɛwo |
| CAK | kʌṇḍo | pʰul | pʰʌl |
| SAK | kʌṇḍo | pʰul | mewo |
| GJW | kaṇṭa | pʰul | pʰʌḷ |
| IND | — | pʰul | mewo |

| | 67. mango | 68. banana | 69. wheat (husked) |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | — | kele | kʌɳʌk |
| CHT | ɑm | kelʌ | kʌɳʌkʰ |
| DIR | ɑm | kelʌ | kʌɳʌk |
| SSW | ɑ·m | kelɑ | kʌɳʌkʰ |
| TSW | ɑ·m / ʌm | kelɑ | kʌɳʌkʰ |
| GLT | ʌm | kelɑ | kʌɳʌk |
| KGH | ʌm | kelo / keḷo | qʌnq / qɑnʌq |
| SHZ | ʌm | kelo | kʌɳokʰ |
| NAK | ʌmb | kelo | kʌɳʌk |
| CAK | ʌm | kelo | kʌɳʌk |
| SAK | ʌm / ʌmb | kelo | kʌɳk |
| GJW | ɑ·mbi | kɛlɑ | gɛhū |
| IND | ʌm | kelo | kʌɳk |

| | 70. millet (husked) | 71. rice (husked) | 72. potato |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | jūō | čauḷ | aḷu |
| CHT | — | čao | aḷu |
| DIR | jūō | čauḷ | aḷu |
| SSW | bɑjrɑ | čao | alu |
| TSW | bɑjrɑ | čawʌɾ | alu |
| GLT | — | čawʌɾ | alu |
| KGH | bɑjro | čaul / čauḷ | alu |
| SHZ | bɑjro | čowʌl | alu |
| NAK | bɑjro | čawʌl | aḷu |
| CAK | bɑjro | čavʌl | alu |
| SAK | mʌk | čawʌl | alu |
| GJW | bɑjʌrɑ | čao | aḷu |
| IND | bɑjro | čawəḷ | alu |

| | 73. eggplant | 74. groundnut | 75. chili |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʌnjiā | jan woze | mʌrčʌ kiu |
| CHT | bɑtɪŋgʌɾ | bum pʌli | mɪrči kiyɑ |
| DIR | — | mum pʰʌli | mʌrči kio |
| SSW | bɛŋgʌɳ | mū pʰʌli | mɪrč |
| TSW | — | mū pʰʌli | mɪrč |
| GLT | — | mū pʰʌli | mɛrɪč |
| KGH | čɛŋgʌɳ | mūŋg pʰʌḷi / pʰʌli | mʌrč |
| SHZ | bɛŋuɳ | muŋ pʰʌli | mɑrʌč |
| NAK | bɛŋʌn | mū pʰʌli | mʌrč |
| CAK | begʌn / pʌṭʰɑ | muŋ pʰʌli | mʌrči |
| SAK | begʌn | mu pʰʌli | mʌrč / mɪrč / mʌrči |
| GJW | — | mū pʌli | mirč |
| IND | pʌtʰ·o | — | mʌrč |

| | 76. turmeric | 77. garlic | 78. onion |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | hʌrd | tʰum | piaj̈ |
| CHT | hʌrt | tʰum | piaj̈ |
| DIR | had | tʰum | piaj̈ |
| SSW | haːd | tʰum | piaj̈ |
| TSW | hʌlḍ | tʰum | piaj̈ |
| GLT | harḍ | tʰūm | kʌšu |
| KGH | hald / ledul | tʰum | piajʌ |
| SHZ | hʌrdul | tʰūm / tʰū | piaz |
| NAK | ʌldi | tʰum | piaz |
| CAK | ʰʌldi | tʰum | piaz |
| SAK | hʌldi | tʰum | piaz |
| GJW | hʌldi | lʌsʌn | gʌnṭʌ |
| IND | — | tʰum | gʌṇḍo |

| | 79. cauliflower | 80. tomato | 81. cabbage |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | gopi | batiŋgʌr̤ | — |
| CHT | gopi | batiŋgʌr̤ | gopi |
| DIR | gopio | ṭʌmaṭʌr̤ | gopio |
| SSW | pʰul gopi | ṭʌmaṭʌr | bʌnd gupi |
| TSW | pʰul gopi | badigʌn / batigʌn | bʌnd gopi |
| GLT | pʰul gobi | balugʌn | bʌnd gobi |
| KGH | pʰul gopi / gobi | ṭʌmaṭʌr̤ | bʌnd gobi |
| SHZ | pʰul gobi | ṭumaṭʌr / čɛŋuṛ | bʌnd gobi / gobi |
| NAK | gobi | čeŋʌn | gobi |
| CAK | pʰul gobi | čegʌn / čẽŋʌn | bʌnd gobi |
| SAK | — | čegun | — |
| GJW | gobi | ṭʌmaṭʌr̤ | bʌnd gobi |
| IND | — | čeŋgʌṇ | gobi |

| | 82. oil | 83. salt | 84. meat |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | tɛl | l̤uṇ | mas |
| CHT | tɛl | l̤uṇ | mas |
| DIR | tɛl | l̤uṇ | mas |
| SSW | tɛl | l̤uṇ | maːs |
| TSW | tɛl | l̤uṇ | maːs / mas |
| GLT | tɛl | l̤uṇ | mas |
| KGH | tɛl | l̤uṇ | mas |
| SHZ | tɛl | l̤uṇ | maːs / mas |
| NAK | tɛl | l̤uṇ | maːs |
| CAK | tɛl | l̤un | maːs |
| SAK | tel | lun | maːs |
| GJW | tɛl | nūn | mas |
| IND | tel | luṇ | — |

| | 85. fat | 86. fish | 87. chicken |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | mīnj̃ | mʌčï | kukuṛi |
| CHT | mīnj̃ | mʌčï | kukuṛi |
| DIR | mīnj̃ | mʌčï | ququṛi |
| SSW | minj̃ | mʌčʰi | kokoṛ / qoqoṛ |
| TSW | minj̃ | mʌčʰi | kukṛi |
| GLT | mīj̃ | mʌčï | kukṛi |
| KGH | minj̃ | mʌčï | kukṛi |
| SHZ | čʌrbi / mīnj̃ | mʌčï | kukṛi |
| NAK | čʌrbi | mʌčï | kukṛi |
| CAK | čɛrbi | mʌčʰi | kukṛi |
| SAK | čɛrbi / čɛrvi | mʌčï | kukṛi |
| GJW | čʌkʌnai | mʌčʰi | murgi |
| IND | — | mʌčʰ'i | kukṛi |

| | 88. egg | 89. cow | 90. buffalo |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ʌnṭʌḷo | gā | mʰɛs |
| CHT | ʌnṭʌḷa | gā | mɛs |
| DIR | ʌnṭḷo | gā | mʰɛs |
| SSW | ʌnṭʌla | gā | mɛs |
| TSW | ʌnṭʌla / ʌṭṇo | gā | mɛs / mʰɛs |
| GLT | ʌṇṭlā / ʌnṭʌṛo | gā | mʰɛs |
| KGH | ʌnṭʌḍo | gā | mɛs |
| SHZ | ʌṭṛo / ʌṇḍʌro | gā | mɛ's |
| NAK | ʌnṭṛo | gā | mɛ's |
| CAK | ʌnṭo / ʌnḍo / ʌnṭro | gā | mɛ's |
| SAK | ʌṇṭo | gā | mɛ's / mʌnj̃ |
| GJW | ʌṇḍai | gā | mɛs |
| IND | āṭṛo | gā | mes / mas |

| | 91. milk | 92. horns | 93. tail |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | dud | siŋg | lʌqʌi |
| CHT | dutʰ | siŋg | pučʌṛi |
| DIR | dud | siŋg | pučɪṛi |
| SSW | ḍudʰ | seŋg | pušɪṛi |
| TSW | dutʰ / dud | seŋg / siŋg | pušɪṛi / lʌqai |
| GLT | dud | sɪŋg | pučoṛ / pučʌṛi |
| KGH | dud | siŋ / sɛŋg | ḍumʌṛ |
| SHZ | dʰudʰ | sɪŋkʰ | pʰučʌl |
| NAK | dudʰ | sɪŋg | ḍumʌṛ |
| CAK | dud | siŋg | čufʌṛ / pučʌṛ |
| SAK | dud | siŋg | čuhʌṛ |
| GJW | ḍudʰ | siŋg | pač |
| IND | dud | sīg | — |

| | 94. goat | 95. dog | 96. snake |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʌkri | kuto | sʌp |
| CHT | bʌkri | kuto | sʌp |
| DIR | bʌkri | kuto | sʌpʰ |
| SSW | bʌkri | kotˈɑ | sʌpʰ |
| TSW | bʌkri | koto | sʌpʰ |
| GLT | bʌkri | kuto | sʌpʰ |
| KGH | bʌkri | kuto | sʌpʰ |
| SHZ | bʌkri | kutˈo / kuto | sʌpʰ |
| NAK | bʌkri | kutˈo | sʌpʰ |
| CAK | bʌkɽi | kuto | sʌp |
| SAK | bʌkri | kuto | sʌp |
| GJW | bʌkri | kutʌ | sɑ̃pʰ |
| IND | bʌkɽi | kuɽˈo | sʌp |

| | 97. monkey | 98. mosquito | 99. ant |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʰuǰʊno | mʌčʌɾ | piɽo |
| CHT | buǰʊno | mʌčʌr | pi |
| DIR | bʰuǰʊɳo | mʌčʌr | pe |
| SSW | būǰno | mʌčˈʌr | pi |
| TSW | buiǰno / buǰɳo | mʌčʌr | pī / pɛɽɑ |
| GLT | buǰʊnō | mʌčʌr | piɽɪ |
| KGH | buǰno | mʌčoɽ / mʌčʌr | piɽi / piɽɑ |
| SHZ | biǰno / bʰɑndor | mʌčˈʌr / mʌčʌr | pʰɛlo / pʰɛli |
| NAK | buǰʌno | mʌčʌr | pili |
| CAK | bɑndʌr / buǰo | mʌčʌr | pili / kiɽi |
| SAK | buǰo | mʌčʌr | pili |
| GJW | bʌndʌr | mʌčʌr | qɪɽi |
| IND | --- | --- | --- |

| | 100. spider | 101. name | 102. man |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ǰolɑ | nā | ǰʌno |
| CHT | ǰolɑ | nɑ / nā | ǰʌno / ɑdmi |
| DIR | ǰʌlɑ / ǰolɑ | nā | ǰʌɳo |
| SSW | ǰolɑ | nɑ | ǰʌɳo / ɑdmi |
| TSW | ǰolɑ | nɑ | ǰʌɳɑ / ɑdmi |
| GLT | ǰulɑ | nā | ǰʌno / ɑdmi |
| KGH | bʌbiʌ / bʌbʰuʌ | nɑ / nā | ɑdmi |
| SHZ | bʌboɑ / mʌkri | nɑ | ǰʌno / bʰʌndo |
| NAK | bʌbuo | nā | ǰʌɳō / ɑdmi |
| CAK | bʌbuo | nā | bʌndo / ʌdmi |
| SAK | bʌbuɑ | nɑ | bʌndo |
| GJW | mʌkri | nā | mɑɳos |
| IND | --- | --- | ɑdmi |

| | 103. woman | 104. child | 105. father |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | trɛm | ǰatʌk | bap |
| CHT | trɛm | ǰatʌk | bapʰ |
| DIR | trɛm | ǰakʌt / ǰatʌk | bapʰ |
| SSW | diaṇi | ǰakʌt | bap |
| TSW | diaṇi | — | bap |
| GLT | trɛm | ǰatek | bap |
| KGH | diaṛi / buḍi / bedki | ǰatʌkʰ / bʌčo | bapʰ |
| SHZ | trimutʰ | ǰakutʰ / ǰatuk | bapʰ |
| NAK | bɛṭki | ǰatʌk | bap |
| CAK | kuṛi / bɛṭki | bʌčo | bap / pio |
| SAK | kuṛi | bʌčo | bap |
| GJW | biṛ | ǰatʌk | bap |
| IND | kʊri | ǰatʌk / bʌčˑo | babo |

| | 106. mother | 107. older brother | 108. younger brother |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | mā | bʌɾo bʰai | nʌndo bʰai |
| CHT | ma | bʌɾo bʰai | nɪko bʰai |
| DIR | mā | bʌɾo bʰai | nʌndo bʰai |
| SSW | ma | bʌɾo bʰai | nʌnḍo bʰai |
| TSW | ma | bʌɾo bʰai | nʌnḍo bʰai |
| GLT | mā | bʌɾo bʰai | ɳʌɳḍʌ / nɪko bʰai |
| KGH | mā / ʌma | bʌɾo bʰai | nɪko bʰai |
| SHZ | ma | bʌɾo pʰɪra | nɪko pʰɪra |
| NAK | ʌma | bʌɾo pʰai | nɪko pʰai |
| CAK | mā / ʌma | bʌɾo bʰai / lala | bʰai / niko pira |
| SAK | ʌma | lala | pɪra / nɪko pʰai |
| GJW | ma | bʰai | bʰai |
| IND | mā | pai | pai |

| | 109. older sister | 110. younger sister | 111. son |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʌɾi bɪn | nʌndi bɪn | putʰ |
| CHT | bʌɾi bɪn | nɪki bɪn | putʰ |
| DIR | bʌɾi bɪɳ | nʌndi bɪɳ | put |
| SSW | bʌɾi bɪn | nʌnḍi bɪɳ | puṭ / luɾo |
| TSW | bʌɾi bɪɳ | nʌnḍi bɪn | puṭʰ |
| GLT | bʌɾi bɪn | ɳʌɳḍi bʰɛˑn / nɪki bɪn | put / luɾo |
| KGH | bʌɾi bɪɳ | nɪki bɪɳ | luɾo |
| SHZ | bʌɾi pɛɳ | nɪki pɛˑɳ | putˑor |
| NAK | bʌɾi bɪɳ / dɪdi | nɪki bɪɳ | bʌčo |
| CAK | bʌɾi bɛn | bɛn / nɪki pɛˑn | bʌčo / putʌr |
| SAK | boi / bevi | pɛɪn | bʌčo / putʌr |
| GJW | bʌharɳ | bɪɳ | puˑtʰ |
| IND | ɪdˑi | bɛɳ | put |

| | 112. daughter | 113. husband | 114. wife |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | dʰi | xʌsʌm | trɛm |
| CHT | dʰi | jʌɳo | trɛm |
| DIR | dʰi | xʌsʌm | trɛm |
| SSW | dʰiˑ / bɛɖki | xʌsɪm / jʌɳo | dʰiani / bibi |
| TSW | dʰiˑ | xʌsɪm | trɪm / dʰiaɳi |
| GLT | di / bɛdki | hʌsʌm / jʌɳo | trɛm |
| KGH | bɛɖki | jʌno / jʌɳa | trimʌtʰ / zʌnani |
| SHZ | tiˑ | jʌno | trimutʰ |
| NAK | tiˑ | karalo | karali |
| CAK | tiˑ | xabʌnd / kʌsʌm | tʌbri |
| SAK | kuɾi | xʌsʌm / kʌsʌm | bivi |
| GJW | dʰi | malʌkʰ | bʌhu |
| IND | ti / kuɾi | — | ʈʌbri |

| | 115. boy | 116. girl | 117. day |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ɭuɽo | bɛɖki | diaɾi |
| CHT | ɭuro | bɛɖki | diaɾi / dī |
| DIR | ɭuɽo | bɛɖki | dʰiaɾi |
| SSW | luɽo | bɛɖki | di |
| TSW | luɽo | bɛɖki | di |
| GLT | ɭuɽo | bɛdki | diaɾi / dī |
| KGH | luɽo / jatʌk | bɛɖki | tiaɾi / diaɾi |
| SHZ | nʌnɖo | kuɖi | tɛro / dɛɽo |
| NAK | gʌdro / nɪko | gʌdri | tiaɽo |
| CAK | gɛro/mundo / gedro | kuɾi / gɛdri | dɪn / teaɾo |
| SAK | gɛro / mundo | kuɾi | teaɽo |
| GJW | ɭoɳɖʌ | ɭoɳɖi | dɪn |
| IND | gero | geri / kuɾi | tɛrɛ |

| | 118. night | 119. morning | 120. noon |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | rat | nuabro | dupaɾ |
| CHT | ratʰ | nabo | dopaɾ |
| DIR | rat | nuabo / nabo | dupaɾ |
| SSW | ratʰ | nuabe | dopʰar |
| TSW | ratʰ | nuabo / nabo | dopʰar |
| GLT | rat | mɛdre | dupʰɛr / dopar |
| KGH | ʌratʰ | subʌ | doper |
| SHZ | ratʰ | fʌzor | dopar |
| NAK | ratʰ | subo | dopar |
| CAK | ratʰ | nɪki lo / swɛrɛ | dʌpɛr |
| SAK | rat | loˑ | kʌlyarā wele |
| GJW | ratʰ | ʈʌɾʌqa | dʌpɛɽʌ |
| IND | rat | səbeɭɛ | — |

| | 121. evening | 122. yesterday | 123. today |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | nūasa | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| CHT | nasā | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| DIR | nuasa / nāso | kʌl | aj̆ |
| SSW | nāsā | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| TSW | numašʌ | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| GLT | numāša | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| KGH | numašʌ | kʌl | aj̆ |
| SHZ | numašā | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| NAK | numāša | kʌl | ʌj̆ |
| CAK | šam | kʌl | aj̆ / ʌj̆ |
| SAK | nɛro | kʌl | aj̆ |
| GJW | sanj̆ | kʌl | aj̆ |
| IND | nʌmasyā | kʌl | ʌj̆ |

| | 124. tomorrow | 125. week | 126. month |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | kudī | sʌt di | čʌn |
| CHT | kʌl / bʌṛk | hʌftʌ / sʌt di | čʌn |
| DIR | dinʌ | hʌfto | čʌn |
| SSW | dɪnʌ | hʌfto | mainʌ / čʌn |
| TSW | dɪnʌ | hʌfto | čʌn |
| GLT | dɪna | hʌfta / sʌt di | čʌn |
| KGH | dɪnʌ / kʌl | hʌfto | minō |
| SHZ | dɪnʌ | hʌfto / ɑṭʰ tera | māino |
| NAK | dinʌ | ʌṭʰ tiaṛa | minō |
| CAK | kʌl / pʌlke | hʌfto | maˀno |
| SAK | pʌlke | hʌfto | minō |
| GJW | kʌl | hʌfta | minˀʌ |
| IND | pʌḷke | --- | məina |

| | 127. year | 128. old | 129. new |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | sʌmō | puraṇō | nō |
| CHT | sʌmō | puraṇō | nō |
| DIR | sʌmō | puraṇō | nō |
| SSW | sʌmō | purano | nuī |
| TSW | sʌmō / sʌmo | purano | nuī / nō |
| GLT | samō | purano | nōī |
| KGH | sal | purano | nō / nōwō / nʌ̄wī |
| SHZ | sal | purano | nʌ̄wi |
| NAK | sal | puranō | nō / nʌwō |
| CAK | sal | pʌrano | nˀo / nʌvē |
| SAK | sal | pʌrano | nʌwō |
| GJW | bʌrʌs | puraṇʌ | nʌwā |
| IND | sal | --- | --- |

| | 130. good | 131. bad | 132. wet |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | čʌŋgo | xʌrʌb | bɪǰ gio |
| CHT | čʌŋgo | xʌrʌb | biǰio |
| DIR | čʌŋgo / ʌčˑo | mʌndo / xʌrʌb | bʰiǰio |
| SSW | ʌčʰo | mʌndo / xʌrʌb | biǰio |
| TSW | ʌčʰo / hʌčo | mʌnḍi | biǰio / bʰɪǰ gio |
| GLT | ʌčo | mʌndo | biǰu |
| KGH | ʌčo | mʌndo / xʌrʌb | pɛǰ gio / gɪlo |
| SHZ | čʌngo / ʌčo | xʌrʌb / bʌndo / maṛo | bʌgio / sɪno |
| NAK | ʌčo / čɛŋgo | mʌndo | gɪli / sɪjˑo |
| CAK | čʌŋgo / ʌčo | mʌndo / pɛṛo / maro | gilo / siǰo / pɪǰo |
| SAK | čʌŋgo | mʌndo / pɛṛo | sɪǰ |
| GJW | ʌčʌ | bʰʊnḍʌ | bigʌ |
| IND | čʌŋgo | buro / pɛṛo | — |

| | 133. dry | 134. long | 135. short |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | sukgio | ʊčˑo | čoto |
| CHT | suko | ʊčˑo | mʌndʌro |
| DIR | suko | ʊčo / lʌmˑō | čoṭo / mʌndʌro |
| SSW | sukʰˑi | lʌmō | čotoi |
| TSW | sukʰˑi | lʌmō / lʌmbo | čɪta / lʌṇḍo |
| GLT | suki | lʌmō | čoto / nʌṇḍo / nɪko |
| KGH | sukˑo | lʌmō / lʌmi | čoṭi |
| SHZ | suko | lʌmō | čoto |
| NAK | suko | lʌmō | čoto / čʊṭo |
| CAK | suko | lʌmo / lʌmbo | čoto / nɪko |
| SAK | suk | lʌmbo | čoto / nɪko |
| GJW | suqˑa | lʌmbʌ | čotʌ |
| IND | sukˑa | lʌmˑo | mʌndra |

| | 136. hot | 137. cold | 138. right |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | tʌto | tʰʌṇḍo | sʌǰi |
| CHT | tʌto / gʌrʌm | tʰʌṇḍo | sʌǰo |
| DIR | tʌto | ṭʰʌṇḍo | sʌǰo |
| SSW | tʌto / gʌrʌm | tʰʌndo | soǰi |
| TSW | tʌpaī / tʌto | ṭʰʌnḍo | soǰi / soǰo |
| GLT | tʌto / gʌrʌm | ṭʰʌndo | sʌǰo |
| KGH | gʌrʌm | tʰʌnḍo | sʌǰo |
| SHZ | tʌto | tʰʌnḍo | sʌǰo |
| NAK | tʌpeo /gʌrʌm | tʰʌnḍʰ | sʌǰo |
| CAK | koso / tʌto | tʌṇḍo | sʌǰo |
| SAK | tʌto / gʌrm | tʰʌndo | sʌǰɛ / sʌǰo |
| GJW | tʰʌta | tʰʌnḍa | sʌǰa |
| IND | tʌtˑo / gʌrmi | ṭʰʌṇḍo | sʌǰˑo / sʌǰˑi |

| | 139. left | 140. near | 141. far |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | kʌbi | nɪḍe | dur |
| CHT | kʌbo | nɪḍe | dur |
| DIR | kʌbo | nɛḍe | duṛ |
| SSW | kʌbo | nɪḍe | duṛ |
| TSW | kʌbo | nɪḍe | ḍuṛ |
| GLT | kʌbo | nɪɾe | duṛ |
| KGH | kʌbo | nɪḍe | dur |
| SHZ | kʌbo | nɪɾe / nɛḍe | duṛ |
| NAK | kʌbo | nɪɾɛ | ḍur |
| CAK | kʌbo | nɪɾɛ | dur |
| SAK | kʌbʌ / kʌbo | nɪɾɛ | dur |
| GJW | kʌbʌ | nɪḍe | ḍuṛ |
| IND | kʰʌbˑi | --- | --- |

| | 142. big | 143. small | 144. heavy |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʌɾo | nʌndo | bʰaro |
| CHT | bʌɾo | nɪko | bʰaro |
| DIR | bʌɾo | nɪko / nʌɳḍo | bʰaro |
| SSW | bʌɾo | nʌnḍo | bʰaɾi |
| TSW | bʌɾo | nɪko / nʌnḍo | bʰaɾi / bʰaɾo |
| GLT | bʌɾo | nɪki / ɳʌɳḍo | bʰaɾo |
| KGH | bʌɾo | nɪko / čoṭa | baɾi |
| SHZ | bʌḍo | nɪko / čoṭo | pari / bʰaro |
| NAK | bʌɾo | nɪko / čoṭo | paro |
| CAK | bʌɾo | nɪko / čoto | pari / paro |
| SAK | bʌɾo | nɪko | paro |
| GJW | bʌra | čota | bʰaɾi |
| IND | bʌɾo | nɪkˑo | paro |

| | 145. light | 146. above | 147. below |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | hoɾo | opʌr | tʌɾe |
| CHT | hoɾo | ʌpʌr | hɛtʰ / tʌɳʌ / ṭʌɾe |
| DIR | hoɾo / hoˑ | opʌr | hɛṭʰ |
| SSW | hoˑi | opʌr | ṭʌɳʌ |
| TSW | horo / huɾo | učʌt / opʌr | hɪṭʰ / hɛṭʰ |
| GLT | hʌɾo | učo | tʌnʌ |
| KGH | hoɾi / loki | ʌpʌr / upʌr | tʌɾe |
| SHZ | loko / loki | upʌr / ute | tʌle |
| NAK | loko | ʌpʌr | tʌlʌ / bon |
| CAK | olo | upʌr / učo | tʌlɛ / buˑn / ẽˑṭʰ |
| SAK | olo | upʌr / uple | tʌlɛ |
| GJW | hʌḷuɑ | upˑʌɾ | ṭʌḷe |
| IND | lo | ʊfrā | heṭʰ / bʊn |

| | 148. white | 149. black | 150. red |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | čɪto | kao | rʌto |
| CHT | čɪto | kal / kao / kaṛo | rʌto |
| DIR | čɪṭo | kaṛo | rʌto |
| SSW | čɪto | kao | rʌto |
| TSW | čɪṭo | kao / qaṛo | rʌto |
| GLT | čɪto | kaṛo | rʌto |
| KGH | čiṭo | qao / qaṛo | rʌto |
| SHZ | čɪṭo | kalo | rʌto |
| NAK | čɪto / čɪṭo | kalo | rʌto |
| CAK | čɪṭo | kalo | lal / rʌto |
| SAK | čɪto | kalo | suo |
| GJW | ḍ$^{h}$ɔɽa | kala | lal |
| IND | čɪṭ'o | — | rʌt'o |

| | 151. one | 152. two | 153. three |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ek | du | trɛ |
| CHT | ek | do | trɛ |
| DIR | ek$^{h}$ | do | trɛ |
| SSW | ɛk | do | tre |
| TSW | ɛk | du | tre |
| GLT | ɛk | do | tre |
| KGH | ek | do | tre |
| SHZ | ek | do | trɛ |
| NAK | ɛk | do | trɛ |
| CAK | ɛk | do | trɛ |
| SAK | ɛk | do | trɛ |
| GJW | ek$^{h}$ | do | tin |
| IND | ek | do | trɛ |

| | 154. four | 155. five | 156. six |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | čar | pʌj̃ | če |
| CHT | čar | pʌj̃ | če |
| DIR | čar | pʌnj̃ | če |
| SSW | čar | pʌɪn̪j̃ | č$^{h}$e |
| TSW | čar | pʌinj̃ | č$^{h}$e |
| GLT | čar | pʌnj̃ | če |
| KGH | čar | pʌnj̃ | č$^{h}$e |
| SHZ | čar | pʌnž | če |
| NAK | čar | pʌnj̃ | če |
| CAK | čar | pʌnj̃ | če |
| SAK | čar | pʌnj̃ | če |
| GJW | čar | pāč | če |
| IND | čar | pʌnj̃ | č$^{h}$e |

| | 157. seven | 158. eight | 159. nine |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| CHT | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| DIR | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| SSW | sʌtʰ | ɑṭʰ | nō |
| TSW | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| GLT | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| KGH | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| SHZ | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| NAK | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nō |
| CAK | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | no / nʌõ |
| SAK | sʌtʰ | ʌṭʰ | nʌ̃õ |
| GJW | sɑt | ɑṭʰ | no |
| IND | sʌt | ʌṭʰ | nʌɔ̃ / nɔ̃ |

| | 160. ten | 161. eleven | 162. twelve |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | dʌ | yara | bara |
| CHT | dʌ | yara | bara |
| DIR | dʌ | yara | bara |
| SSW | dʌ | yara | bara |
| TSW | dɑ | yara | bara |
| GLT | dʌ | yara | bara |
| KGH | dʌs | yarʌ | bʌrā̃ |
| SHZ | dʌ | yara | bara / barā̃ |
| NAK | dʌs | yara | bara |
| CAK | dʌs | yarā | barā |
| SAK | dʌs | yara | bara |
| GJW | dʌs | giara | bara |
| IND | dʌs | yarā | barā |

| | 163. twenty | 164. one hundred | 165. who |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bi | so | koṇ |
| CHT | bi | so | koṇ |
| DIR | bi | so | qoṇ |
| SSW | bi | so | qoṇ |
| TSW | bɪ | so | qoṇ |
| GLT | bi | so | koṇ / kɪɽo |
| KGH | bi | so | qoṇ |
| SHZ | bi | so | koṇ |
| NAK | bi | so | koṇ / kɪɽo |
| CAK | bi | so | kon / kɪɽo |
| SAK | bi | so | kun |
| GJW | bis | ek saṇkʌrʌ | kon |
| IND | bi | sɔ | kuṇ |

| | 166. what | 167. where | 168. when |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | kɐ | kɪḍi | kʌd |
| CHT | kɐ | kɪt | kʌd |
| DIR | kɐ | kɪte | kʌd |
| SSW | kɐ | kɪt | kʌd |
| TSW | kɐɑ | kɪt | kʌd |
| GLT | kɐ | kɪt | kʌd |
| KGH | kɐ | kit / kɪŋgɑ | kʌd |
| SHZ | kɐ | kɪtʰ / kɪndʌr | kʌde / kʌdō |
| NAK | kɐ | kɪtʰ / kiŋɑ | kʌd |
| CAK | kɐ | kiŋɑ / kɪt | kʌd |
| SAK | kɐ | kʌɻe | kʌdu |
| GJW | kɐ | kiŋge | kʌdʰ |
| IND | kɐ | kɪt | kʌd / kʌde |

| | 169. how many | 170. what thing | 171. this |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | kɪtnɑi | kɐ še | yu |
| CHT | kɪtnō | kɐ še | yo |
| DIR | kɪtnʌ | kɐ še | yo |
| SSW | kɪtni | kɐ še | we / yo |
| TSW | kɪtni / kɪtne | kɐ še | we / yo |
| GLT | kɪtnʌ | kɐ še | yo |
| KGH | kɪtnʌ | kɐ še | ye / yʌ |
| SHZ | kɪtnō / kɪtnɑ | kɐ še | yo |
| NAK | kɪtnʌ | kɐ čiz | yɑ |
| CAK | kɪtʌnʌ / kɪtʌno | kɐ čiz | yɑ |
| SAK | kɪtnʌ | kɐ šɛ / kɐ čiz | yo / yɑ |
| GJW | kɪtne | kɐ čiz | yɑ |
| IND | kɪtno | — | yɑ / yo |

| | 172. that | 173. these | 174. those |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | wo | yu | wo |
| CHT | wo | ye | wē |
| DIR | wo | yo | wo |
| SSW | yo | ye | yo |
| TSW | yo | ye / e | yo |
| GLT | wu | ye | wu / wi |
| KGH | o | ye | wo / we |
| SHZ | o | yo | o |
| NAK | wɑ / o | ye | we / o |
| CAK | wɑ | yo / ye | wo / we |
| SAK | wo | yɑ / yo | wo |
| GJW | vo | yē | wē |
| IND | wɑ / wo | ye | we |

| | 175. same | 176. different | 177. whole |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ek rʌŋg / ek še | jɪn jɪn | puro |
| CHT | ek rʌŋg / ek šan | mosara / juda juda | puro |
| DIR | ek rʌŋg / ek šan | jɪn jɪnʌ | puro |
| SSW | bʌrabʌr | jɪn jɪnʌ | roɣ |
| TSW | bʌrabʌr | jɪn jɪne | saro / rog |
| GLT | bʌrabʌr / ek še / ek šan | alʌg alʌg | puro |
| KGH | bʌrabur | mʌxtalɪf | saro |
| SHZ | bʌrabʌr | bʌkʌre bʌkʌre | puri / salɪm / sabʌt |
| NAK | ek$^{h}$ jɪo | moxtalɪf / kʌni kʌni | puro |
| CAK | ek jɛso | alʌg alʌg / kʌni kʌni | saro / puro / sabʌt |
| SAK | ek žɛso | --- | salɪm / puro |
| GJW | bʌrobʌr | ḍal ḍal | purā |
| IND | --- | --- | saro |

| | 178. broken | 179. few | 180. many |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | p$^{h}$ut | ṭ$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| CHT | fut / put | ṭ$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| DIR | put / p$^{h}$ut | ṭ$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| SSW | puṭ$^{h}$ | ṭ$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| TSW | puṭ / ṭuṭ | ṭ$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| GLT | puṭ | t$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| KGH | poṭ | ṭ$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| SHZ | pʌǰe | t$^{h}$oṛo | saro |
| NAK | pʌǰeo | t$^{h}$oṛo | muč |
| CAK | ṭuṭo / pʌǰo | toṛo | muč |
| SAK | ṭuṭ / paǰ | toṛo | mʌto |
| GJW | puṭ | ṭ$^{h}$oṛʌ | ḍ$^{h}$ɛṛ |
| IND | --- | --- | muč |

| | 181. all | 182. (you) eat! | 183. (the dog) bit |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | hʌbe | kʰa | ka |
| CHT | saro / sara | kʰa | ka li / kʌdo |
| DIR | saro / hʌbai | kʰa | kʰa |
| SSW | saro / hʌbi | kʰa | kʰai |
| TSW | saro / hʌba | kʰa | kʰa lio |
| GLT | saro | kʰa | kʰa li / kʰʌp / kʌdi |
| KGH | sara | kʰa | kʰa lio / laṛ |
| SHZ | saro | kʰao | lʌṛe |
| NAK | sara | kʰao | kʰado |
| CAK | sara | kʰao | kado / lʌṛeo |
| SAK | sara | kʰao | kʌṭio |
| GJW | sʌb | qaṇa | qaṭṇa |
| IND | saro | kʰa | kʌp |

| | 184. (you are) hungry | 185. (you) drink! | 186. (you are) thirsty |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | bʰukʰ | pi | tes |
| CHT | bukʰ | pio / pi | tes |
| DIR | bukʰ | pi | tɪs |
| SSW | bʰukʰ | pi | tes |
| TSW | bʰukʰ | pi | tes / tɪs |
| GLT | bʰukʰ | pi | tʰɛs |
| KGH | pʰukʰ | pi | tes |
| SHZ | pukʰ | pi | tre |
| NAK | pʰokʰ | pio | tes / treao |
| CAK | pʰukʰ | pio | tʸis / tre |
| SAK | pʰukʰ | piũ / pio | tre |
| GJW | — | pina | tʌs |
| IND | — | pi | — |

| | 187. (you) sleep! | 188. (you) lay down! | 189. (you) sit! |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | soṛo | pɛre | bɛs |
| CHT | soṛo / so | pɛro | bɛs |
| DIR | so | pɛro | bɛs |
| SSW | so | pɛro | bɛs |
| TSW | so / sorio | pɛrio | bɛs |
| GLT | so | lʌmo | bɛs |
| KGH | soro | lʌmo | bɛs |
| SHZ | so | lʌmo / pɛre | bɛṭ |
| NAK | so | lʌmo | bɛs |
| CAK | sonõ | lʌmõ / pẽṇõ | bɛṭo / bɛso |
| SAK | so | lʌmbo / peja | bet / bɛso |
| GJW | sonʌ | pʌrṇa | bɛṭ |
| IND | so | — | bɛs |

| | 190. (you) give! | 191. (you) burn (wood)! | 192. (the man) died |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | de | saṛ | mʌr |
| CHT | di / de | saṛ | mʌṛ |
| DIR | de | sʌṛ | mʌr |
| SSW | de | saṛ | mʌr |
| TSW | de | saṛ | mʌr |
| GLT | de | saṛ | mar |
| KGH | de | sar / baḷo | mar |
| SHZ | dešor | bʰal | mar |
| NAK | de | saṛo | mʌr |
| CAK | dečoṛ / deo | saṛno | mʌrno |
| SAK | dečoṛ / dešoṛ | saṛ | mʌr |
| GJW | dɪnʌ | pūkʰʌna | mʌrna |
| IND | de | saṛ | mʌr |

| | 193. kill (bird)! | 194. (bird) flys | 195. (you) walk! |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | mar | uṛḍ | rʌwan |
| CHT | mario | uṛḍ / uṛḍi | čʌl |
| DIR | mar | uṛḍ | čʌl |
| SSW | mar | uṛde | ṭoṛe |
| TSW | mar | uṛde / uṛḍ | ṭoṛ ṛe |
| GLT | mar | uṛḍ | ṭor |
| KGH | mario / mar | uṛḍ | čʌle / tor |
| SHZ | mar | uḍ | čʌl |
| NAK | mar | uṛ / uḍɛ | čʌlo |
| CAK | mar / mario | uḍɪṇo | čʌlno / tuṛno |
| SAK | mar | udrna | čʌl |
| GJW | marna | urnʌ | čʌlnʌ |
| IND | mar | uḍ / ʌḍ | čʌl |

| | 196. (you) run! | 197. (you) go! | 198. (you) come! |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | mʌnde pʌ čʌl | čʌl | aja |
| CHT | bʰaj | čʌl | aja |
| DIR | mʌṇde / bʰaj | čʌl | aja |
| SSW | bʰʌj | čʌl | ajʌ / a |
| TSW | bʰʌj / bʰaj | čʌl | ajʌ / a |
| GLT | bʰʌj | čʌl | a |
| KGH | doṛ | čʌl | a |
| SHZ | ḍoṛ | čʌl | a |
| NAK | ḍoro / doṛo | jao / čɛlo | ao |
| CAK | doṛno | jano / ja | a |
| SAK | doṛo | jaũ | a |
| GJW | bʰagnʌ | jana | anʌ |
| IND | pej / dɔṛ / nəs· | ja | a |

| | 199. (you) speak! | 200. (you) listen! | 201. (you) look! |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | ko | suɳ | dɛkʰ |
| CHT | ko / gʌl ko | suɳ | dɛkʰ |
| DIR | ko / boḷ | soɳ | dekʰ |
| SSW | boḷ / ko | sõɳ | dʰɛkʰ |
| TSW | bol / boḷ | sõɳ / soɳ | dʰɛkʰ |
| GLT | ko | son / sũɳ | dekʰ |
| KGH | boḷ | suɳ | hɛr |
| SHZ | bol | suɳ | dekʰ |
| NAK | boḷo / ko | suɳõ | dɛkʰo |
| CAK | bolo / bol / gʌl ka | sunõ | dekʰ |
| SAK | bolo | suno | tɛko |
| GJW | bolnʌ | sunʌ | dʰɛkʰ |
| IND | bol / gʌl | ---- | dekʰ / tʌk |

| | 202. I | 203. you (informal) | 204. you (formal) |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | hũ | tũ | tʌm |
| CHT | hũ | tũ | tʌm / to |
| DIR | hũ | tʰu | tʌm |
| SSW | mẽ / ũ | tu | tʌm |
| TSW | mẽ | tu | tu |
| GLT | hũ | tu / tũ | to |
| KGH | mãĩ | tu | tʌm |
| SHZ | hũ | tũ | tʌm |
| NAK | ũ | tʌm / tũ | tʌm |
| CAK | ũ | tu | tʌm |
| SAK | hũ | tu / tʌm | tʌm |
| GJW | mãĩ | tʌm | tʌm |
| IND | hũ / mẽ | tũ | --- |

| | 205. he | 206. she | 207. we (inclusive) |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | wo | wʌ | hʌm |
| CHT | wo | wo | hʌm |
| DIR | yo | wɑ | hʌm |
| SSW | wo | wʌ | hʌm |
| TSW | wo / o | wʌ / wo | hʌm |
| GLT | wu | wo | hʌm |
| KGH | o | wɑ | hʌm |
| SHZ | o | o | ʌm |
| NAK | o | wʌ | hʌm |
| CAK | wo | wɑ | hʌm |
| SAK | wo | wo | hʌw |
| GJW | wo | wɑ | hʌm |
| IND | wo | wɑ | --- |

| | 208. we (exclusive) | 209. you (plural) | 210. they |
|---|---|---|---|
| KUN | hʌm | tʌm | wi |
| CHT | hʌm | tʌm | we |
| DIR | hʌm | tʌm | we |
| SSW | hʌm | tʌm | we |
| TSW | hʌm | tʌm | we / wo |
| GLT | hʌm | tʌm | wi |
| KGH | hʌm | tʌm | we |
| SHZ | ʌm | tʌm | we |
| NAK | hʌm | tʌm | we / o |
| CAK | hʌm | tˀʌm | we |
| SAK | hʌm | tʌm | wo |
| GJW | hʌm | tʌm | wē |
| IND | — | tʌm | we |

**Appendix C.2**

# Gujjari Texts

## C.2.1 Chitral Gojri , (Ashriki)

### *Ashriki Story*

1. hon čoṭ pe ɑyɑ to miri ye xʌvɑhiš ti ke hon bɑnḍo ko
we holiday on came then my this wish was that we banda to
We came on a holiday and I wanted us to go to a banda for

2. sel kʌroŋ me ɪni nɑl ek sʌŋgi lekʌr hunṛɑ to gɑio gore nu
visit do I me with one friend took there to went Gore to
a visit. I took a friend with me and

3. [Question-1] gore nu yɑne ek bʰʌie ke ḍere do rɑt kɑi
* Gore to we one brother of house two nights spent
went to Gore. [Question-1] We stayed at a brother's house in Gore for two

4. us-ne mʌč entezɑmɑt mɑre wɑste kiyo to mʌč hɑmɑre ɪzʌt
he many arrangments us for did ? very our respect
nights. He made many arrangements for us and showed us very much respect.

5. us-ne kɑie nɑbɑ us gore kɔnɑ mɑri rɑ dɑsyo mɑre nɑŋ ek
he did morning that Gore from to-us way showed us with one
In the morning he showed us the way from Gore. We also took another friend

6. sʌŋgi us-ne bi kʌyo [Question-2] hʌm giyo kačor kɑ bɑnḍʰɑ tɑ
friend he also did * we went Kachur of banda was
with us. [Question-2] We went to Kachor banda.

7. no ut hɑm-ne jɑkɑr rɑt kɑie no jeṛe hʌmɑri wɑste kokṛi
then there we went night spent then man us for hen
We spent the night with a man who cooked a chicken for us

8. en-te ɑwr bɑndobɑst mʌč kio [Question-3] wo rɑt hoke mɑgʌr
and and arrangments many did * that night spent but
and made arrangements. [Question-3] We spent the night but we experienced

9. rɑt nio zʌrye hʌme tʌklifɑt huče rɑt hʌm zʌmin pʰʌ sotɑ
night to some to-us discomfort did night we ground on slept
discomfort because we slept on the ground as there

10. mʌnja šʌnja nʌhi ta [Question-4] naba uṭʰʌ-ke ni hʌm ayenda
bed etc. not was * morning awaking then we again
were no beds. [Question-4] We got up in the morning and went

11. zʌyada ek banḍa te-yaŋ wo-de čʌŋgi ṭʰa mʌgʌr raʰ ma
another one banda towards there good was but way in
to another banda. It was good there but our path was still ahead.

12. mayaŋ marg age do šam te wo šam hʌm to uṭ gʌi
additional our ahead two sham were that sham we to fly went
Two shams were there. The sham flew away.

13. mʌgʌr hʌm-ne mʌč košʌš ke marngi mʌgʌr uo hʌm te parwaz
but we much tried to kill but that we from fly
We tried very hard to kill it, but it

14. kʌr gʌi [Question-5] to hʌm kačur ka banḍa me jake rat
do went * then we Kachur of banda in went night
flew away. [Question-5] Then we went to Kachur banda and spent the night.

15. kʌrke nabe kuč hʌm ya hʌmare naŋ ek sʌŋgi awʌr to hʌm
spent morning some we ? us with one friend and then we
In the morning we went with one friend and we went up to a banda. There was

16. ʌpla banḍa mʌjʰ gio ut čeri pai tʰi [Question-6] no
up banda into went there glacier lying was * then
a glacier there and [Question-6] we went very slowly.

17. we-we-we-we hʌm-ne jake gaie mē jake če kai če pike wʌt
very-slowly we went peak to went tea prepared tea took then
We prepared and drank tea and then we rested.

18. dʌma tı kaṛ hʌm-ne gaie mē čʌṛya no gaie ma zʌbʌrdast
rest ? did we top in climbed but mountain in beautiful
We then went and climbed up to the top. It was very beautiful

19. aga ko čʌŋko ma dis ko dis ın us-ke ṭʰʌ re sʌmačye
ahead to good in area ? area in that place is Samachai
and nice in that area. That place is

20. [Question-7] jaṛo mʌjdani alako nu us ma we-we-we-we kʰe te
* then plain area to that in very-slowly ? was
called Samachai. [Question-7] Then we went to a plain area and

21. ut giya pesi ye pesi ki naj mʌsjʌd me pʌṛʌ-ke
there went afternoon ? afternoon of prayer mosque in prayed
went very slowly. We prayed at the afternoon prayers

22. [Question-8] ut sangi to us-ne mare waste čaye anre us
* there friend to he us for tea brought that
in the mosque. [Question-8] A friend there brought tea for us.

23. sangi hum-ne alake ke bare mẽ gal kie ke ye kiso alako et
friend we area of about in talk did that this which area in
That friend told us about the area. He told us where there were Gujar people

24. gujar log re nahi rehta [Question-9] us sangi-ne hum te
Gujar people living not living * that friend we to
living and where they weren't living. [Question-9] That friend gave us all

25. tatsil hum-ne bayan ki ki us wakifyat te kaḍ upar ḍeryan
detail us said did of that knowing and after above Deryang
the details that he knew about. Afterwards, we went up to Deryang

26. ek paxtun e uska na nazarmula uske hum gaio us-ne mari
one Pakhtoon was his name Nazirmula his we went he us
with a Pakhtoon named Nazirmula. He showed us a lot of

27. rat mač ezat kaie mare waste baro kiyo [Question-10]
night much respect did us for slaughter did *
respect that night and killed a goat for us. [Question-10]

## Questions for Ashriki Story
## (English Translations)

1. Who did he go with?
2. What did he show him?
3. What was butchered?
4. What discomfort did they have?
5. What did they try to kill?
6. What was in the banda?
7. What kind of place was Samachai?
8. At which prayer time did they pray?
9. What did the friend tell them about?
10. What did the Pakhtoon do for them?

## C.2.2 Swat Gojri , (Peshmal)

### *Peshmal Story*

1. yu šɪkaṛ bʰi muč čengoi še he ek bare hʌm šɪkar da gia
this hunt also very good thing is one time we hunting ? went
This hunt is a very good thing. Once we went hunting. We went hunting

2. šɪkar da gia ke gia jiake lʌndʌ-ke-sere sɪrpo yu ko-pur ni
hunt ? went ? ? went-to (name-of-place) peak ? mountain ?
and went to Linda-ka-sera mountain

3. [Question-1] isko purte pʌron huria de kʌn ke yar
* this past away away see ? what friend
peak. [Question-1] We went to this area to find a sham, a very good

4. šame bʌke numina šam [Question-2] ek šam ki kʌr
sham-(wild-bird) good thing sham * one sham of after
sham. [Question-2] We chased after a sham for the whole day

5. hʌm sʌṛi ḍɪṛi dɛʰ-dɛʰ-dɛʰ-dɛʰ eke nʌkate hurai dujɪ baren
we all day searching one mountain away other time
on one mountain. Another time we went on the other side.

6. nʌzir lʌme nʌkata horjai ū te abdul kʌrim
aiming long mountain other-side I and Abdul Kareem
Abdul Kareem and I went searching.

7. deha-deha-deha sʌṛi diaṛi hʌm-ne ḍoṛai jiake kofta ṭoṛi na
looking all day we running went evening little ?
We were running all day. In the evening, at the evening call

8. koftan ki baŋg dele wapʌs-morʌ-ke aya mar na sʌki
evening of call-to-prayer give return come kill no able
to prayer, we returned, and were not able

9. [Question-3] aya tʌnn̪ā̃ hʌm-ne koi ajri ʌn̪da gʌṭi šʌṭi
* come below we some shepherd people stone etc.
to kill it. [Question-3] We came below. There were some shepherds.

10. sʌṭi ajri gʌrib dʌria ū-ne kio bʌre bʌla a-gai
throw shepherd poor afraid they said think forest-animal come
We threw stones on the poor shepherds. They were afraid that it was an

11. [Question-4] di-di-di-di hʌm ista nikia bʌn̪da da nikia ʌḍi rati
* looking we this arrived banda ? arrived mid night
animal. [Question-4] We kept searching and arrived at the banda at midnight.

12. duja di hʌm bʰi gia šɪkaṛda bi gia šɪkaṛḍʌ ek šam
other day we again went hunting again went hunting one sham
Another day we again went hunting. We again went hunting.

13. awas karati deṭʰo te šam ai [Question-5] yerʌ šam me
crying doing saw then sham came * friend sham I
A sham cried; we saw the sham. [Question-5] Friend, I saw the sham.

14. dekʰ-leno šam po mē bi sʌṭ kai oṛṭʰʌmʌ mē ji sʌṭ kai
saw sham on I also shoot did flew I sir shoot do
I shot the sham as it flew. Sir, I shot and killed the sham,

15. šam maṛi bujio šam maṛi yera wʌ šam ek zatʰ-ki pʰoī
sham kill understand sham kill friend this sham one best sweet
understand? The sham was killed, friend. The sham was the best

16. tʰi [Question-6] kuda po tɛrʌ yʌqiṇi ji wa bʌṛa duo qoqorā
was * God on your believe sir this big two chickens
and sweet. [Question-6] Believe on God, sir, it was as big as two

17. ṭʌṛoā jai tʰī [Question-7] ek zatʰ-ka lɪṇḍa-ke-sere gorai
three same was * one many (name-of-place) forest-bird
or three chickens. [Question-7] Some gorre live in Linda-ka-sera, sir.

18. hōī ji bʰas nʌ kʌri [Question-8] yʌrā muč muč ḷokane bʌṛi
lives sir talk not do * friend many many people big
Don't tell it. [Question-8] Friend, many people used to hunt a lot,

19. bʌṛi šikaṛ kai lekɪn e šikaṛ mare po pɛš hue-tʰi kʌṭʌŋg-ki-bɛka
big hunting did but this hunt we ? meet was (place-name)
but we hunted at a place called Katang-ki-beka peak.

20. ser po ek rʌmušo yʌra wo rʌmušo hʌm-ne ḍoṛaio
peak on one forest-goat friend that forest-goat we running
There was a ramusho in that forest. We went running after it.

21. ḍoṛaio ḍoṛaio hʌm do tʰre admi tʰa [Question-9] akɪṛ hʌm-ne
running running we two three men were * last we
We were two or three men. [Question-9]

22. wo ek kʰama baṛio tʌ ut maṛio [Question-10]
that one cave inside ? there killed *
Finally we killed it inside a cave. [Question-10]

**Questions for Peshmal Story**
**(English Translations)**

1. For what purpose did he go to the mountain?
2. What was he searching for?
3. When did they return?
4. Why were the Ajri people afraid?
5. What did they hear?
6. What did he do to the sham?
7. How big was the sham?
8. What lives in Linda-ka-sera?
9. What were they running after?
10. Inside what did they kill the forest goat?

## C.2.3 Gilgit Gojri, (Naltar Bala)

### *Naltar Bala Story*

1. hũ ɛs nʌltʌr ko nʌltʌr bala ko baʂɛndo æ ɪtʰar mā tʌkribʌn
   Ithis Naltar of Naltar Bala of inhabitant am here in about
   I live in Naltar Bala. My grandfather came here

2. mero dado swat eriʌ te ake ɪtʰar mā baʂɛndo hoyo
   my grandfather Swat area from came here in inhabitant became
   from Swat and became an inhabitant

3. [Question-1] hoke bar mā tʌkribʌn čʰe čʌn gʌrmi hove sial
   * became year in about six months hot is winter
   here. [Question-1] Each year there is six months of hot weather and six

4. mā čʰe čʌn ʈʰʌnd hove [Question-2] hʌm usna xial kia
   in six months cold is * we his thought that
   months cold weather in winter. [Question-2] We think that in

5. sial mā čʰe čʌn ʈʰʌnd hove te ek sʌmo ɪtʰ pʰʌl tʰori
   winter in six months cold is and one year here snow little
   six months of winter a little snow falls here,

6. tʰori peti peti peti muč pʰʌl nʌ pex ʌčanʌk ek rat mā
   little fall fall fall much snow not fall suddenly one night in
   but not too much. Suddenly one evening it started to snow

7. nomaša te širu hoi pʰʌl bʌɾtige bʌɾtige bʌɾtige mɛndre uʈʰke
   evening from begin ? snow falling falling falling morning got-up
   and kept snowing and snowing. In the morning

8. sara zʌmindar-nē ʌpna bua kʰolia te bua mā pʰʌl bʌɾʌ bʌɾke
   all farmers their doors opened then door in snow fall fallen
   all the farmers got up and opened their doors, and much snow had

9. der lʌge [Question-3] pʰʌl bʌɾʌ bʌɾke der lʌge lokane
   much became * snow fall fallen much accumulated people
   accumulated. [Question-3] The people got up; they thought their houses

10. uʈʰke kota tuʈʰ jae ga kʌɾke uʈʰke pʰerā nal ʌpna kʰota
    got-up house break will be having got-up sweep with their house
    would collapse with the snow. Having got up, they shoveled

11. na saf kʌɾāg na pʰʌl tʰʌlā sʌmri [Question-4] sʌmʌɾke
    with clean doing with snow down throw * having-thrown
    the snow off their houses. [Question-4] At that time

12. dī bʰi lʌgo us tem mā te ek vari zamindar na pʰarde dɪto
sun also rose that time in and one time farmers with there saw
the sun rose and then the farmers saw

13. samna er fors ka mɪs ka samna ek pahari æ us pahari
front air force of mess of front one mountain ? that mountain
in front of the Air Force mess that snow was falling down a mountain

14. te upʌrō pʰʌl tutge [Question-5] čʰeri tutge bʌṛi tadad
from above snow breaking * glacier breaking big number
above it. [Question-5] A big glacier was breaking

15. mā čʰeri tut a mā [Question-6] er fors ko ek čokidar tʰo
in glacier break ? in * air force of one chowkidar and
and falling down. [Question-6] The Air Force chowkidar

16. us kol ek mɪrk tʰʌ [Question-7] una mɪrga ko rʌsen
that with one wild-goat was * those wild-goats of food
was with a wild goat. [Question-7] He had given food to the wild goats

17. gʌlū kʌrkʌ kʌr-ko aio tʰo te una-ne hʌkri mʌri ki teri
putting having done came was then they shouted ? ? your
and had come. Then they shouted, "Your death has come,

18. motʰ agai tu čʰʌp te nʌs upʌrō čʰeri agai [Question-8] us-ne
death came you hide and run above glacier came * he
you should run and hide, a glacier is coming!" [Question-8] When he heard

19. us zʌmindar a ka awaz nʌ dɛxke nʌske jake kore jari tʰi
that farmer ? of voice not seeing running going near bush was
the farmer's voice he ran towards a bush and

20. va jari nʌpi va jari nʌpi te kudrut ka šan us ki motʰ
that bush caught that bush caught and God of will him of death
caught the bush, but it was the will of God that he should die.

21. agai tʰi vo bʌčʰ sʌke ni tʰo te us čʰeri-ne vo utʰar to
came was he escape able not was and that glacier that place from
He was unable to escape and the glacier carried from that place a

22. lɛke ek dʰari tʰi va dʰari bʰi va ga tʰo vu ga
carrying one shelter was that shelter also that grass was that grass
shelter and some grass along with him down here to the river

23. bʰi us nʌ bʰi lɛke tʌle hɪt nʌdi tʰi le jake us nʌdi
also him to also carrying down below river was have going that river
where they were all

24. nal relaleo [Question-9] te sara zʌmindar mara
with combined * and all farmers our
piled up together. [Question-9] All the farmers came together

25. jema hoke aya agke dʰund dʰundke dʰund dʰundke dʰund
together having come coming search searching search searching search
and they searched and searched

26. dʰundke tʌkribʌn tre čar gʰʌnta te us ki vo laš murdo
searching about three four hours for him of that corpse dead
about three or four hours for his dead body until they

27. lʌbi wū [Question-10]
found ? *
found it. [Question-10]

## Questions for Naltar Bala Story
## (English Translations)

1. Who came from Swat?
2. How long is the cold season?
3. What did the farmers open?
4. What did they do with the snow?
5. What happened with the snow?
6. What size was the glacier?
7. What was with the chowkidar?
8. What did the farmers tell the chowkidar to do?
9. What happened to the shelter?
10. What did they find?

## C.2.4 Kaghan Gojri , (Mittikot)

### *Mittikot Story*

1. bʌs jʌnab o ɪto tor-grā hʌmo par-pʌk hotɛl brč pʌrk hotel
well sir he here-from walked we Park Hotel in park hotel
Well sir, we went from here. We went to the Park Hotel.

2. brč giā upʌr lʌgi-hoi-tʰi leṭʰ muro bʌlo tʰo-lʌgo dɪṭʰo dɪṭʰo
in went up went light wood burning was saw saw
We went up. There was light coming from a fire of muro wood. We saw

3. dɪṭʰo ke gʌl e nā upʌr koi lʌkṛi kʌpe biaṛ
saw what matter is ? up someone wood cutting (type-of-tree)
that someone was cutting wood above. They were cutting biar

4. kʌpe ṛī kʌpe ke kʌre ke ni kʌrto bʌs jɪs wakʊt
cut (kind-of-tree) cut what do what not do enough this time
and ri; what should we do? At this time, sir, at 11 o'clock a man came

5. jʌnab-o yɛrʌ bʌj giʌ te jʌno ayo te us-ne yo gʌl kei
sir eleven o'clock went and man came and he this matter told
and he told us a man is above, cutting your

6. yɛra upʌr lʌkṛi jʌno tari biaṛ kʌpe-lʌgo nal ṭaṭu šaṭu
friend up wood man your (kind-of-tree) cutting with horses etc.
biar, with his horses tied up.

7. bʰi bʌdea we jʌnab utʰo murge te xan bʰi ū bi ayo ɪt
also tied ? sir there return and Khan also I also came here
Sir, we returned from there, and the Khan also, and came here.

8. aya te ɪs ja tiari-šeri kʌrke par kohɪstani prče
came and this place arrangements having-done there kohistani after
At this place, having made arrangements, we went to the

9. kohɪstani nā čʌl-ke ye gʌl ke yɛra tʌm kʌde čʌlē
kohistani with having-gone this matter tell friend you if go
Kohistanis and told them that they should go with us

10. marna-tā jʌna pʌkna unʌ-ne ke ji brlkʊl tarinal čʌlā pʌrʰ
us-with man catch they said sir completely you-with go ?
to catch the man. They said, "We are ready to go with you. And we will not

11. gʌl ye ke jʌno mare jaī te hʌm zɪmavar ni te kujo
matter this if person killed occur and we responsible not and some
be responsible if the man is killed." "If someone is killed by us, you will

12. ɪs gʌl ka nʌ te mare ma kuj jʌno mare tʌm zɪmavar ni
this matter of not ? kill ? some man kill you responsible not
not be responsible."

13. te na kuj̄ xan te bolio te kaen lʌga tʰik e jʌne nal ū ap
and ? some Khan and said and ? ? okay is men with I you
The Khan said, "Okay, I will go with you. We should

14. bi ū te tʌm ʌsla šʌsla leo tiari kʌro te čʌlā rat ke
also I and you weapons etc. take ready do and go night of
prepare to take weapons and go." Sir, we went at 12 o'clock at night.

15. jʌnab-o bara bʌje hʌm torge ofrʌ ole-ole-ole lɛṭ šɛṭ bujake
sir 12 o'clock we went upward slowly light etc. put-off
We went slowly upward with our lights off.

16. bʌṭi bʌṭi šʌṭi kuj̄ bi nʌ lai bujake ʌsi torgeʌ ofrʌ
lantern lantern etc. some any not brought put-off we went upward
We put off all our lights. We went up

17. boli ko kʌṭʰo pʌkreo bʌs sɪda sɪda sɪda ʌpor geʌ
Boli(village) of stream caught just straight straight straight up went
to Boli. We went with the stream, and just went straight

18. palu palu jɪs wele tareo bʌs lɛṭʰ lʌge te lʌgi upʌr
Palu(village) Palu this time saw enough light came and ? up
up to Palu. At that time we saw a light. Up above, we left the

19. hʌm-ne o ra ofrʌ ko čor-ke tarlo ra pʌkʌreo-lio
we that path upward ? left downward path caught
upward path and took the downward path. We took the downward path to

20. tʌrle ka ra če pʌkʌreo sɪda ʌgʌ geʌ tami
downward of path which caught straight ahead went Tami(village)
Tami. Having arrived in Tami,

21. tami jake te põčeo bʌs jʌna ageo ji jʌna jɪs wela če
Tami having-gone and arrived then man came sir man this time ?
the man came, sir. At this time he arrived.

22. põčeʌ jʌna pʌkʌre jʌna mareʌ šareʌ koṭʰeʌ šoṭʰeʌ ṭaṭu bi
arrived man caught man beat etc. beat etc. horse also
We caught the man. We beat the man. We beat him. We returned the horse.

23. moreʌ kundawala bi moreʌ fɪr uṭʰo morke jʌnab
returned wood-carrier also returned then there-from returned sir
We also returned from there with the wood carriers. The man went ahead and

24. jʌnɑ ʌgʌ tʌrea te sɪdɑ ʌpʊro jɪri jɑ unʌne kʌpeo tʰo
man ahead way and straight up which place they cut was
straight up. We returned to where they cut the wood. We brought them to

25. nʌdi-wɑli ʊt le-ɑyɑ ʊt ānke jɪs wele bɪsɑyɑ wele
(name-of-place) there brought there having-come this time sitting time
Nadiwala. At the time we sat down

26. gʌl šʌl kʌri unʌ-ne kio ʌlɑ waste čor deo jʌrʊm čɑleo xɑn-ni
matter etc. did they said God for leavegive fine take
khan
they said to us, "For God's sake leave us and take a fine." The Khan replied,

27. keo jʌrʊm ni tʌm-nʌ sɪdɑ le čʌlʌngɑ bāmpore utā tʌlā
said fine no you straight carry go Bampore there downward
"No fine. You go straight to Bampore." We returned downward, sir,

28. če morea jʌnɑb sɪdɑ bɑpore bɑpore rɑt eša-ko lo
? returned sir straight Bapore Bapore night to-us morning
straight to Bampore. We spent the night in Bampore. In the morning we

29. hoge ɪt ɑke hʌm pōčeʌ ɪt jɪs wele pōčeʌ jʌnɑb
became here having-come we arrived here this time arrived sir
arrived here and at this time we stayed for some time.

30. te bʌs reʌ ɪs jɑ čɑi šɑi pi unʌ-ne bi čɑi šɑi
and enough stayed this place tea etc. drank they also tea etc.
At this place we drank tea and they also drank tea

31. piɑli roṭi šoṭi kwɑli
drank bread etc. ate
and ate a meal.

## Questions for Mittikot Story
## (English Translations)

1. What was burning?
2. What was someone doing above?
3. What was tied up?
4. What did the Kohistanis reply?
5. What did they prepare?
6. Which path did they take?
7. Upon arriving above what did they do?
8. What did they say?
9. What did the Khan reply to them?

10. What did they do after arriving?

## C.2.5 Central Pak occopied Kashmir Gojri , (Trarkhel)

***Trarkhel Story***

1. hū nɪko jo tʰo te kar pʌre ni tʰo hū te ɛk dɪn mɛnɑ
   I small ? was then home away not was I then one day to-me
   When I was small I had never been away from home. One day the people of
2. kar waliā-ne mar-ke kʌdio [Question-1] te ū bazar mā gio
   home people beating expelled * then I bazaar in went
   my house beat me and threw me out. [Question-1] Then I went to the bazaar.
3. te bazar mā mẽ dekʰio kɪ buzurʊk ɛk ɑlɑn kʌre tʰo
   then bazaar in I saw that pious-man one announce doing was
   In the bazaar I saw a pious man announcing, "I have four pieces of advice;
4. kɪ mera kol čar nʌsiʌt ẽ te jɪro le-lego te kamiab
   that my with four advice is then which having then successful
   whoever takes them will be successful."
5. ojaego mere kol pāj hazar rupe tʰo te buzurʊk ne bi
   will-be to-me with five thousand rupee was then pious-man he also
   I had five thousand rupees with me. The pious man had
6. ʌpni čūā nʌsiʌt ka pāj hazar rupeya mukʌrʌr kiʌ
   himself four advice of five thousand rupee fixed-(agreed-upon) did
   fixed the price for the four advices at five thousand rupees.
7. wa tʰa te mẽ kuč der sočio te sočʌn te bad ɛk
   ? was then I some delay thought then thought then after one
   I thought and after some delay I gave
8. hʌzar rupeyo dɪto te buzurʊg kolō nʌsiʌt li buzurʊg-ne
   thousand rupees gave then pious-man from advice took pious-man
   him 1000 rupees. Then I took advice from the pious man. The pious man
9. mera kʌn mā yo kio kɪ jɪs vʌkʌt bi tʌm-na moko mɪle
   to-me ear in this told that which time also you-to to-me meet
   spoke into my ear, "When you have opportunity
10. te tʌm dusrā ki mʌdʌd kʌrio uste bad buzurʊg-ne pʰir
    then you others of help do that after pious-man again
    you should help others." After that, the pious man announced again
11. elan kʌrna šuru kʌr dɪto ke dusrā ki nʌsiʌt jɪri wa ɛk
    announced doing start did gave then others of advice which that one
    that the second advice is 1000 rupees.

12. hʌzar rupeya mā kuj der tʌk te hū soč̌to-reo ki mẽ ek
thousand rupees in some long to-end then I thinking that in one
I thought for some time. I thought, "I gave 1000 rupees for one advice,

13. hʌzar dekɪ ek nʌsiʌt li lekɪn us nʌsiʌt ko mʌtlʌb mena
thousand giving one advice took but that advice of purpose to-me
but I don't understand the purpose of that advice."

14. ni sʌmʌj aio mẽ dusro ʌzar dɪto te dusri nʌsiʌt li
not understand came I other thousand gave then other advice took
I gave another thousand rupees and took another advice.

15. te buzurug-nẽ kʌn mā mena kio kɪ bɪstʌr čʌnd-ke tɛ soyo
then pious-man ear in to-me told that blanket shake then sleep
Then the pious man said in my ear that I should shake the blanket before

16. [Question-2] fɪr mena yo ʌndazo oyo ki is mā bi koi
* again to-me this guess came that this in also some
sleeping. [Question-2] Again I guessed that there was nothing in

17. gʌl ni tʰo fɪr kʌro ogio tɛ fɪr buzurug pʰɪr pʰɪr-ke
talk not was again house came then again pious-man wander wander
that talk (advice). Then I went home. Again the pious man was going around

18. te yo kɛṇ lʌgo ki tisri nʌsiʌt ek ʌzar rupeya mā mẽ
then this telling began that third advice one thousand rupees in I
saying the third advice is for 1000 rupees more.

19. soč̌io kɪ do ʌzar rupio ū pɛle de čukio hūā te mena
thought that two thousand rupees I first give have did then to-me
I thought, "I have already given 2000 rupees and I haven't

20. gʌl ta koi ni lʌbi mumkin ɛ kɪ tisri gʌl mere waste čʌŋgi
talk ? any not find possible is that third talk my for good
found any talk (benefit). Could it be possible that the third talk will be

21. owe mẽ ẽk ʌzar rupeyo ʌor dɪto ki tisri nʌsiʌt buzurug-nẽ
having I one thousand rupees and gave that third advice pious-man
good to have?" I gave the pious man the 1000 rupees and

22. mere kʌn mā yo dʌsi kɪ tiari soyo te rat jʌgio mẽ ye
my ear in this told that day sleep then night awake I this
he spoke the third advice into my ear. "You should sleep in the day and be

23. deke tɛ fɪr kʌṛo ogio te pʰir buzurug nā kio kɪ
giving then again home did then again pious-man to said that
awake at night." I gave it (money) to him and again went home. Then the

24. čotʰi nʌsiʌt do ʌzar rupeya mā [Question-3] ū ʌpṛa tor
fourth advice two thousand rupees in * I ownself method
pious man said that the fourth advice is for 2000 rupees. [Question-3] I

25. pʌr sočta rio kɪ tre ʌzar rupeya mẽ pele de dɪto tɛ
on thought ? that three thousand rupees I first gave did and
thought, "I have already given three thousand rupees, and I haven't found

26. mena gʌl koi tɛ ni lʌbi mumkɪn ɛ čotʰi nʌsiʌt ɛ mera waste
to-me talk any ? not find possible is fourth advice is my for
any talk (benefit). It is possible that the fourth advice will be much

27. ziada bɪtʌr owe tɛ ū ye pesa bi deke buzurug kolõ
much better having then I this money also gave pious-man from
better for me." I gave the money to the pious man and

28. čotʰi nʌsiʌt bi le-liũ čotʰi nʌsiʌt mẽ do ʌzar rupeya
fourth advice also took fourth advice I two thousand rupees
took the fourth advice. For the fourth advice I gave 2000 rupees to

29. buzurug nā dɪto te us-ne kʌn mā bula ke mena dʌseo ke
pious-man to gave then he ear in spoke that to-me told that
the pious man. He spoke into my ear that you should put away your anger,

30. yuso pio te fɪr gʌl kʌrio ye čar nʌsiʌt leke te
anger finished then again talk do this four advice taking then
then you can talk again. I took this fourth advice and went out.

31. utõ tor peo te buzurug-ne bi ʌpṛõ kʌm xʌtʌm kʌr dɪto
there start did then pious-man also his work finish do gave
The pious man was finished with his work.

32. čʌltā čʌltā sʌmundur kɪ kɪnare gio [Question-4] te ut dexia
going going ocean of side went * then there saw
I went to the oceanside. [Question-4] There I saw various

33. kɪ sʌmundur ka muxtalɪf čota čota jʌnvʌr ve reṭʰ mā tʌrʌp
that ocean of various small small animals that sand in flopping
small ocean animals flopping in the sand.

34. rie te mẽ ek jʌnvʌr nā sɪdo kʌr dɪto tɛ vo jʌnvʌr
were then I one animal to straight do did then that animal
Then I set one animal up straight. That animal was happy.

35. xuš oke tɛ sʌmundur vɪčõ ča ča-ke tɛ sipi bar
happy having then ocean from taking taking then pearl outside
Then I was taking pearls from the ocean.

36. kʌḍʌṇ pɛgio [Question-5] mẽ ɛk sipi pʌn kɪ dɛxi tɛ ʊs kɛ
carry do * I one pearl broke that saw then that of
[Question-5] I broke one of the pearls and saw that inside was

37. bɪč bʌṛi soni soni čiz xira ʌor lal joahrat ʌor
inside big beautiful beautiful thing diamond and red valuables and
a big beautiful diamond and red valuables and

38. ɪs tʌrʌ ki čiz tʰi mẽ kafi sari ɛk čadʌr mã bʌnke tʰe a
this type of thing was I plenty all one sheet in wrapped then I
these kinds of things. I wrapped them all in my sheet and started to go.

39. tor pio turtã turtã rasta mã mɛna rat pɛgʌi [Question-6]
start did walking walking path in to-me night came *
I was walking on the path and night came. [Question-6]

40. tɛ ɛk kar mã reṇ waste jʌga mʌŋgi [Question-7] ʊt
then one house in stay for place asked * there
I asked to stay in a house. [Question-7]

41. buzurgã-ne jʌga dɪti tɛ ʌndʌr giũ jɪs vɛle tɛ jage jɪs
pious-people place gave then inside went which time then place which
There good people gave me a place to stay. I went inside at this time.

42. vʌkʌt bɪstʌr pʌr soṇ lʌgo tɛ mɛna buzurʊg ki dusri nʌsiʌt
time blanket on sleep start then to-me pious-man of second advice
Then at the time when I went to sleep on the bed I

43. yad ai [Question-8] ki pɛle bɪstʌr čʌndio tɛ ʊs-tõ bad
memory came * that first blanket shake then this after
remembered the second advice of the pious person. [Question-8] First shake

44. soyo jɪs vɛle mẽ bɪstʌr čʌndio tɛ vʌkʌi bɪstʌr na ʌg
sleep which time I blanket shook then really blanket to fire
the blanket and then sleep. Then I shook the blanket and it caught fire.

45. lʌg-gʌi ɪs waste kɪ ve meri sipi dex-ke una kar-wala-ne yo
caught this for that that my pearl saw that house-resident this
Because they had seen the pearl, the people of the house had

46. bʌndubʌst kʌr-lio ke ɪs nã jɛla diã te ye bʌot bʌṛi dolʌt
arrangement did that this to burn do that this very big wealth
arranged for it to burn. They thought, "In this way great wealth will come

47. hʌmare ʌtʰ ajeve [Question-9] buzurʊg ki dusri nʌsiʌt mɪna
our hand came * pious-man of second advice to-me
into our hands." [Question-9] The pious man's second advice

48. ʊt kʌm ai tɛ ū kamiab o-ke tɛ fir ʌga tor pio
there help came then I succeed having then again ahead start did
had helped me and I had succeeded and I again went on. As I was going ahead

49. ʌga tʊrtā tʊrtā ɛk baja to jɪs ki ɛk lʌṛki bimar tʰi
ahead walking walking one king from which of one girl sick was
there was a king whose daughter was sick.

50. te ʊs lʌṛki ke pɛṭ mā aidʰa sʌp taip koi čiz tʰi
then that girl of stomach in cobra snake type some thing was
In the stomach of the girl there was a cobra snake or

51. [Question-10] te ʊs-ne pɛro mukʌrʌr kio tʰo jɪro admi bi
* then he watchman appointed did was which man also
something like it. [Question-10] There was a watchman to watch her. The

52. ʊs ka kʌmra mā rat pɛro dio tʰo tɛ aidʰa nɪkʌl
her of room in night watchman doing was then cobra coming-out
watchman was in the room with her at night and the cobra came out

53. ki te ʊs na kʰa leto ū jūī kʌmra mā gio te mẽ
did then that to ate took I immediately room in went then I
at night and ate him. I went in the room and

54. ɛk tʌlvar bi mʌŋg lei mɪna bʊzʊrʊg ki tisri nʌsiʌt yad
one sword also asked took to-me pious-man of third advice remember
took a sword. Then I remembered the

55. ai ke tiari soyo tɛ rat jagio jɪs vɛle ū jage tʰo
came that daytime sleep and night be-awake which time I awake was
third advice of the pious man that I should sleep in the day and be

56. tɛ aidʰa ʊs ke mū bɪčo nɪkʌlio mera dʌr ʌmla kʌrʌn
that cobra that of mouth from came-out me toward attack start
awake at night. At that time I was awake and the cobra came from her mouth

57. lʌgio mena kaṇ lʌgio mẽ forʌn tʌlvar ko var kʌr ki te
did to-me spoke did I immediately sword of attack do did then
and was attacking me. He (cobra) spoke to me. I immediately attacked with

58. ʊs na mar dɪto is tʌra ū ʊs tisri gʌl mā bi kamiab o-gio
that to killed did this way I that third talk in also succeed did
the sword and killed it. In this way I succeeded by the third advice.

59. fɪr ʊtō sʊba oi te badša-ne mɪna bʌot saro inam
again there morning came then king to-me plenty ? prize
In the morning the king came and gave me a large reward.

60. dɪto tɛ ū ʌge tor pio turtā turtā ʌprʌ gɪrā ke kʌrib
gave then I ahead start did walking walking my village of near
I went out again. As I was going I arrived near my village.

61. jɪs vɛle põčio tɛ mɪnɑ ɛk ɑdmi-nɑ dʌsio ki teri bɛhṇ
which time arrived than to-me one man told that your sister
A man said to me, "Your sister is very bad.

62. jɪṛi ɛ vɑ bʌṛi xʌrɑb ɛ burɑ kʌm kʌre te us vʌkʌt merɑ
which is that very bad is bad work do then that time my
She is doing bad work." I became very

63. dɪl mā bʌṛo ɣuso ɑyo tɛ mẽ tiɑri kʌr li bɛhṇ nɑ
heart in big angry came then I preparation doing did sister to
angry. I made preparation. "I will

64. bi ū kʌtʌl kʌrūgo tɛ jɪṛo us ke nɑl gʌlbɑt ɛ te us nɑ
also I kill will-do that which that of with talk is then that to
kill my sister. And I will kill whoever is doing that thing with her."

65. bi kʌtʌl kʌrūgo yo dɪl mā ɪrɑdo le-ke ū torio tɛ mɪnɑ
also kill do this heart in decide carry I started then to-me
I made a decision and started to go. Then I remembered

66. buzurug ki čotʰi nʌsiʌt yɑd ɑgʌi kɪ nʌi bʌi pɛle
pious-man of fourth advice remember came that no brother first
the fourth advice of the pious man.

67. sočo te us to bɑd fir gʌl kʌro mẽ soč-kɪ te mẽ yo
think then that of after then talk do I think then I this
First, brother, think, then talk. I thought and

68. fɛslo kʌr-lio tɛ-kik kʌrū kɪ ɑyɑ ye gʌl sʌči ɛ ki čuṭʰi
decision did research do that whether this talk true is that false
made a decision. I will study and find out if this is true or false.

69. ɛ mẽ jɑke jɪs wɛle mɑlumɑt kiɑ pučio te pʌtɑ lʌgio ki
is I going which time know did asked then know came that
When I asked about this I found out that it was false.

70. vɑ gʌlo čuṭʰi tʰi te liɑzɑ mẽ us vʌkʌt vo us nɑ bɛhṇ
that talk false was then therefore I that time that him to sister
Therefore, I stopped myself from killing

71. nɑ bi ʌor us ɑdmi nɑ bi kʌtʌl kʌrʌn to ū bʌč gio ɪs
to also and that man to also killing doing from I rescue did this
my sister and another man. In this way

72. ʈʌrə bʌč-gio sərə mʌrʌlā to ɛ jɪrā vi kʌm kʌrtā rio tɛ
way escape all killing from this which this work doing was that
I stopped myself from killing. In this way I succeeded at my work because

73. bʊzʊrgā ki nʌsiʌt ki vʌja tō kəmiəb ogio tɛ ɪnə
elders of advice of reason from successful became that these
of the advice of wise people.

74. nʌsiʌtā-ne merə pʌr yo ʌsʌr kio kɪ ū ek kəmiəb zɪndʌgi
advice mine on ? effect did that I one successful life
Acting upon these advices I was able

75. gʌzərən ke kəbʊl ogio
leading of able to-do
to live a successful life.

## Questions for the Trarkhel Story
## (English Translations)

1. What did the people of the house do to him?
2. What should he do to the blanket?
3. How much did the fourth advice cost?
4. Where did he go?
5. What was he taking from the ocean?
6. What happened while he was walking?
7. What did he ask for?
8. What did he remember?
9. What did they think would come to them?
10. Where was the cobra?

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